ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE
New American Nation

The Emergence of the United States,
1754–1829

3

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

ENCYCLOPEDIA

OF THE

New American Nation

Editorial Board

ENCYCLOPEDIA

OF THE

New American Nation

The Emergence of the United States,
1754-1829

1

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN
THE NORTH *to*
EXPLORATION AND EXPLORERS

PAUL FINKELMAN, EDITOR IN CHIEF

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
An imprint of Thomson Gale, a part of The Thomson Corporation

THOMSON

GALE

THOMSON

＊

GALE

Encyclopedia of the New American Nation
The Emergence of the United States, 1754–1829

Paul Finkelman

Since this page cannot legibly accommo-date all copyright notices, the acknowledge-ments constitute an extension of the copyright notice.

For Stanley N. Katz, mentor and friend.

Editorial & Production Staff

Project Editor: Erin Bealmear

Editorial Support: Joann Cerrito, Stephen Cusack, Kristin Hart, Ken Wachsberger

Imaging: Randy Bassett, Dean Dauphinais, Lezlie Light, Mike Logusz, Christine O'Bryan

Tables: Mark Berger, Standley Publishing (Ferndale, Mich.)

Copyeditors: Jessica Hornik Evans, Michael Levine, Alan Thwaits

Caption Writer: Judith Culligan

Proofreader: Carol Holmes

Cartographer: XNR Productions (Madison, Wis.)

Indexer: Wendy Allex

Cover & Page Designer: Pamela A. E. Galbreath

Compositor: Datapage Technologies International, Inc. (St. Peters, Mo.)

Permissions: Shalice Shah-Caldwell, Margaret Chamberlain-Gaston, Jackie Jones

Manager, Composition: Mary Beth Trimper

Assistant Manager, Composition: Evi Seoud

Manufacturing: Wendy Blurton

Development Editors: Roberta Klarreich, Lisa Vecchione

Editorial Director: John Fitzpatrick

Executive Vice President and Publisher: Frank Menchaca

Contents

X–Y

XYZ Affair
Yorktown, Battle of

Preface

The *Encyclopedia of the New American Nation* is the last in a series of four encyclopedias that provide a detailed understanding of American history from the first European exploration of the New World to the beginning of the twenty-first century. The series—which also includes *The Encyclopedia of the North American Colonies* (1993), edited by Jacob E. Cooke, *The Encyclopedia of the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (2001), edited by Paul Finkelman, and *The Encyclopedia of the United States in the Twentieth Century* (1995), edited by Stanley I. Kutler—provides comprehensive access to the history and development of the events, trends, movements, technologies, cultural and social changes, political ideas and systems, and intellectual trends that have shaped America. This encyclopedia completes this multivolume series by providing detailed information about the founding period of the United States—the era of the new nation. The bibliographies following each entry lead both students and specialists to the central literature surrounding the 667 entries in the three volumes that make up this encyclopedia.

In 1754 the United States did not exist. There was no new American nation, or any American nation. Along the east coast of what is today the United States were thirteen British colonies and one Spanish colony. The Gulf Coast was divided between the Spanish and the French. The interior of the continent, from the foothills of the Appalachians to the Mississippi and beyond, was mostly inhabited by Indians, with a few settlements and scattered traders and trading posts. England claimed the lands east of the Mississippi and north of the Gulf of Mexico, but France challenged British interests in the Ohio River valley and on the eastern shores of the Mississippi River. France claimed and controlled most of the land north of the St. Lawrence River. West of the Mississippi most of the continent belonged to Spain and France. The largest city in British North America was Philadelphia, with about 13,000 people in 1740 and about 25,000 by 1760. Only three other cities—New York, Boston, and Charleston—had populations that

exceeded 5,000. The thirteen colonies had a non-Indian population of about 1,200,000, of whom about 240,000 were slaves.

By 1829 this world had been turned upside down. In 1763 England defeated France in the French and Indian War. The conflict was what might be considered the first "world war" in history, as it was fought in Europe, Asia, the Pacific, and the Americas. The peace treaty redrew the map of America. With the exception of Florida and the Gulf Coast, everything east of the Mississippi became British, and the rest of the continent went to Spain. France was defeated and expelled from the continent, and Indians who had sided with France were also weakened. Even those who fought for the British were hurt beyond repair. The American colonists, however, emerged strong and self-confident. In 1775, the thirteen colonies revolted against Great Britain, the most powerful nation on earth. After eight years of warfare, Britain gave up in her attempt to subdue these rebels. A new nation was born, proclaiming itself a self-governing republic. The row of tiny colonies was no longer ruled by a king and his parliament on a distant island. It was indeed the beginning of new era, not just in America, but in western Europe as well.

In the next half century the new nation grew rapidly. Its population more than tripled, reaching 13,000,000 by 1830. The thirteen colonies of 1775 had grown to twenty-four states. By 1775 slavery was legal in all of the colonies, and by 1830 twelve states had either abolished it or were in the process of doing so. About 3,000 slaves remained in those states, almost all of them in New Jersey, which was the last state to begin gradual abolition. Twelve southern states, on the other hand, had more than 2,000,000 slaves. Slavery was the most obvious marker of the differences between the sections, but it was not the only one.

Industrial production had begun in the North, and some parts of New England, and the Middle Atlantic states were, for the first time in the nation's history, more urban and industrial than agrarian. In 1790 no American city exceeded 35,000 people and only about 160,000 Americans lived in a town or city of more than 5,000 people. By 1830 New York City's population exceeded 200,000, and more than a million Americans lived in towns and cities. Baltimore, a city in a slave state that straddled the North and the South had grown from 13,000 in 1790 to more than 80,000 people, but it was the only southern city of any great size. In 1790 Charlestown was the South's biggest city, with about 16,000 people. By 1830 the city had only grown to about 30,000 people. New Orleans, which had about 20,000 people when Louisiana became a state in 1812 had grown to 46,000 by 1830. Meanwhile Boston, which had 18,000 people in 1790, had more than tripled to over 60,000 by 1830, while in the same period Philadelphia had grown from 28,000 in 1790 to over 80,000.

The geography of the nation had also changed. At the end of the Revolution the thirteen new American states were hugging the Atlantic seaboard; the nation itself extended to the Mississippi River in the West and the Great Lakes to the North, but not to the Gulf Coast. The southern portions of Mississippi and Alabama, called West Florida at the time, were still under Spanish control. By 1830 the nation was vastly larger. Florida and West Florida were now safely in American hands. The Gulf port of New Orleans was an American city; the nation stretched west from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains and beyond. Both the United States and Britain now claimed the Pacific Northwest, and eventually they would peacefully divide it. The Great Plains were populated by Indians, but by 1830 few Indians lived in the East. Tens of thousands of Indians had already been pushed west, into what later became Oklahoma and Arkansas, while others had been pushed north into New York, Michigan, and what would become Wisconsin. The stage was set for the final removal in the next decade—through Black Hawk's War and the Trail of Tears—of most of the Indians in the Southeast and the Midwest.

While the nation grew physically and prospered economically, it matured even more rapidly politically. The nation began with no political system at all. Each colony managed to create a system of self-government almost as soon as the Revolution began. Constitutions appeared in all but two of the new states; Rhode Island and Connecticut simply recycled their old charters. All the states experimented with the details of government, but all accepted basic principles: democratically elected representatives serving for defined terms of office. New states all had a governor, although the executive's power varied from place to place, as did terms of office and voting rights. Massachusetts allowed almost universal male suffrage, without regard to property or race; South Carolina limited voting to property-owning white men. Most other states were somewhere in the middle. About half of all states allowed free blacks to vote, and New Jersey initially allowed women to vote, but had taken that right away by 1812.

At the national level the Americans at first had a weak central government with few powers and little ability to control the actions of the individual states. After 1787 the national government grew stronger, under a constitution that was, as John Marshall put it, "intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs." And so it did, at least for another three decades, until finally the pressure of slavery undermined the compromises at the Constitutional Convention and brought the nation to civil war.

The ability of the nation, thirty years later, to survive the Civil War was in part due to the political structures created in the early national period. No one planned to have political parties, for example. In fact, the founders thought they were a bad idea. But they emerged quickly. More significantly, only a few of them emerged. The nation was not saddled with a plethora of parties, each holding a tiny slice of the political pie, collectively preventing a government from functioning. This lack of political options may have fostered a false sense of unity, as a majority of Americans denied class division and ignored racial oppression, but it had the advantage of creating a political system that worked. When Thomas Jefferson proclaimed in his inaugural address, "We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists," he was fundamentally right. He called a hard-fought and vicious presidential campaign a "contest of opinion," and noted that all Americans accepted the fundamental principles of self-government, freedom of expression, and the "sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression."

Citizens, and especially public figures, of the new nation were not always able to follow these principles. Jefferson himself relished the persecution and prosecution of some of his critics. More important, Jefferson could not imagine any of his two hundred slaves or the million other blacks in the nation being entitled to the rights of the majority. Nor would he have wanted Indians—the first Americans—to be the beneficiaries of his ideology. But, others in the nation could imagine those things and more. The legacy of the new nation was one of democratic self-government and the belief that ideas could be turned into practical solutions to make the nation a better place.

This encyclopedia is designed to explore these issues, and others, and to illuminate our understanding of how thirteen tiny colonies clinging to the Atlantic coast, evolved into a single nation spanning a continent.

The completion of these three volumes would not have been possible without the participation of the many scholars who have contributed their time and expertise to write for this project. Without their cooperation and willingness to share their knowledge and understanding of American history it would simply be impossible to create a reference tool like this one. My editorial board was also essential to

this project. Jan Lewis, Peter Onuf, Jeff Pasley, John Stagg, and Michael Zuckerman are all superb historians, important scholars, and as I learned when they read the entries I wrote, first-rate editors in their own right. They are also good friends and colleagues. I am honored that they agreed to work on this project and help create these volumes. Rita Langford, my own administrative assistant at the University of Tulsa College of Law was invaluable in the management of this project, and in so many others that I have worked on. Similarly, I thank John Wright, who claims to be my agent, but is really a friend and advisor. My editors at Scribners/Gale, John Fitzpatrick, and the project managers I worked with, Roberta Klarreich, Lisa Vecchione, and especially Erin Bealmear, were enormously helpful, as were Linda Hubbard and her entire production team. Most of all, I owe a special thanks to Frank Menchaca, who changed job titles, office, and even the city he lived in during the project, but was always available for consultation. One of the great bonuses of this project was the opportunity to spend time with Frank, and learn from him.

Paul Finkelman

Chronology

1754: The British Crown charters King's College in New York City; renamed Columbia College in 1784. New York Society Library established. French and Indian War begins when Virginia sends militia under Major George Washington to challenge French expansion in the Ohio valley; Washington surrenders after being surrounded by the French. Benjamin Franklin helps organize the Albany Congress to consider how colonists should respond to growing crisis in America between the English and the French. Franklin proposes coordinated efforts of the colonies through the Albany Plan of Union, which is rejected. Thomas Chippendale's pattern book for furniture, *The Gentleman and Cabinet-Maker's Director*, is published in London.

1755: French-speaking Acadians are deported from Acadia by the British; many migrate to Louisiana. The painter Gilbert Charles Stuart is born in North Kingstown, Rhode Island. Philadelphia Academy (later University of Pennsylvania) is chartered. General Braddock is defeated and killed in western Pennsylvania; Colonel George Washington leads defeated troops back to Virginia.

1756: War spreads to Europe. The Great Awakening in America ends.

1757: William Pitt becomes the first minister of Parliament in England. He decides to focus war efforts on America, ultimately sending twenty-four thousand troops to America. This is probably the largest European army created since the fall of the Roman Empire.

1758: Treaty of Easton; Cherokees attack colonists on the Virginia frontier. The British fail to capture Fort Ticonderoga. General James Wolfe, with nine thousand British troops, takes Louisbourg, Canada. In Pennsylvania, the French evacuate Fort Duquesne, blowing it up; the British rebuild, calling it Fort Pitt, which eventually leads to settlement at Pittsburgh.

1759: The French are defeated in upstate New York at Fort Niagara and Fort Ticonderoga; at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, British General Wolfe captures Quebec City; the French are effectively defeated in America. Wolfe dies in battle. Indian clergyman and missionary Samson Occom becomes a fully ordained Presbyterian minister.

1760: French forces capitulate at Montreal, surrendering Canada and its dependencies to Britain. Charles III becomes King of Spain; George III becomes king of Great Britain.

1761: Ottawa chief Pontiac rebels against the British.

1762: Spain declares war on Great Britain.

1763: Treaty of Paris; Spain cedes Florida to Great Britain; France cedes Louisiana to Spain and Acadia, Canada, and Cape Breton to Great Britain. George Grenville becomes Prime Minister; Britain issues Proclamation of 1763 forbidding colonists to settle west of the Appalachian Mountains until further land can be acquired from the Indians. Pontiac initiates pan-Indian rebellion against the British in the Ohio valley and the Great Lakes region. The Touro Synagogue opens in Newport, Rhode Island.

1763–1764: Pennsylvania frontiersmen, known as the Paxton Boys, massacre Conestoga Indians and march toward Philadelphia to attack Indians in protective custody there; they are dissuaded by Benjamin Franklin and others.

1764: Rhode Island College (later Brown University) is founded. Widespread colonial protest erupts when the British Parliament passes the Sugar Act, which in effect gives Great Britain a monopoly on the Anglo-American sugar market; the duty is lowered two years later, ending the protest. Britain imposes the Currency Act on colonies; the first boycotts are held against English products in the colonies.

1765: The first American medical school is founded in Philadelphia. Britain passes Quartering Act in May. The Stamp Act generates outrage in the colonies and is repealed in response to widespread colonial protest, including first colony-wide meeting, known as the Stamp Act Congress, in October. Sons of Liberty established to organize opposition to British colonial policy.

1766: In the Declaratory Act, Parliament asserts its "full power and authority over the colonies." The Stamp Act is repealed. The Daughters of Liberty established. New York to Philadelphia stagecoach route is established; the journey takes two days. Queens College (later Rutgers University) is founded. Pontiac signs peace treaty with the British.

1767: The New York Assembly is suspended for refusing to provide quarters for troops, as required by the 1765 Quartering Act. The Jesuits are expelled from Spanish territories; Franciscans take over the western missions. Daniel Boone explores the land west of the Cumberland Gap, in violation of the Proclamation of 1763. The Townshend Duties Act places customs duties on a number of items imported from England.

1768: The Massachusetts Assembly is dissolved for refusing to assist in the collection of taxes. The colonial General Court issued a circular letter to the other colonies calling the Townshend Duties unconstitutional. John Hancock's ship, *Liberty*, is seized by the British for violating navigation acts. Additional British regiments arrive. The Cherokees agree to a new border, and the Iroquois relinquish some land claims in New York.

1769: Junipero Serra founds the first Spanish mission in California at San Diego. Spain colonizes Alta, California. Pontiac killed. George Washington introduces Virginia Resolves in colonial legislature (House of Burgesses). Written by George Mason, the resolves assert that only the colonists can impose taxes in the colonies. Virginia leaders adopt the Virginia Association, a nonimportation agreement. Various colonists, and ultimately merchants, in Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, and Boston join in the boycott of British goods; for the entire year, the value of imports from England drops by 40 percent to 50 percent throughout the colonies.

1770: Most import boycotts end as the Townshend duties are repealed for everything but tea; Bostonians boycott tea, but the movement does not spread to the other colonies. Riots in New York City between the Sons of Liberty and British troops; Boston Massacre leads to the death of five civilians.

1771: North Carolina "regulators" fight government forces at the Battle of Alamance, near Hillsboro; a few of the regulator leaders are executed. Permanent Moravian missions for Labrador Eskimos are founded. Conflicts between England and the colonies die down; trade resumes.

1772: British revenue cutter *Gaspe* burns off the coast of Rhode Island; committees of correspondence established. In Massachusetts, Governor Thomas Hutchinson arranges to have his salary paid by Britain, thus eliminating part of the colonial home rule. In *Somerset v. Stewart*, Britain's highest court declares that any slave brought to England can claim his or her freedom because slavery can only exist if there is a positive law to support it, which England does not have.

1773: The Boston Tea Party occurs; the colonists protest the duty on tea by dumping a shipload into Boston Harbor. A hospital for the insane is built in Williamsburg. *Poems on Various*

Subjects, Religious and Moral by Phillis Wheatley of Boston, a slave taken from Senegal, is published in London; Wheatley is manumitted by her Boston master in the summer of 1773.

1774: The British government fires Benjamin Franklin as deputy postmaster for the colonies because of his open hostility to English policies. The first Continental Congress meets at Philadelphia, with representatives from all of the colonies, except Georgia; Lord Dunmore's War forces the Shawnee Indians into a peace that facilitates the British settlement of Kentucky. "Mother Ann Lee," founder of the Shakers, arrives in America from England. The Coercive Acts close the port of Boston. The Quebec Act threatens the colonies by providing a permanent civil government and granting religious toleration to Catholics in Canada. The Quartering Act legalizes the use of private homes for quartering British troops. The colonies begin to prepare for armed resistance.

1774–1793: Louis XIV reigns in France.

1775: The Second Continental Congress assembles in Philadelphia, again without Georgia. British troops and American militia battle at Lexington and Concord, in Massachusetts. The American Revolution beings; George Washington is made commander in chief of the American army. The Americans capture Fort Ticonderoga. The Battle of Bunker Hill forces Americans out of Boston, but due to the high number of casualties British troops are unable to remain in city. King George III refuses the Olive Branch Petition. The Continental Congress establishes a navy and later the Marine Corps. In Virginia, Lord Dunmore offers freedom to slaves who will join the British army and fight against their masters. Americans invade Canada and are forced to retreat in 1776. Casimir Pulaski arrives from Poland to fight for Patriot cause.

1776: Adam Smith's *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* is published in London; Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* is published in Philadelphia. The British evacuate Boston; the British army invades the South. In July, Congress adopts the Declaration of Independence. The British force Washington out of New York in a series of battles in and around New York City. Washington retreats to Pennsylvania after a series of defeats; on Christmas Eve he moves into New Jersey after the dangerous nighttime crossing of the Delaware River, surprises the British, and wins battles at Trenton and Princeton in early 1777.

1777: Bowing to military force, the Cherokee Indians cede lands to North and South Carolina. Vermont declares its independence from New York. New Hampshire adopts a constitution that prohibits slavery and allows all adult men to vote. European trained officers begin to arrive in America to fight on the Patriot side, including the Marquis de Lafayette, Johann De Kalb, and, Thaddeus Koscuiusko. Congress decides on a flag. The Americans are defeated at Brandywine, allowing the British to occupy Philadelphia and forcing Congress to flee in September. The Americans are defeated at Germantown; Washington retreats to Valley Forge for the winter. In the north, British General "Gentleman" Johnny Burgoyne invades New York state from Canada; the Battle of Oriskany stops the force of Indians under Chief Joseph and Loyalists in central New York; the British are defeated at the Battle of Bennington. In October, Burgoyne's army is defeated and captured at Saratoga, which is often seen as the turning point of the war. Congress adopts the Articles of Confederation and sends them to the states for ratification.

1778: Captain James Cook explores the Northwest coast. Washington winters in Valley Forge. France approves alliance with America. Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Stueben arrives to join Washington's army and to train troops. General Henry Clinton assumes command of the British forces in America, and in June the British evacuate Philadelphia. The Battle of Monmouth is effectively a draw, but shows that American troops are far better trained after working with von Steuben. General George Rogers Clark captures Kankaskia in the West; the British move south, and capture Savannah.

1779: In January, the British capture Augusta, which the Americans retake in May; Benedict Arnold begins to secretly work for the British; Spain declares war against Great Britain. General John Sullivan destroys Indians in Pennsylvania and New York who are supporting the British, and eliminates the Iroquois as a significant military threat. John Paul Jones defeats and captures the British ship *Serapis* off the coast of England; he returns a hero. The Americans fail to retake Savannah; Count Pulaski is killed in battle; French admiral, Comte Jean Baptiste d'Estaing is wounded. The British evacuate

Rhode Island in an attempt to shift strategy to holding the South for the empire. Washington winters in Morristown, New Jersey.

1780: The British capture Charleston, taking about 5,500 Americans prisoner. French Comte de Rochambeau arrives with five thousand troops, landing at Newport, Rhode Island. The Americans are defeated at Camden, South Carolina, with about two thousand Americans killed or captured; Americans later defeat combined British and Loyalist forces at Kings Mountain, in North Carolina, forcing British troops under Cornwallis back to South Carolina. General Nathaniel Greene replaces Horatio Gates as the commander of the American troops in the South. The Benedict Arnold conspiracy is exposed; British courier Major John Andre is captured and hanged outside of New York City. Pennsylvania passes the first gradual abolition act in the country; the Massachusetts Constitution indirectly prohibits slavery in the state with a clause declaring that all people are born "free and equal."

1781: General George Washington defeats British troops led by General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, effectively ending any British hope of winning the war. The Articles of Confederation are ratified.

1782: Lord North's ministry falls in Britain; peace talks begin in France, with Benjamin Franklin joined by John Adams and John Jay; preliminary peace pact, the Treaty of Versailles, signed in November. Great Britain recognizes the independence of the United States of America. Florida is returned to Spain. Britain begins to evacuate former colonies as war dies down; some fighting between Indians loyal to Britain and the United States continues.

1783: The war officially ends; British troops evacuate New York City, taking about four thousand former slaves with them; British troops leaving the Deep South evacuate about another ten thousand former slaves; more than one hundred thousand white loyalists also leave. The Continental Army disbands; Washington resigns as commander in chief and retires to Virginia declaring that he will never again seek public office. The New Hampshire Constitution contains the words "free and equal clause" which soon ends slavery there.

1784: The province of New Brunswick is established in British North America to accommodate Loyalists. Connecticut and Rhode Island pass gradual abolition laws. The first U.S. ships reach China, expanding American commerce to Asia. The U.S. capital is moved temporarily to New York City.

1785: Congress (under the Articles of Confederation) passes the Land Ordinance for the Northwest Territory; the United States and Spain begin negotiations, which ultimately fail, on the Florida boundary and navigation on the Mississippi River. John Adams becomes the U.S. ambassador for Britain; Thomas Jefferson becomes the U.S. ambassador to France. James Madison's "Memorian and Remonstrance" on religious freedom undermines the concept of an established church in Virginia and elsewhere.

1786: Jean-Francois de Galaup, Comte de La Pesrouse, leads an expedition to the Pacific, exploring the coasts of Alaska and California before continuing west. Virginia effectively disestablishes its official church with the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. Delegates from five states meet at the Annapolis Convention to discuss revising the Articles of Confederation; the convention fails but sets the stage for the Constitutional Convention. Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts closes courthouses and frightens elites in the United States before being suppressed.

1787: Delegates from 12 of 13 states (Rhode Island never sends a delegation) meet in Philadelphia, and throughout the summer, write the U.S. Constitution. Congress meets in New York and passes the Northwest Ordinance to regulate settlement north of Ohio; the ordinance includes a ban on slavery in the territory. James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay begin to publish the Federalist Papers to gain support for the Constitution. Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey ratify the new Constitution.

1788: Bread riots occur in France.

1788–1808: Charles IV reigns in Spain. By 11 July thirteen states have ratified the new Constitution; the tenth and eleventh states, Virginia and New York, are crucial for success of the new government, which goes into effect by September. Elections are held for a new Congress and the first president.

1789: The French Revolution begins. Presidential electors unanimously choose George Washington as the nation's first president; John Adams becomes vice president; both are sworn-in at Federal Hall, in New York City, the tempo-

rary location for the national capital. Congress writes the Bill of Rights and sends it to the states for ratification. Congress creates various government departments. North Carolina becomes the twelfth state to ratify the Constitution. A Spanish expedition under Alejandro Malaspina explores the West Coast from Prince William Sound (Alaska) to Monterey (California); Alexander Mackenzie reaches the mouth of the Mackenzie River and then the Pacific Coast in two overland journeys from the East.

1790: The U.S. government continues to be organized. Congress accepts Hamilton's proposal to fund all of the state and national debts from the Revolution. Congress agrees to move capital back to Philadelphia, but only for ten years, and then to locate permanent national capital further south, along the Potomac River. The first national census is compiled. Rhode Island becomes the last of original states to ratify the Constitution.

1791: The Bank of the United States is established over the objections of Madison and Jefferson. Congress passes the Whiskey Tax, which adversely affects Western farmers. Vermont enters the Union as the first new state. Arthur St. Clair is defeated by Indians in Ohio. The Constitution Act is passed; Britain divides the province of Quebec into Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario).

1792: General "Mad" Anthony Wayne commissioned to suppress Indians in Ohio. Jefferson and Hamilton openly feud; political parties begin to emerge. Washington re-elected for second term. Kentucky becomes the fifteenth state. Captain George Vancouver explores the west coast of Canada. Following slave revolts in the French Antilles, Louisiana prohibits the importation of slaves from the French Caribbean colonies. The Parliament of Upper Canada votes for the gradual abolition of slavery.

1793: Congress passes the first fugitive slave law. Hamilton and Madison engage in newspaper debate over presidential power, Madison writing as "Helvidius" and Hamilton as "Pacificus." Ely Whitney invents the cotton gin. Washington issues proclamation of neutrality in the war between France and England. The French envoy to the U.S., Citizen Genet, hints that there is a "French party" in the United States, which leads to a backlash against France; the United States plans to expel Genet, but does not when the "reign of terror" begins in France and he is sub-

ject to execution. The Supreme Court decision in *Chisolm v. Georgia* leads to a huge backlash and a proposed constitutional amendment. Jefferson resigns from cabinet.

1794: The Eleventh Amendment is ratified; the Neutrality Act is passed, which forbids United States' citizens from serving in foreign armies. The Whiskey Rebellion is suppressed, showing the power of the U.S. government to enforce its own laws. Jay's Treaty settles the remaining issues between England and the United States. The British finally evacuate forts in the Great Lakes basin. Slavery is abolished in the French colonies.

1795: Washington's cabinet is reorganized; Hamilton resigns. General Anthony Wayne defeats Indians in the Northwest, forcing them to sign treaties; the Cherokees sign a treaty in the South, ceding lands. Hearing rumors of Haitian independence and abolition in the French colonies, slaves in Pointe-Coupee (Spanish Louisiana) plan a revolt. Treaty of San Lorenzo (Pinckney's Treaty) finally settles boundary with Florida and the United States, but fails to resolve questions of U.S. navigation rights on the Mississippi River.

1796: Washington refuses to seek a third term, setting a precedent for the next century and a half. Washington issues his farewell address, warning of foreign entanglements. The first contested presidential election occurs; John Adams wins, but his rival, Thomas Jefferson, becomes vice president.

1797: Adams inaugurated as the second president. The XYZ affair brings France and the United States to the brink of war.

1798: An undeclared naval war with France begins. Congress passes the Alien and Sedition Acts; the Alien Enemies Act is aimed at possible war with France; other Alien Acts and Sedition Act are aimed at suppressing support for Jefferson in upcoming election; Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions attack the legitimacy of the Sedition Act. Tennessee enters the Union.

1799: The Logan Act prohibits U.S. citizens not authorized by national government from conducting diplomatic negotiations with foreign powers. Fries's Rebellion suppressed. Fries convicted of treason, sentenced to death, but sentence commuted by President Adams. The Russian–American Company is chartered and given a monopoly to conduct trade in Alaska.

1800: The United States population is 5.3 million, 1 million of whom are African American. Approximately 75 percent of the U.S. labor force is engaged in agriculture. The federal government moves to Washington, D.C. The Harrison Land Act offers sale of lands in the public domain at two dollars per acre for 320-acre tracts. In May, Congress divides the original Northwest Territory, creating the Indiana Territory to the West, as a response to the swift migration of Americans to take up settlements under the Land Act. Gabriel Prosser plans a large-scale slave uprising in Virginia, but slave informants and torrential rains avert the rebellion. Southern farmers produce seventy-three thousand bales of cotton.

1801: Thomas Jefferson is inaugurated as the third president of the United States; it is the first time in the history of the modern world that an opposition party replaces an existing government in a peaceful transition. The first Barbary War, a four-year conflict between the United States and Tripoli, begins when President Jefferson refuses to pay increased demands for tribute to pirates. The Cane Ridge Revival in Bourbon County, Kentucky, draws thousands of participants and marks the beginning of the religious revivalist movement known as the Second Great Awakening.

1802: President Jefferson oversees acts of Congress establishing the Library of Congress and formally establishing the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. Washington, D.C., is incorporated as a city. Nathaniel Bowditch publishes *The New American Practical Navigator*. Tlingit Indians capture and destroy the Russian town of New Archangel (Sitka) on Baranof Island.

1803: Ohio is admitted as the seventeenth state in the Union (the first state carved out of the Northwest Territory). The United States takes possession of the Louisiana Territories (828,000 square miles), purchased for $15 million from France, doubling the area of the United States. *Marbury v. Madison* establishes the Supreme Court's power to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional.

1804: Ratification of the Twelfth Amendment institutes separate ballots for president and vice president. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark leave St. Louis in May on a federally funded expedition to explore the lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase and find a water route to the Pacific Ocean. Alexander Hamilton is killed by Aaron Burr in a duel.

1805: The *Essex* decision by the British admiralty rules that neutral ships with enemy cargo aboard are liable to capture even if the cargo is being transshipped via U.S. ports; British warships and privateers begin patrolling the U.S. coast to seize American ships carrying French and Spanish goods; Britain increases impressment of U.S. sailors (alleging them deserters from the Royal Navy). Unitarianism, the theological "left wing" of Congregationalism, becomes the official religious position at Harvard College when the liberal Henry Ware is appointed to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity. Thousands attend a Methodist camp meeting at Smyrna, Delaware. The Free Public School Society of New York is established.

1806: Congress passes the Non-Importation Act (effective in December 1807) prohibiting the importation from Britain of items that can be produced in the United States or imported from other countries. The Lewis and Clark expedition returns in September, having demonstrated the feasibility of traveling overland from the East to the Pacific Ocean. Zebulon Pike leads an expedition to the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers (sighting Pike's Peak in Colorado along the way) that lasts into 1807 and results in a report that stimulates expansion into Texas. Asher Benjamin's *American Builder's Companion* is published.

1807: The U.S.S. *Chesapeake* is sunk by British ships in American water. American trade with Britain is prohibited by the Embargo Act, which forbids U.S. ships from sailing to foreign ports. Former vice president Aaron Burr, who in 1806 was charged with conspiring to raise troops and build a personal empire from disputed Spanish territories in the West, is acquitted after a sensational trial; Supreme Court Justice John Marshall leads the decision that Burr's actions did not meet the strict constitutional definition for treason. Robert Fulton's *Clermont* inaugurates commercial steamboat navigation with a round trip on the Hudson River between New York and Albany.

1808: The slave population reaches one million. Congress formally abolishes the Atlantic slave trade. Jefferson increases the size of the U.S. Army to control smuggling into Canada. A massive internal improvements plan proposed by Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin calls

for $30 million in federal financing to construct a turnpike from present-day Maine to Georgia, an intercoastal waterway running roughly parallel to the turnpike, and a system of roads crossing the Appalachian Mountains at several key places; the plan aims to make major improvements to the navigability of the major east-west river systems of the Appalachians and to develop a system of canals linking these rivers to the Great Lakes. Congress grants a monopoly on trade throughout Minnesota to John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. The Bible Society of Philadelphia, the first Bible society in the United States, is founded. Andover Seminary, America's first postgraduate theological school, opens to safeguard conservative Calvinist theology in response to Harvard's Unitarianism.

1809: James Madison is inaugurated as the fourth president of the United States. The Non-Intercourse Act bans trade with Great Britain and France; the economically disastrous Embargo Act is repealed. U.S. parochial school education is introduced with the founding by Elizabeth Ann Seton of a free Catholic elementary school in Baltimore.

1810: The United States population is 7.2 million. Western Florida declares independence and is annexed by the United States. The Supreme Court in *Fletcher v. Peck* invalidates a state law as unconstitutional for the first time. Dissident Presbyterians form the evangelical, prorevivalist Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The tradition of the American agricultural fair is initiated with the opening of the Berkshire Cattle Show in Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

1811: The First Bank of the United States (created by Congress in 1791) is allowed to expire. Congress meets secretly to make plans to annex Spanish East Florida. An uprising of more than four hundred slaves is put down in New Orleans; sixty-six blacks are killed. The Cumberland Road from Maryland to Wheeling, Virginia, is started as part of the federal program to improve canals, roads, and bridges, but the rest of the 1808 Gallatin Plan is tabled. General William Henry Harrison defeats Shawnees in Indiana at the Battle of Tippecanoe. The fur baron John Jacob Astor and a group of settlers found the first white community in the Pacific Northwest, at Astoria, Oregon; another group of colonists settles at Cape Disappointment, Washington.

1812: In April, the United States burns Toronto and takes control of the Great Lakes at the Battle of York. At the urging of the president and a small number of "war hawks," but with all Federalists in opposition, the United States declares war ("Mr. Madison's War") on Great Britain (18 June). The first war bonds are issued, and the first interest-bearing Treasury notes are authorized. Louisiana is admitted as the eighteenth state in the Union (the first state created from the lands of the Louisiana Purchase). The Russian-American Company maintains a base at Fort Ross, in northern California.

1813: The American Indian chief Tecumseh is killed, leading to the fall of the Native American federation and the end of Indian support for the British in the war with the United States. Simeon North is awarded a U.S. government contract for twenty thousand pistols, to be made with interchangeable parts. The first ironclad ship is built by John Stevens, in Hoboken, New Jersey.

1814: The British capture Washington, D.C., burning the White House and the Capitol building and forcing President Madison to flee the city. New England Federalists opposed to the War of 1812 assemble at the Hartford Convention and reverse the party's earlier nationalist position by calling for states' rights and a weak central government. The Treaty of Ghent on 24 December ends the stalemated war between the United States and Great Britain, restoring prewar territorial conditions. Emma Hart Willard opens Middlebury Female Seminary in Vermont to offer young women classical and scientific studies at a collegiate level. Ferdinand VII becomes King of Spain.

1815: Unaware that a peace treaty has ended the War of 1812, General Andrew Jackson's troops defeat British forces at the Battle of New Orleans and Jackson becomes a national hero. Stephen Decatur leads a successful expedition to end the Second Barbary War, a conflict between the United States and Algeria that began during the War of 1812 when the dey of Algiers plundered American commerce in the Mediterranean. The United States has a total of thirty miles of railroad track.

1816: The Second Bank of the United States is chartered by Congress and creates a uniform national currency. Indiana (formerly part of the Northwest Territory) is admitted as the nineteenth state in the Union. Congress passes a tar-

iff bill that imposes a high import duty on foreign manufactures in order to give American industries a competitive advantage in the domestic market. The Supreme Court case *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* establishes the Court's power to review the constitutionality of state civil court decisions. The American Colonization Society is established with the aim of returning free blacks to Africa. The African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) is organized in Philadelphia. The American Bible Society is established.

1817: James Monroe is inaugurated as the fifth president of the United States. Mississippi is admitted as the twentieth state in the Union. The Rush–Bagot Agreement between the United States and Great Britain sets limits on naval power on the Great Lakes. The First Seminole War begins, with Seminole Indians battling American settlers along the border of Georgia and Spanish Florida. The New York Stock and Exchange Board (renamed the New York Stock Exchange in 1863) is created.

1818: Illinois (formerly part of the Northwest Territory) is admitted as the twenty-first state in the Union. The Convention of 1818 establishes the forty-ninth parallel as the northwest boundary between American and the British territory from Lake of the Woods (on the Minnesota-Ontario border) to the Rocky Mountains. The U.S. flag is adopted, with thirteen red and white alternating stripes and a star for each state.

1819: Alabama is admitted as the twenty-second state in the Union. Spain cedes Florida to the United States as a result of the Adams-Onís Treaty. The Civilization Act formalizes federal policy to assimilate Indians into American society. The Supreme Court case of *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* establishes constitutional protection for corporations. Financial panic sets off an economic depression that lasts into 1822. The *Savannah*, sailing from Savannah, Georgia, to Liverpool, England, becomes the first steamship to cross the Atlantic. Jethro Wood patents a cast-iron plow that features replaceable parts at points of greatest wear.

1820: The United States population is 9.6 million; the U.S. Bureau of Census begins recording immigration statistics. The Missouri Compromise admits Maine (formerly a district of Massachusetts) to the Union as a nonslave state (the twenty-third state in the Union), balanced by agreement that Missouri will enter the Union (in 1821) as a state with no restrictions on slavery. The federal Land Act sets the price for public lands at $1.25 per acre and the number of acres for purchase at eighty. Southern farmers produce 334,000 bales of cotton. The first African Americans from the United States to be recolonized in Africa arrive in Liberia. Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" introduces a new literary form, the short story. George IV becomes King of England.

1821: Missouri is admitted as the twenty-fourth state in the Union. Spain sells eastern Florida to the United States for $5 million. The Santa Fe Trail, blazed by William Becknell, opens the Southwest to trade. The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church is organized in New York City. The first public high school in the United States is established by vote at a special town meeting in Boston. Mexican independence is proclaimed by the Mexican Assembly.

1822: Denmark Vesey, a free black, and thirty-four other blacks, mostly slaves, are hung in Charleston, South Carolina, for an alleged conspiracy to start a slave rebellion. Stephen Austin founds the first settlement of Americans in Texas ("the Old Three Hundred") with the legal sanction of the Mexican government. The first section of the Erie Canal, stretching from Rochester to Albany, opens in New York State.

1823: President Monroe gives an address (the Monroe Doctrine) warning European powers to stay out of the Western Hemisphere and advising that colonization or interference by European governments in the internal affairs of North and South America would be considered an act of aggression against the United States. Clement Moore's Christmas poem "A Visit from St. Nicholas" appears anonymously in a Troy, New York, newspaper and becomes an overnight sensation that launches the American idea of "Santa Claus."

1824: No contender in the presidential election (among candidates Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay) gains a majority of the vote; the election is decided by the House of Representatives. Congress passes the Tariff Act to protect American industry from foreign competition. Thomas L. Kenney is appointed to head the newly created Bureau of Indian Affairs, an administrational entity within the U.S. War Department. The American Sunday School

Union is formed. Russia relinquishes claims to territory in the Pacific Northwest.

1825: John Quincy Adams is inaugurated as the sixth president of the United States. Completion of the Erie Canal, 363 miles from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, gives farmers near the Great Lakes access to New York City. The first woman's labor organization is formed by women working in New York City's garment industry. The American Unitarian Association is founded in Boston as an institution separate from the Congregational Church. Stephen F. Austin begins migration of Americans to Texas. Father Ivan Veniaminov builds the first church in the Aleutian Islands.

1826: Founding fathers Thomas Jefferson and John Adams die on the same day, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Light sentencing for the murderers of a renegade Freemason who had threatened to reveal fraternity rituals creates an anti-Masonic backlash; the first national third party, the Anti-Masonic Party, is formed in Batavia, New York. The American Temperance Society is founded.

1827: The Supreme Court rules in *Martin v. Mott* that the president has sole authority to call out the militia. John James Audubon publishes the first volume of his five-volume *Birds of North America*.

1828: Congress passes the Tariff Act, which is called the "Tariff of Abominations" by its southern opponents. Construction of the first passenger railroad in America, from Baltimore to Ohio, begins. Noah Webster publishes his *American Dictionary of the English Language*.

1829: Andrew Jackson is inaugurated as the seventh president of the United States; an unruly crowd of celebrants mobs the White House at his reception. The postmaster general is elevated to cabinet rank. Congress authorizes construction of the first post office building, in Newport, Rhode Island. America's first true locomotive runs on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE NORTH

The American Revolution is regarded as the precipitating factor in the abolition of northern slavery. However, more than a century of arguments and measures to restrict both the trade in slaves and the institution of slavery preceded the emergence of Revolutionary-era antislavery sentiment, and abolition met powerful resistance in nearly every northern colony and state.

COLONIAL ANTISLAVERY SENTIMENT

Several colonies periodically attempted to restrict the importation of slaves out of fear of slave rebellions, to encourage European immigration, or to prevent miscegenation. There were also a few very early attempts to prohibit slavery outright, but these were widely ignored.

Among religious sects, the Society of Friends led the opposition to slavery, and by 1787 northern Quakers had become the one major sect whose members did not hold slaves on principle. Some Puritans, too, became convinced that slavery was incompatible with Christianity. Judge Samuel Sewall's pamphlet, *The Selling of Joseph* (1700), provoked a brief interest in abolition in Massachusetts but ultimately convinced few slaveholders to free their slaves. Nonetheless, religious opposition grew slowly through the eighteenth century.

People of color themselves were the most vehement opponents of slavery. Beginning in the early 1700s, slaves sent a steady stream of freedom petitions to colonial assemblies and pressed lawsuits seeking their freedom based on a variety of arguments.

ABOLITION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The American Revolution finally produced conditions under which the cause of abolition could gain public support. Antislavery advocates argued that the Revolutionary ideology of natural rights applied equally well to slaves, and the war itself disrupted trade and made slavery less important economically. As first steps toward abolition, many colonies moved to prohibit the importation of slaves. In 1774 the first Continental Congress banned the importation of slaves into all the colonies as part of a general trade boycott designed to force Britain to repeal the Intolerable Acts. Other measures included banning the participation of state residents in the international slave trade and removing or softening restrictions on manumitting slaves. During the war a few states, notably Rhode Island and Connecticut, also offered freedom in exchange for enlistment.

Measures intended explicitly to bring slavery to an end took several forms, including constitutional prohibition, legislative enactment, and judicial decision. In Vermont, the constitution of 1777 declared all men to be born equally free and independent and is generally considered to have abolished slavery outright; however, the first chapter of its bill of rights, stating that no person should be held as a "servant slave or apprentice" after reaching twenty-one years of age if male or eighteen if female, suggests that this was a conditional abolition.

After several failed attempts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut enacted *post nati* or "after birth" statutes that limited the period of servitude of children born to slaves after a specific date but left slaves born before that date enslaved for life. In Pennsylvania, the 1780 gradual abolition bill freed slaves' children at twenty-eight. It also freed slaves not registered by their owners by 1 November 1780. In 1840 there were still more than forty slaves in Pennsylvania, and a few persons may have remained enslaved there until the Civil War. Both Rhode Island and Connecticut freed children born to slaves after 1 March 1784 upon reaching their majority—eighteen for females and twenty-one for males in Rhode Island, twenty-five (reduced to twenty-one in 1797) for all children in Connecticut. Unlike Pennsylvania, these two states brought slavery to a definitive end by passing final abolition bills in 1842 and 1848, respectively.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire enacted state constitutions with declarations of rights that seemed to prohibit slavery. In Massachusetts, a series of freedom suits brought on behalf of Quok Walker eventually resulted in a 1783 court decision that the 1780 constitution granted rights incompatible with slavery and therefore slavery was abolished "as effectively as it can be without resorting to implication in constructing the constitution." The wording of this decision was so ambiguous that slaves continued to be sold in Massachusetts for several years. In New Hampshire, no records survive of legal cases construing a similar clause in the 1783 constitution. Slaves were taxed as property there until 1789, and 158 slaves were reported in the state census in 1790, although by then the institution was all but dead in the state.

ABOLITION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

In New York and New Jersey, abolition was bitterly resisted and several abolition bills were defeated. New York finally passed an act providing that all children born to slaves after 4 July 1799 would be free at twenty-eight if male, twenty-five if female. Abandoned children were to be supported by the state (but could be bound out to masters, who would be paid for their support—a thinly disguised form of compensated emancipation repealed in 1804). In 1817 a new statute provided that all slaves born before 4 July 1799 would be free in 1827, thus ending slavery in the state in that year. In New Jersey, a gradual abolition statute was passed freeing children born to slaves after 1 July 1804, at the age of twenty-five if male and twenty-one if female. Here, too, an abandonment clause provided the equivalent of compensation to owners but was repealed later in the year. In 1846 the New Jersey legislature passed a bill that ostensibly emancipated all remaining slaves but placed them in a state of permanent apprenticeship. The last "apprentices" in New Jersey were freed by the Thirteenth Amendment.

There were slaves in the territories of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, too, even though slavery was formally prohibited there by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. When Ohio was admitted to the Union in 1803, its new constitution outlawed slavery. The territorial governments of Indiana and Illinois recognized a "voluntary" system of servitude whereby slaves were indentured to their masters for long periods. While the Indiana constitution of 1816 and the Illinois constitution of 1818 officially prohibited slavery, the prohibitions were widely interpreted not to apply either to voluntary servitude or to descendants of French slaves present when the territories were organized. In Indiana, a few slaves were still reported in the census of 1840. In Illinois, slavery was finally abolished by the state supreme court in the case of *Jarrot v. Jarrot* in 1845.

Once free, many people of color continued to work for their former owners and also to live in their houses, but within a few years most moved elsewhere, forming communities on the margins of white society in northern cities and towns. The slow demise of slavery and the ambiguity surrounding the status of people of color fostered a transfer of whites' behaviors and attitudes toward slaves to an emerging population of free people of color. Throughout the North, state laws regulating the behavior, limiting the movement, and restricting the suffrage of free people of color came into effect as formal slavery ended, and more than one hundred violent attacks by whites on communities of color were recorded between 1820 and 1850. Nonetheless, many northern blacks succeeded in forming schools, churches, and other institutions and in mounting an aggressive rhetorical attack on southern slavery.

See also **Abolition Societies; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barnhart, John D. *Valley of Democracy: The Frontier versus the Plantation in the Ohio Valley, 1775–1818.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953.

Dunn, Jacob P. *Indiana: A Redemption from Slavery.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888.

Harper, Douglas. "Slavery in the North." Available at http://www.slavenorth.com.

McManus, Edgar. *Black Bondage in the North.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1973.

Nash, Gary B., and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Joanne Pope Melish

ABOLITION SOCIETIES   While America's first abolitionists remain relatively anonymous when compared to their famous antebellum counter-parts—including William Lloyd Garrison, Frederick Douglass, and Lydia Maria Child—they are no less important. Indeed, even a man like Garrison would have saluted his predecessors in the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (PAS) for initiating the antislavery struggle in the nation's earliest years—an era when many citizens and statesmen wished to avoid national attacks on slavery for fear they would split apart the new Republic. These early abolitionist groups, which operated most consistently in the North and, fleetingly, in various southern locales, organized national conventions beginning in 1794. They represented endangered blacks in myriad legal cases in both the North and South and petitioned both state and federal governments on issues ranging from ending the overseas and domestic slave trades to eradicating bondage in the nation's capital, Washington, D.C.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF ABOLITIONISTS

While attacks on bondage by enslaved people, religious figures, and pamphleteers date as far back as the 1600s, abolitionism as an organized movement began in the late colonial era when Pennsylvania Quakers decided to ban slaveholding members from attending meetings of the Society of Friends. By the closing decades of the eighteenth century, other religious dissenters had joined Quakers to form the foundations of early American abolition societies in Pennsylvania, New York, Rhode Island, Delaware, and even Maryland and Virginia. As David Brion Davis, the leading scholar of antislavery movements, has argued in *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (1975), "in the 1760s, black slavery was sanctioned by Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian and reformed churchman and theologians." But even if most Americans did not join abolitionist groups, by the 1800s antislavery debates had occurred not just among Quakers but also Methodists, Baptists, Anglicans, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians. While Quakers formed the backbone of the PAS, the leading antislavery organization of the early Republic, they "reached out to every neighborhood and church" in Philadelphia for "additional members," according to Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund in *Freedom by Degrees* (1991).

In New York City, Quakers and Anglicans together provided over half of the membership of the New York Manumission Society. In Rhode Island, both Quakers and Congregationalists supported gradual abolition laws in the 1780s.

LOCATIONS OF ABOLITION ORGANIZATIONS

Early abolitionism operated primarily in northern urban locales. The PAS was formed in Philadelphia in 1775 (and reformed in 1784), the New York Manumission Society was established in New York City in 1784, and the Rhode Island Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery was created in Providence in 1789. Abolitionist groups also formed in Connecticut (1790) and New Jersey (1793). By 1793, smaller societies existed in Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia. The growth of abolitionist movements throughout the North and Upper South (no group existed in Georgia or South Carolina) led to the creation of the American Convention of Abolition Societies in 1794. Over the next forty years, abolitionists would meet annually and biennially (often in Philadelphia) to share abolitionist laws and literature, plot strategies and tactics, and address free black communities. The PAS remained the single largest abolitionist group of the early national era, with annual membership often reaching over one hundred people (and sometimes much more). Additionally, the PAS could count both middling men (artisans and shopkeepers) and "worthies" (including Benjamin Franklin, who served as the group's president before his death in 1790) among its ranks.

GRADUAL ABOLITION

The nation's first abolition groups sought to end slavery gradually. As Gary B. Nash has put it in *Race and Revolution* (1990), "the view developed by post-1830 abolitionists that no man should be rewarded for ceasing to commit a sin had little currency at the time." In other words, few early abolitionist leaders embraced the immediate ending of bondage. Emancipation statutes passed in northern states at the close of the eighteenth century reflected prevailing gradualist beliefs. These state laws provided that slaves would be liberated only at a future date. In Pennsylvania, which adopted the world's first gradual abolition law in 1780 (revised in 1784), freedom came for women at age nineteen and for men at age twenty-one. Most northern locales passed similar gradualist statutes over the next twenty years, with variations on the deadline for the liberation of enslaved people. Rhode Island passed such a law in 1784, as did Connecticut (revised in 1797). New York followed in 1799 (revised in 1817) and New Jersey in 1804. Vermont's Constitution of 1777 had gradualist language but was interpreted to have outlawed bondage, while New Hampshire eradicated slavery via constitutional interpretation. Massachusetts famously ended slavery by judicial decree in 1783 after several slaves sued for freedom in state courts. New northern states like Ohio, Illinois, and Maine entered the Union with constitutional bans on slavery.

Southern abolitionists tried to make their states follow these examples, but with little success. Operating in a circumscribed arena (Virginia and Maryland alone accounted for nearly 300,000 slaves in 1790), their calls for gradual emancipation laws appeared too radical in the South. As late as the fall of 1827, for instance, one could still find abolitionists in Alexandria, Virginia. Nevertheless, as they wrote to the PAS, their group attracted only nineteen members and was forced by the prevailing local opinion to concentrate not on agitating slavery's end by legislation but on helping free blacks illegally held in bondage and on gently "diffusing among our fellow citizens more just views on the subject of slavery." The very name of the group—the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for Improving the Condition of the People of Color—suggested the tricky line southern abolitionists walked. Nevertheless, abolition societies from Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and Kentucky sent representatives to national abolition conventions. And while no southern state ever adopted a gradual abolition statute, some did ease emancipation restrictions during the early Republic. In 1782 Virginia rescinded a law that forbade private manumissions without legislative approval. The result

over the next several decades was the liberation of perhaps as many as from four thousand to six thousand enslaved people.

If early abolitionists failed to end slavery nationally, they did help to sectionalize the institution politically and legally by sending northern slavery on the road to extinction. The total number of slaves liberated in northern locales was roughly forty thousand (although hard numbers are difficult to come by, for devious masters often sold slaves South before emancipation statutes matured). By the early 1800s, enough fugitive slaves had attempted to reach "free" Pennsylvania from various Chesapeake locales that masters increasingly complained about northern abolitionist "meddlers." During the 1820s, the Maryland legislature even petitioned Pennsylvania to curtail abolitionist legal maneuverings on blacks' behalf.

One of the most neglected achievements of early abolitionists, then, was their protection of state abolition laws. Pennsylvania reformers had to hold the line against several slaveholder-inspired efforts either to curtail gradual abolition statutes in the legislature or have them declared unconstitutional at the state supreme court. The PAS also remained vigilant against masters' efforts to find loopholes in state abolitionist laws. In the 1790s, for example, Pennsylvania legislators considered whether or not to let Haitian slave masters enter the state with temporary immunity from abolition laws. That measure was defeated after abolitionists mobilized opposition. (However, Haitian masters were allowed into slave states such as South Carolina.)

LEGAL ASSISTANCE TO BLACKS

Perhaps the most neglected aspect of early abolitionist activism was legal aid to African Americans. The PAS and New York Manumission Society took the lead in representing kidnapped blacks and, on certain occasions, runaway slaves in courts of law. Early abolitionist legal maneuvering stemmed from black activism on the ground. When northern masters attempted to subvert abolition laws (for example, by claiming that they had moved to a northern locale only recently and were thus immune from emancipation laws), abolitionist lawyers stepped in, often garnering slaves their freedom. In other cases, abolitionist lawyers protected slaves from underhanded masters who tried to abrogate manumission contracts with bondspeople.

Because slave runaways began taking a toll on both northern and southern masters, many slaveholders resorted to freedom agreements with their

slaves: if bondspeople pledged not to run away, masters promised to liberate them in perhaps five to seven years. In essence, enslaved people in Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, Delaware, and even Virginia began converting slavery into indentured servitude through manumission agreements. Not only did the PAS and New York Manumission Society officiate at the signing of such contracts, they also confronted masters who attempted to ignore them. In 1788, for example, the PAS obtained freedom for several slaves who were emancipated during the American Revolution but subsequently reenslaved by recalcitrant masters. In 1800 the organization freed a single black Virginian on the same grounds: his mistress had once freed him and then summarily declared that "he is [still] my slave." After working with local reformers in Winchester, Virginia, the PAS secured the freedom of the man known in court records simply as "Abraham."

EXPANSION OF ACTIVITIES

As these examples suggest, early abolitionist activity often revolved around state laws and courts. But pre-1830 abolitionists expanded their activism to national matters on two key issues: the overseas slave trade and the ending of slavery in the District of Columbia. Pennsylvania abolitionists sent their first anti–slave trading petition to Congress in 1790—a petition that aroused considerable, if short-lived, debate. Between that date and the early 1820s, abolitionists—largely through the aegis of the American Convention of Abolition Societies—memorialized Congress roughly a dozen times on the ending of the international slave trade or, after the federal government had banned the trade in 1808, on violations of the law. The Constitution stipulated that Congress could consider banning the trade in 1807, but such a provision was not mandated. Early abolitionists felt it their duty to agitate Congress to fulfill an anti–slave trading pledge—and then to make the nation honor it.

By the 1820s the American Convention of Abolition Societies focused on ending slavery in the nation's capital. Led by Pennsylvania reformers, advocates of District emancipation argued that congressional power reigned supreme in Washington. Because slavery and slave trading stained Americans' national image, it was argued, they should be prohibited in the capital (though significantly, this did not mean southern emancipation would follow). Pennsylvania abolitionist Thomas Earle, who would later become the Liberty Party's vice presidential candidate in 1840, became one of the spokesmen for District emancipation. So too did a young newspaper-

man then in Baltimore named William Lloyd Garrison.

BLACK ABOLITIONISTS

Although formally excluded from groups like the PAS, black activists formed a parallel abolitionist movement before 1830. Led by the inaugural generation of free blacks emerging in the North and Upper South (including Prince Hall in Boston, Richard Allen and James Forten in Pennsylvania, William Hamilton in New York, and Daniel Coker in Baltimore), African American reformers created a vibrant abolitionist movement revolving around public protest tactics and moralizing strategies. Centered largely in newly independent black churches in Philadelphia, New York City, Boston, Providence, and Baltimore, black reformers appealed to Americans as a whole to tackle racial injustice and make it a national priority. "My bosom swells with pride whenever I mention the name of James Forten," Frederick Douglass once declared of one of his early abolitionist heroes.

FROM GRADUALISM TO IMMEDIATISM

Great transformations occurred in American abolitionism during the 1820s and 1830s. For one thing, a new generation of reformers that questioned the efficacy of gradualism ascended to prominence. Slavery grew at a stunning pace, more than doubling since the founding of the first abolitionist groups. (Slaves numbered 700,000 in 1790 and two million in 1830.) While this growth extended to the south and southwest of the Atlantic seaboard, it intensified concerns among second-wave abolitionists about both slavery's place in the Republic and African Americans' claim to equality. Also, religious revivals focused many Americans' concerns on eradicating sin; this massive movement pointed many new faces—including those of women—towards a more radical conception of abolitionism known as "immediatism." Finally, the colonization movement expanded rapidly in both northern and southern states, often ostracizing free blacks. While gradual abolition societies expressed little or no opposition to colonization, free black activists mobilized as never before, holding public demonstrations against it, founding the first black newspapers, and holding national conventions. They also reached out to new generations of white reformers to create what were termed "modern" antislavery societies in the early 1830s. Indeed, with the inauguration of the New England Antislavery Society in 1832 (with its integrated membership and dedication to immediate abolition), the heyday of early abolitionist organizations ended.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; Emancipation and Manumission; Quakers; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

———. *Slavery and Human Progress.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Hodges, Graham Russell. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New Jersey and East Jersey, 1613–1863.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1999.

Litwack, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Nash, Gary B. *Race and Revolution.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1990.

Nash, Gary B., and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Newman, Richard S. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Stewart, James Brewer. *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1976.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Richard S. Newman

ACADEMIC AND PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

Although a number of learned societies, such as the American Philosophical Society (1743), were active in eighteenth-century British North America, far more were established in the wake of the Revolution. In March 1776, Congress endorsed a resolution by John Adams for "erecting and establishing, in each and every colony a society for the improvement of agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce." Few states followed this recommendation, but Adams's Massachusetts did incorporate the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) in 1780 and provided funds for its support. Its founding members were drawn from the commonwealth's elite: public officials, clergymen, merchants, educators, and physicians. Like the American Philosophical Society, the AAAS was a learned society with wide-ranging interests that encompassed astronomy, mathematics, natural philosophy, geology, geography, and history. It began publishing its *Memoirs* in 1785. The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences received a state charter in 1799 and proceeded along similar lines. Among other general interest organizations were the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina (1814) and the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York (1814).

Institutions dedicated to more specific ends were also organized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Agricultural societies, in particular, were prominent in an economy based on commercial farming. The Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (1785), the Agricultural Society of South Carolina (1785), New York's Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts, and Manufactures (1791), and the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (1792) disseminated information about improvements in crops, livestock, and cultivation to their members and the larger public. The Berkshire Agricultural Society (1811) organized the first agricultural fair in the United States and served as a model for other regional and county associations. Groups concentrating on the natural sciences included Philadelphia's Chemical Society (1797), Columbian Chemical Society (1811), and the Academy of Natural Sciences (1812); Boston's Linnean Society (1814) and Society of Natural History (1830); New York's American Mineralogical Society (1798) and Lyceum of Natural History (1817); the American Geological Society (1819) in New Haven, Connecticut; the Delaware Chemical and Geological Society (1821) in Wilmington; and the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature (1826) in Baltimore. Studying and collecting the sources of America's history—national, local, and natural—were the goals of the Massachusetts Historical Society (1791) in Boston; the New-York Historical Society (1804); the American Antiquarian Society (1812) in Worcester, Massachusetts; and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (1824) in Philadelphia.

Like their colonial predecessors and their European contemporaries, the members of these groups were dedicated to the advancement and dissemination of useful knowledge and to the betterment of society and the state. They delivered and listened to papers, published proceedings, corresponded with peers, collected curiosities, and awarded premiums to foster invention and improvements in the practical and the fine arts. Learned societies in the new United States combined a cosmopolitan Enlightenment

ethos of progress with provincial emphases on economic development and nationalist pride in America's achievements and prospects. They were among the most important cultural and scientific institutions in the new Republic.

See also **American Philosophical Society; Magazines; Museums and Historical Societies; Natural History; Professions.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baatz, Simon. *"Venerate the Plough": A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1785–1985.* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1985.

———. *Knowledge, Culture, and Science in the Metropolis: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1817–1970.* New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1990.

McClellan, James E., III. *Science Reorganized: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Oleson, Alexandra, and Sanborn C. Brown. *The Pursuit of Knowledge in the Early American Republic: American Scientific and Learned Societies from Colonial Times to the Civil War.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

University of Waterloo Library. Scholarly Societies Project. Available at http://www.scholarly-societies.org.

Martin J. Burke

ACADIANS Acadia consisted of what became three provinces of Canada: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. It was distinct from the French colony around the St. Lawrence River known as New France. In 1604 an expedition of about eighty men from France settled on an island in the St. Croix River and the following year moved to Port Royal on mainland Nova Scotia. The early settlers suffered from scurvy, and many colonists returned to France in 1607. Only a handful of French settlers pursued minor commercial pursuits from then until the core group of what became the Acadian population settled in the 1630s under the leadership of Governor Isaac de Razilly. Between 1670 and 1750, the Acadian population grew from approximately five hundred to some twelve thousand.

The majority of Acadians lived in small agricultural communities around the Bay of Fundy. They quickly cultivated very productive land by using dikes to reclaim wetlands. Until the construction of the massive fortress of Louisburg on Île Royal (Cape Breton Island) in the 1720s, no other French community was within easy reach of the Acadians, and they thus developed a tradition of autonomy. They also built good relations with the aboriginal peoples of the area, the Mi'kmaq and the Maliseet, and established trade links with the English colony of Massachusetts.

During the imperial wars between France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Acadians' autonomy proved difficult to maintain. In 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht permanently transferred the mainland of Nova Scotia to England. Acadians had often declared themselves neutral in wars between France and England, and the English attempted, with little success, to have Acadians take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. In 1749 the English founded Halifax as a counterweight to Louisburg. In 1754 another war began between France and England, and in 1755—after continued efforts to have Acadians take an oath of allegiance— Governor Charles Lawrence began forcibly deporting the Acadians, expelling approximately eleven thousand by 1762. While some Acadians avoided expulsion, the majority found themselves expatriated to France or dispersed to other English colonies. Louisiana, a French colony until ceded to Spain in 1762, became a popular destination of exiled Acadians, where they became known as Cajuns.

In 1764 the Acadians were allowed to return upon taking an oath of allegiance. However, during the Acadians' exile, approximately twelve thousand New England colonists, known as the Planters, had taken over much of the Acadians' former lands. Returning Acadians thus settled on marginal farming areas in southwest Nova Scotia, eastern New Brunswick, parts of Cape Breton Island, and Prince Edward Island. The English forced the Acadians to settle in marginal areas to develop frontier regions and because they believed that weak Acadian communities might be assimilated. However, the Acadians preserved their language, religion, and folk traditions, and in the 1830s and 1840s they began collectively to reassert themselves. More Acadians entered politics, where they insisted on the recognition of Acadian identity, especially their language and religion. The American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow assisted this nascent Acadian nationalism when he published his famous poem, *Evangeline*, in 1847, in which he told the story of lovers torn apart by the expulsion.

See also **Canada; Louisiana; New Orleans.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Daigle, Jean, ed. *Acadia of the Maritimes: Thematic Studies from the Beginning to the Present.* Moncton, New Brunswick: Université de Moncton, 1995.

Griffiths, Naomi E. S. *The Contexts of Acadian History, 1686–1784.* Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

R. Blake Brown

ADAMS, JOHN   John Adams (1735–1826), was born in Braintree, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard College (1755), he became a lawyer. Adams served in the First and Second Continental Congresses (1774, 1775–1777), in diplomatic missions to France, the Netherlands, and Britain (1778–1788), and as the first vice president (1789–1797) and second president (1797–1801) of the United States. He married Abigail Smith of Weymouth, Massachusetts, in 1764, one of the singular women of the era. He died on 4 July 1826.

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS

John Adams's political career began in earnest in 1765. In response to that year's Stamp Act, which required that the colonists pay a "stamp fee" for all legal documents (in addition to some other items), Adams penned a series of essays published later as the *Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law* (1768). Just as no man was born with the keys to heaven, so too, Adams argued in the *Dissertation*, was no man born in possession of the right to rule others on earth. Adams also made his first major appearances on the public stage in 1765. In the autumn of that year, he wrote several resolutions in response to the Stamp Act and presented them to his local town meeting. The Braintree Resolves, as they became known, soon spread throughout the colony. Not long thereafter, the leaders of Massachusetts's "patriot party" asked Adams to join the colony's other top lawyers in making their case to the governor. In early 1766 he also published a series of newspaper essays in defense of colonial rights, "From the Earl of Clarendon to William Pym."

The repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 heartened Adams, but when Britain's Parliament the following year passed the Townshend Acts, which placed duties on glass, lead, paper, paint, and tea, Adams realized that the strife between the colonies and the mother country would not end anytime soon. He served as John Hancock's lead counsel in the *Liberty* trial of 1768, named after John Hancock's ship, the *Liberty*,

John Adams. The first vice president and second president of the United States, depicted in an engraving (1797) by James Smither, after a painting by John Singleton Copley. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

which British customs agents had seized. In 1770 Adams defended the British soldiers who stood accused of murder in the Boston Massacre trial. Not long after the soldiers were set free with a mild reprimand, Boston selected Adams as one of its representatives in the colony's assembly.

In the fall of 1774 Massachusetts sent Adams to the first Continental Congress, where he helped to draft the declaration of rights. Massachusetts included Adams in its delegation to the Second Congress, which convened in the spring of 1775 in the wake of the battles of Lexington and Concord. Adams thought the time had come to declare independence. For over a year he pushed, cajoled, and lobbied his colleagues, until events and changes in the membership of Congress conspired to give his side a victory. On 1 July 1776, Adams gave a great speech in defense of the resolution that "these colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states." That speech clinched his status among his countrymen as the leader of the independence forces. Two of his peers dubbed him the "Atlas of Independence" for his efforts. The resolution carried on 2 July. Congress approved the public Declaration of Independence two days later.

WAR, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND CONSTITUTIONS

After the colonies declared independence, Adams remained one of the most active men in Congress, serving as chairman of many committees, including the congressional War Committee. From early in 1776 until the Battle of Saratoga in October 1777, that made Adams a one-man war department. For most of the decade following 1777, Adams served the United States in Europe. In 1778 Congress sent him to France to help negotiate an alliance with that nation. He arrived after the treaty was signed and returned home in the early summer of 1779. Later that year Adams returned to France with powers to negotiate a treaty to end the war with Britain. He remained in Europe until 1788, serving in the Netherlands and in Britain, in addition to France.

Adams's tenure in France is best remembered for its stormy nature. Most historians explain Adams's difficulties in Paris by highlighting his sensitivity to personal slights, along with his tempestuousness. The charge is not entirely unfair, but they seldom note that the British spy cell in the American legation stirred up a good deal of the trouble. To his credit, Adams saw quite clearly that American and French interests were only aligned against Britain, not in favor of a free and independent United States. France wanted to make the United States a dependent client state. Naturally, the French wished to replace Adams with someone more pliable. Frustrated in Paris, Adams went to the Netherlands in an effort to open a second diplomatic front that would lessen America's dependency upon France. Ultimately, he secured official recognition of the United States by the Dutch government and loans from the bankers in the Netherlands. In 1782 he returned to Paris to help John Jay and Benjamin Franklin negotiate a peace treaty with Britain. They secured land clear to the Mississippi and preserved the right to dry fish on the shores of Newfoundland. In 1785 Adams became the first American minister to Britain.

Adams's other preoccupation between 1776 and 1789 was the theory and practice of constitution writing. When he returned home in the summer of 1779, Massachusetts happened to be drafting its new state constitution, and Adams became its primary draftsman. The Massachusetts constitution was the first to be drafted by a special convention called by the people for that purpose and then ratified by the people. Adams heartily approved of that system of ratification. Massachusetts's constitution was also the first to feature two tripartite sets of checks and balances: among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government, and between the three branches of the legislature (a lower house, an upper house, and an executive with a qualified veto). Adams was also the best-known advocate of such political architecture in his era.

Since Adams's lifetime, his constitutional thought has been a matter of controversy. In early 1776 his influential pamphlet, *Thoughts on Government*, was printed. Partly written to correct what he considered to be the excessive democratism of Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776), Adams's *Thoughts on Government* advocated the model of government he would enshrine in the Massachusetts constitution a few years later, featuring separations of power and checks and balances. The pamphlet, which was both popular and influential, laid the seeds of the controversy that was to engulf Adams's political thought.

Unlike most of his contemporaries, Adams defined the term "republic" according to its ends, rather than its means. In *Thoughts on Government*, Adams wrote that "there is no good government but what is republican" and "the very definition of a republic is 'an empire of laws and not of men.'"

He made similar statements in 1787 and 1788 in the three-volume *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*, his contribution to constitutional reform in America and Europe in the 1780s. Good republican governments could not be simple, representative democracies, he asserted, since a majority "may establish uniformity in religion; it may restrain trade; it may confine the personal liberty of all equally, and against the judgment of many, even of the best and wisest, without reasonable motives, use, or benefit." The way to prevent these dangers was by checking and balancing power. To ensure liberty under law, "orders of men, watching and balancing each other, are the only security; power must be opposed to power, and interest to interest." Many people mistook Adams's discussion of the defects of popular government for an argument against popular government.

THE FEDERALIST ERA

Not long after his return from Europe, Adams became the first vice president elected under the new federal Constitution. He soon became a lightning rod for criticism from Thomas Jefferson's party. From his post as president of the Senate, Adams lectured his colleagues about the need for high-toned titles to attract capable men to government and to secure respect for American officials in European courts. Instead of carrying the issue, Adams became the butt of jokes about his own air of superiority and endured accusations that he secretly supported monarchy and aristocracy. That Adams criticized the French

Revolution from the start only added fuel to the fire. Since the French called their new regime a republic, most Americans believed that the cause of the France was the cause of America.

In 1790 and 1791 Adams published a series of essays that are known to history as the "Discourses on Davila." The basic point of the "Discourses" was that political men were driven by the "passion for distinction" (or *spectemer agendo*)—the desire to be seen and loved by others. This passion led men to do both grand and unspeakable things. The only way to secure peace in society was to manage conflict; the attempt to escape it was futile. Thomas Jefferson, then serving as secretary of state, denounced Adams's ideas as "heresies." After publishing the "Discourses," Adams rode out the remainder of Washington's terms outside the limelight. He supported the Jay Treaty of 1795 with Britain because it was better than war, but he was not closely associated with it. Adams remained the man most likely to succeed Washington, and he did so in 1797. Unlike Washington, who was elected unanimously, Adams won the presidency by a mere three electoral votes.

Around the time Adams became president, France reacted to the Jay Treaty by attacking American ships on the high seas. Adams responded firmly. When French agents (code-named X, Y, and Z) demanded a bribe before the start of negotiations, Adams was furious, as were most Americans. The XYZ affair inflamed opinion against France, and Adams used American anger to rally his countrymen to oppose French depredations in the Quasi-War with France. A firm believer in the old adage that "if you wish peace, prepare for war," Adams used American resistance to France to bring about a settlement, which was negotiated in Paris. News of it arrived in America in the fall of 1800, too late to keep Adams from losing the presidential contest by eight electoral votes.

Caught in the middle of a struggle between Federalists and Republicans, Adams's presidency was a political disaster. He alienated the Republicans by warring with France and alienated the Federalists by making peace. He upset the Republicans by signing the Alien and Sedition Acts and angered the Federalists by pardoning John Fries after the rebellion he led had been stopped. Just before leaving office, President Adams appointed John Marshall, then serving as secretary of state, as the chief justice of the United States, and several lesser officials. These "midnight appointments" angered Thomas Jefferson, who viewed them as politically unfair and personally unkind.

RETIREMENT

In his last quarter century, Adams remained on or near his farm in Quincy, as his part of Braintree, Massachusetts, had been renamed. He watched with pride as his eldest son, John Quincy Adams, rose in the nation's political firmament. In addition to walking about town and working the land, Adams read and wrote a great deal. When Massachusetts called a convention to revise its constitution in 1820, the town of Quincy sent Adams. He hoped that the state was finally ready to get rid of its religious establishment, but to his chagrin, he could not convince the convention on that point.

Adams made some efforts to vindicate his reputation. He started and abandoned an autobiography a few times. When his erstwhile friend Mercy Otis Warren published a history of the American Revolution, Adams fired a barrage of letters at her, complaining that she had attacked his character and slighted his accomplishments. In 1810 and 1811 he published a series of essays in the *Boston Patriot* that defended his presidency against criticism by Federalists and suggested that many of them were not committed to the Union. In 1812 Adams resumed contact with Thomas Jefferson. Before they died, the aged patriarchs would exchange more than one hundred and fifty letters. These letters were Adams's final effort to explain his republican faith and to vindicate his reputation before the court of history. He wrote his final letter to Jefferson in April 1826, a few months before he died, only a few hours after Jefferson, on 4 July 1826.

See also **Boston Massacre; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Declaration of Independence; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Presidency, The: John Adams; Quasi-War with France; Revolution: Diplomacy; Treaty of Paris; XYZ Affair.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States, with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations.* Edited by Charles Francis Adams. 10 vols. Boston: Little, Brown, 1850–1856.

———. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams.* 4 vols. Edited by L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

———. *Legal Papers of John Adams.* 3 vols. Edited by L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

———. *Papers of John Adams.* 8 vols. Edited by Gregg Lint and Robert Taylor. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977–1989.

Ellis, Joseph. *Passionate Sage: The Character and Legacy of John Adams.* New York: Norton, 1993.

Haraszti, Zoltán. *John Adams and the Prophets of Progress.* Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press, 1952.

Howe, John, Jr. *The Changing Political Thought of John Adams.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Hutson, James H. *John Adams and the Diplomacy of the American Revolution.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1980.

McCullough, David. *John Adams.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001.

Smith, Page. *John Adams.* 2 vols. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962.

Thompson, C. Bradley. *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

Richard Samuelson

ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY   The eldest son and second child of John and Abigail Smith Adams of Braintree, Massachusetts, John Quincy Adams (1767–1848) had one of the longest and most diverse careers in American political history. Between 1781, when he accompanied Francis Dana on his mission to Russia, to his collapse and death in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1848, Adams served as a diplomat abroad (1794–1801, 1809–1817), Massachusetts state senator (1802–1803), a member of the U.S. Senate (1803–1808), secretary of state (1817–1824), and president of the United States (1825–1829). He was a congressman from 1831 until his death. Like his father, he received a bachelor's degree from Harvard College (1787) and was admitted to the bar in Massachusetts (1790). Adams was also a gifted rhetorician, a student of the classics, a diarist, and a scientist. He was Harvard's first Boylston Professor of Rhetoric (1806–1809), and, while serving as secretary of state, he compiled a report on weights and measures that is a classic in the field.

Adams first gained political notoriety in 1791 when he published the letters of "Publicola"—a series of essays defending his father in particular and the Federalist Party in general against Jefferson's charge of political "heresy." Publicola and subsequent writings impressed President Washington, and in 1794 he made young Adams U.S. minister to the Netherlands. Washington raved about Adams's talents, proclaiming that, "I shall be much mistaken if, in as short a period as can well be expected, he is not found at the head of the diplomatic corps, let the government be administered by whomsoever the people may choose." Adams remained in the Hague throughout the rest of Washington's tenure and

John Quincy Adams. Diplomat, congressman, and sixth president of the United States, depicted in an 1826 engraving by Asher Brown Durand, after a painting by Thomas Sully. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

served in Berlin during his father's presidency (1797–1801). Throughout these years Adams sought to maintain America's independent yet engaged stance in Europe.

Rather than serve under President Jefferson, Adams returned to the United States with his bride, Louisa Catherine Adams, the daughter of the American consul in London, whom he had married in 1797. (They would have three sons—George Washington Adams, John Adams II, and Charles Francis Adams.) Adams soon found his way back into politics, winning a seat in Massachusetts's state senate in 1802. Federalist Party managers had trouble with Adams, so they moved him up and out, to a seat in the U.S. Senate in 1803. Adams's term was stormy, for he was too independent to be a good partisan. He believed in a party system in the abstract but never could work within a party himself. Republicans were disinclined to trust the son of the man they had just defeated for president. Meanwhile, the growing anti-Unionist sentiment in the Federalist Party dismayed Adams. The final break came in 1808 when he attended a Republican caucus to nominate a presidential candidate. Massachusetts Federalists thereupon

repudiated Adams, appointing his successor before Adams had even finished his term. Facing dishonor, Adams resigned.

President Madison named Adams the American minister to Russia in 1809. He remained there until 1814 when Madison sent him to Ghent to chair America's peace commission to negotiate an end to the War of 1812. After Adams and his colleagues signed the Treaty of Ghent on 24 December 1814, Madison sent Adams to London to serve as America's minister. While there, he began the negotiations that would culminate in the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1817. That treaty, which removed armed ships from the Great Lakes, was a landmark in the history of disarmament.

In 1817 Adams returned home to serve as secretary of state under President Monroe. Seeing Spain's weakness in America, Adams pushed every advantage. Hence, in a negotiation that at first concerned only the Florida territory, Adams secured America's claim to land from Florida to the edge of Texas, and then across the West to the Oregon territory along the Pacific Ocean. Samuel Flagg Bemis notes that the Adams-Onís, or Transcontinental, Treaty "was the greatest diplomatic victory won by any single individual in the history of the United States."

Secretary of State Adams also played a key role in the creation of the Monroe Doctrine. He thought America should play an active role in the Western Hemisphere but a passive one outside of it. In an oration delivered on 4 July 1821, he described how the United States should respond to the Greek independence movement: America "goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own."

The presidential election of 1824 was the first closely contested election since 1800. No candidate received a majority, so the decision went to Congress; after much arm-twisting by Henry Clay, Congress made Adams president, even though Andrew Jackson had a plurality of votes. Adams thereupon made Clay secretary of state. For the next four years Jackson and his allies made an issue of the "corrupt bargain." Adams was an ineffective president. Wishing to be above party politics, he kept some of Jackson's partisans in office, and they actively campaigned against him. Meanwhile, he called for an extensive plan of internal improvements, claiming that "liberty is power" to improve the nation. He wanted to use the latent powers of the federal government to integrate the nation, which he feared was too divided among North, South, and West. Even though some of Adams's specific programs were popular, his overall scheme was not, and Jackson crushed him in the election of 1828.

Adams took defeat hard. In 1837 he wrote, in a letter to Charles W. Upham, that "the great object of my life . . . as applied to the administration of the Government of the United States has *failed*." The American union, he feared, would be the plaything of slaveholders rather than an engine for the spread of liberty. In 1830 he entered Congress, representing his native district in Massachusetts. He held the seat until his death in 1848. Throughout these years he sought, with some success, to return the Union to its antislavery foundation. Antislavery forces would dub him "old man eloquent" for his rhetorical service in their cause.

See also **Adams, John; Antislavery; Election of 1824; Election of 1828; Federalist Party; Ghent, Treaty of; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Monroe Doctrine; Presidency, The: John Quincy Adams.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John Quincy. *Diary of John Quincy Adams.* Edited by David Grayson Allen et al. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1981.

———. *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of His Diary from 1795 to 1848.* Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1874–1877.

———. *Writings of John Quincy Adams.* 7 vols. Edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy.* New York: Norton, 1973.

———. *John Quincy Adams and the Union.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Richards, Leonard L. *The Life and Times of Congressman John Quincy Adams.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Richard Samuelson

ADAMS-ONÍS TREATY *See* **Transcontinental Treaty.**

ADOLESCENCE *See* **Childhood and Adolescence.**

ADVERTISING Advertising has existed in one form or another for centuries. From stone tablets to Internet pop-ups, people have advertised goods and services available for the use and benefit of others. In the early years of the United States, most advertisements appeared in printed form, primarily in broadsides or newspapers. Unlike today's advertising, the purpose of these advertisements was to provide information about events or available goods and services rather than to stimulate demand.

Broadsides were single sheets produced to spread information about a particular topic. They often advertised products available in local stores or services provided by local professionals, but broadsides were more often used to announce something unique and short-term. During the American Revolution, officials used broadsides to recruit soldiers for the Continental Army. The poems that became the songs "Yankee Doodle" and, following the War of 1812, "The Star-Spangled Banner" appeared in broadsides and spread rapidly along the Atlantic Coast. Broadsides could be produced quickly and used to spread information rapidly through a community.

More typical advertisements appeared in the weekly newspapers published in colonial America and the early Republic. From the time the first successful American newspaper appeared in 1704, printers depended on the income from advertising to help keep their publications solvent. Up to one-half of any given issue could be given over to advertisements. To modern readers, the newspaper advertisements of the early Republic look like today's classifieds. Woodcuts of a ship or a hat could indicate the type of advertisement but did not really give much information. Potential customers had to read the advertisements in order to know what was being offered. A great variety of advertisements appeared, ranging from lists of goods for sale in a local shop, to announcements of local dance instructors or dame schools (schools for boys and girls set up by women teachers in their homes), to want ads for various jobs, to announcements of runaway slaves. The advertisements did not appear in any particular order or place but rather were scattered throughout the newspaper wherever they fit.

Two primary factors explain the apparent lack of creativity in newspaper advertising in the early Republic. First, the available technology produced limitations. Printing presses prior to the 1830s had changed little from the days of Gutenberg. Type had to be set by hand and printing across columns was prohibitively expensive. Illustrations could be printed only by using woodcuts that had to be hand-carved. Hence, advertisements appeared primarily in narrow columns with few illustrations. Second, although advertising constituted an important income source and gave readers information they sought, newspaper printers at the time gave as much space as possible to politics. From the beginnings of the arguments with Great Britain in the 1760s until at least the middle of the nineteenth century, newspaper producers aimed the material they published at audiences involved in political debates.

See also **Newspapers; Print Culture; Printers; Printing Technology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Goodrum, Charles, and Helen Dalrymple. *Advertising in America: The First 200 Years.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1990.

Presbrey, Frank. *The History and Development of Advertising.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, 1929; New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Wood, James Playsted. *The Story of Advertising.* New York: Ronald Press, 1958.

Carol Sue Humphrey

AFFECTION The late eighteenth century was marked by revolutions in both political and personal life. While the American Revolution challenged patriarchical and tyrannical forms of government, models of democratic union also reshaped family life and personal relationships. The new nation was dedicated to "the pursuit of happiness," and affection was a fundamental component of this social and political vision. In friendship, courtship, marriage, and child rearing, men and women began to privilege emotional standards that stressed a warm egalitarianism. These shifting ideals deeply influenced and affected how early national Americans experienced their most intimate and emotionally fulfilling relationships.

The emerging emphasis on affection was influenced by the "culture of sensibility," which encouraged individuals to relate to the feelings, concerns, and sufferings of others. The culture of sensibility asserted that individuals should develop strong bonds of connection with others that would enable them to greater appreciate both the joys and sorrows of life. Stressing intense, emotional reactions to even the most everyday events of life, sensibility privileged a world of affectionate interaction between in-

dividuals who felt an acute sense of affinity. In their various personal and social relationships, individuals increasingly valued expressive, candid communications with one another that would heighten this ideal of shared experience and feeling.

In particular, these shifting emotional standards ushered in significant changes in the experiences and expectations of romantic love, courtship, and marriage. Throughout the eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for parents to influence, and at times actively control, their children's marital choices with larger economic and social goals in mind. But in the post–Revolutionary period, parental interference lessened as couples began to exercise more autonomy and individualism regarding matters of the heart. In the process, the expectations that men and women brought with them into marriage also grew. No longer conceived of in terms of patriarchal authority and wifely submission, marriage became invested with affectionate ideals that stressed egalitarian relationships between loving partners. The emerging ideal of "companionate marriage" celebrated affection, affinity, and mutuality. Men and women came to expect unparalleled happiness and fulfillment in their unions with one another as affectionate bonds of intimacy and friendship became the cornerstones of happy marriages.

Yet throughout the early national period, tensions existed between older models of patriarchal authority and newer ideals of affectionate companionship. While marriage was idealized in terms of partnership and equality, wives were still encouraged to defer to their husbands in order to maintain domestic harmony. And while affectionate bonds between parent and child heightened the emotional experiences of childhood, husbands and fathers still maintained legal and cultural authority over the household unit. Ultimately, the emphasis given to emotional bonds of affection in family life helped to obscure the continued existence of power dynamics that sustained male privilege in economic and political spheres. In essence, women were urged to abandon claims for equality and to settle instead for affection within their personal relationships. Yet these affectionate ideals often proved difficult to sustain, creating tensions between expectation and experience. Further, those women and children who endured abuse or abandonment in the absence of their husbands and fathers' "true" affection were often left with few legal or economic protections.

Despite tensions between emotional ideals and lived experience, individuals continued to idealize affectionate relationships as sources of deep fulfillment and personal happiness. At once an expression of and a conduit for individualism, affection offered men and women the chance to reveal their innermost selves with like-minded individuals who shared deep, expressive bonds of sensibility and affinity. Such highly charged, emotionally fulfilling relationships served as bulwarks against more impersonal, disingenuous encounters that individuals might also experience in their daily lives. Although men and women feared being betrayed by another's duplicity or false affection, many took the risk of being disappointed or deceived in the hopes of actualizing the ideals of affectionate companionship. The emotional stakes were high as relationships increasingly were invested with intense expectations and imaginative ideals.

Affection revolutionized how men and women made sense of themselves and the world around them and reshaped both personal and political life. Throughout the early national period, affectionate ideals for personal relationships were used as models for political and social harmony. As friends and couples freely entered into affectionate unions with one another, they created egalitarian forms of interaction that influenced the nature of political participation in the young Republic. Bonds of affection, rather than authority, became the organizing device for both politics and the family. In many ways, America's sense of itself as a people and a nation rested in this persistent belief in the power of affection.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Courtship; Domestic Life; Marriage; Women: Overview; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burstein, Andrew. *Sentimental Democracy: The Evolution of America's Romantic Self-Image.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1999.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority*, *1750–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Jabour, Anya. *Marriage in the Early Republic: Elizabeth and William Wirt and the Companionate Ideal.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Lewis, Jan. *The Pursuit of Happiness: Family and Values in Jefferson's Virginia.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Lystra, Karen. *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Stearns, Peter N., and Carol Z. Stearns. "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards." *American Historical Review* 90 (1985): 813–836.

Lucia McMahon

AFRICAN AMERICANS

This entry consists of seven separate articles: *Overview*, *African American Life and Culture*, *African American Literature*, *African American Religion*, *African American Responses to Slavery and Race*, *Free Blacks in the North*, and *Free Blacks in the South*.

Overview

No single group had higher hopes followed by greater disappointments during the time of the establishment of the new American nation than African Americans. In the 1750s, nearly everyone of African descent in the British North American mainland colonies was enslaved, but the libertarian spirit of the Revolutionary era offered hope for freedom. A number of African Americans did become free between the 1760s and 1810s. But any window of opportunity that opened for some blacks of the Revolutionary generation slammed shut for most African Americans as slavery persisted and spread into new areas and as racism (to justify enslavement and exploitation in a nation grounded in personal freedom) gained in strength. By 1829, although importation of slaves into the United States had ended over two decades earlier and half the states had abolished slavery, 90 percent of African Americans remained enslaved, a slave-based economy was thriving, and prospects for liberty and justice for American blacks were as remote as they had ever been.

SLAVERY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA

The period of the American Revolution was disruptive for everyone in the British mainland colonies. For African Americans, it was also contradictory, confusing, and in the long run damaging. Revolutionary ideology and economic gain for slave owners were at the heart of these matters. The rationale for the break with Britain—the enlightened perspective on human equality and natural rights—was not a smooth fit in a land where, in 1776, nearly half a million persons of African descent were owned by, and forced to work for, others. A small proportion of slave owners acted on the libertarian ideal and freed their slaves. Once warfare with Britain was under way, however, some slaves ended their bondage by fleeing to British or Patriot forces and fighting or working as auxiliaries. In the northern states and Upper South, a noticeable number of free African Americans began to appear over the last three decades of the eighteenth century.

But the perceived economic necessity of the southern planter class kept liberty from reaching enslaved African Americans where their numbers were greatest: southern and eastern Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. As in more northerly states, slaves in the Deep South did what they could to gain freedom during the war—mostly by absconding to the British, the backcountry, or Spanish Florida. But peace, after 1783, found southern planters eager to return to prosperity by re-creating a plantation economy, using the slaves they had and acquiring more. So set on resting their future on slave production were southern leaders that, when time came for the states to "form a more perfect union" that would secure "the blessings of liberty," they insisted that the Atlantic slave trade remain open, that slaves be counted toward representation in the new government, and that the government help secure their human property.

Compromises in the new Constitution kept African slaves pouring into southern ports until 1808, prescribed counting three-fifths of all slaves for apportioning representation, and required states to return fugitive slaves to their owners. The Constitution's framers actually solidified human bondage by guaranteeing individual property rights, since land and human laborers were the property most important to white southerners. In allowing the states to decide whether or not to condone slavery and in providing federal power to enforce the law, the Constitution strengthened ownership and control of slaves and allowed for slavery's extension into new territories.

HEIGHTENING RACISM

The words "slaves" and "slavery" do not appear in the Constitution because human bondage is inconsistent in a land of liberty. The way in which slaveholders and others worked out a rationale for slavery involved manipulating notions about race and ignoring claims of liberty in favor of economic self-interest and political expediency. Racist feelings about Africans were a factor in establishing slavery in the colonies and condoning the brutal punishments required to exact hard work from slaves, but race was not of overriding importance in the daily workings of colonial society. Through the 1750s and beyond, African Americans and white Americans continued to mix and share values, customs, and personal relationships. But once the new nation became a land where all were supposedly born free, white southerners began looking to racist assumptions about blacks' "nature and character" to justify

their enslavement. Persons of African descent were racially inferior, many argued; of lower intelligence and morals; inherently lazy; sexually depraved; and dangerous. Slavery's controls were thus necessary to keep people in a free society safe from blacks. In this fashion, a deeper and more debilitating racism burrowed into the tissue of white America.

The descent of white racism to new depths fell hardest initially on free African Americans. As their numbers grew, particularly in the Upper South, southern whites began to exhibit a fear and loathing of free blacks, whose very existence undermined racist justifications for slavery. Therefore, southern state legislatures began limiting the number of free African Americans (by banning African American immigration) and then taking away many of their rights—to bear arms, vote, or even congregate. And where, in the judgment of local whites, laws and ordinances did not adequately restrict free African Americans, mob violence did. White rioting in black sections of northern cities occurred frequently in the 1820s. Beyond this, in cities where populations mingled, whites moved to separate persons of African descent in, or exclude them from, public facilities, social events, schools—even churches and cemeteries. The issue now was not slavery; it was race.

A HOUSE DIVIDED

As the new nation was coming into being, northern and southern sections of the country diverged on slavery. Beginning with Vermont in 1777, New England states outlawed slavery in their constitutions, and in the mid–Atlantic states, Pennsylvania in 1780 led New York and New Jersey in passing laws to end slavery gradually. Also, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 banned slavery in states formed out of the Northwest Territory, west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. The result by the 1820s was slavery's almost complete disappearance north of Maryland and the Ohio.

At the same time, slavery was proceeding with renewed vigor in the southern states. In the wake of the Revolutionary War, from the mid–1780s, planters in Maryland and Virginia opened new western lands and carved out plantations to grow tobacco and grain, while those in coastal South Carolina and Georgia resumed plantation rice production. Meanwhile, British cotton mills were mass-producing cotton cloth in the first stage of the industrial revolution, causing increased demand and rising prices for raw cotton. Machines to remove seeds from short-staple American cotton, copying Eli Whitney's 1793 model gin, helped make the crop pay, and the acqui-

sition from Spain (1798) and France (1803) of territory that would become southern Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana meant new, fertile land for cotton production. After defeat of the Creek Nation in 1814, planters with cotton on their minds steadily moved into these new lands.

A reinvigorated transatlantic slave trade provided 170,000 Africans for the expanding plantation economy between 1783 and the trade's end in 1808. (This would amount to one-fifth of all African slaves ever brought to the North American mainland.) Thereafter, African Americans would fill that role, coming from growth of existing slave populations in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. A domestic slave trade involving purchase of slaves in the Upper South to sell in the Deep South furnished African American hands—fifteen thousand each year of the 1820s—for cotton production. The movement of so many would eventually turn the states of the Deep South into the center of the African American population, and the mingling of blacks from different regions would lead to the forming of a more homogenous African American culture.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CULTURE

The continuation and expansion of slavery in the nation's southern states affected the culture of all African Americans. Between the mid–1780s and 1808, the great influx of persons straight from Africa's west coasts helped "re-Africanize" African American culture. Thereafter, it developed regionally according to local circumstances that affected demography, which in turn had an effect on personal relationships and the ability to form and live in families.

Because work dominated slaves' existence, varied work situations affected how enslaved men, women, and children lived. In northern Virginia and Maryland, where tobacco and grain farming declined from the 1790s, slaves were separated on small farms and performed a variety of tasks. Farther south in Virginia, large-scale tobacco and grain production continued, with slaves working in gangs. When tobacco prices fell, especially after 1815, planters in these areas often decided to sell slaves to traders taking them south. Nowhere in the early national period did family disruption threaten previously stable slave communities more than in southern Maryland and Virginia. In South Carolina and Georgia, the postwar rejuvenation of rice plantations; the massive importing of Africans through the early 1800s, which made blacks an even greater majority; the task system of labor, which allowed slaves their own time once a day's tasks were completed; and greater family se-

curity than in the Upper South allowed African Americans to create their own, distinctive social realm.

The low country black culture included more African elements, including language (Gullah), folklore, religious practices, art, music, and burial ceremonies. Sugarcane plantations in Louisiana were sites of the hardest work in the worst conditions, and since African American men tended to outnumber women there because of their ability to do heavier toil, birthrates were low, death rates high, and families more difficult to create and maintain. In the Georgia–Alabama-Mississippi lands where the Cotton Kingdom emerged after 1815, life was hardest in the early years, when work involved clearing land while living in primitive conditions. By the late 1820s, a more mature phase of cotton production brought more varied diets, better housing and clothing, and work that was less onerous than on tobacco farms and rice or cane plantations.

Contrary to what whites wanted to believe, the new nation's slave community was not a contented lot. African Americans grasped greedily the intellectual currents of the time, making bondage all the harder to endure in an age when freedom was spreading on both sides of the Atlantic. When slaves successfully rebelled on the French island of Saint Domingue, starting in 1791 and leading to the creation of the Republic of Haiti in 1804, striking for liberty took on new urgency. In addition to three of the largest slave conspiracies ever on American soil—one led in 1800 by a Virginia slave named Gabriel; a second near New Orleans in 1811 by slave Charles Deslondes; and a third in Charleston, South Carolina, during 1822 by Denmark Vesey, a former slave—America's earliest decades witnessed a slave population that held, in Benjamin Franklin's words, a "plotting Disposition." Running away toward freedom in the North was only beginning in the latter part of the early national period, but running south toward Spanish Florida or west to live with Indians was popular. Those lacking other ways to express their anger were likely to set fires, kill livestock, damage tools, or otherwise hurt their owners' enterprises.

One aspect of culture that African American slaves shared with free blacks—increasingly as the nation matured—involved religion; both groups were predominantly Christian and brought their own influences to the religion. At the time of the country's beginning, a good portion of the African American population was practicing some form of Christianity, but the religion spread widely and deeply among slaves over the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Great Awakening that moved across the rural South after 1800 brought evangelical fervor, especially to the newer Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian denominations. Southern blacks and whites had common religious experiences that helped shape the nature of these churches. Their practices could include shouting, dancing, and spiritual travel, all having West African roots. As it turned out, these expanding Protestant denominations would be the major vehicles for converting plantation slaves as the nineteenth century progressed.

At the same time, free blacks, nearly all Christians, were realizing the impossibility of experiencing human brotherhood in biracial churches. Beginning with Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, who left St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in 1787 to form their own "African" churches, free African Americans had formed independent churches in many urban areas by 1815. These churches, and mutual aid societies that affiliated with them, quickly became the centers of free black culture and the engines for driving a movement to educate young African Americans for the perilous world they would encounter.

HOW FREE IS "FREE"?

In more than cultural matters—in challenges faced and ideas developed about their circumstances—slavery's existence and growth affected free African Americans. Most originally saw opportunity in free status. Through the first decade of the nineteenth century, many former slaves or offspring of former slaves held positive feelings toward their country and an optimistic outlook. But as restrictions based on race began to limit them, some came to view their future in the United States as hopeless and therefore began to consider relocating. The major scheme for doing so originated among whites who wished to rid the country of free blacks they considered potentially troublesome, both for social order and the well-being of slavery, and to relocate them where they might prosper, spread Christianity, and create commercial opportunities. Organized in Washington, D.C., by some of the nation's most prominent political leaders in 1816, this American Colonization Society soon selected a spot along Africa's west coast and by the early 1820s was transporting free blacks to the settlement that, two decades later, would become the Republic of Liberia.

But the inclination to leave rather than to work to change their situation did not permeate the free African American community. In fact, it steadily be-

came less popular as more free blacks began identifying with their race, which led them to realize that so long as some African Americans remained enslaved, none would be truly free. As early as 1817, three thousand free African Americans met in Philadelphia to state their opposition to colonization. Then, when Missouri's admission to the Union as a slave state was debated across the land in 1819–1820, free blacks faced the reality that slavery, a burden to all Americans of their race, was not going to wither away. In this background, throughout the 1820s a certain militancy entered into their opposition to colonization and to slavery itself. Denmark Vesey, the free black in Charleston who in 1822 planned a rebellion to free slaves in the region and lead them to Haiti, was thus a person of his time. In his wake would appear African Americans, free and slave, who were increasingly ready to take on slavery, verbally or physically, to advance the race and reinterpret the nation's stated beliefs in liberty.

By this time, African Americans were not organizing, arguing, and striking against slavery out of an optimistic sense of hurrying their nation along in its natural movement toward granting blacks the same rights it guaranteed in theory to all its citizens. As the African American population had grown, matured, and developed its own distinct ways, most of its members had come to believe that the country would continue to separate its citizens by race and discriminate against those of African descent. Change, they knew in 1829, would not come without a long and difficult struggle by blacks, for blacks. It is an idea that, once formed, would remain in the African American consciousness for a long time.

See also **Colonization Movement; Constitutional Convention; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Liberia; Missouri Compromise; Revivals and Revivalism; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

———, and Philip D. Morgan, eds. *Cultivation and Culture: Labor and the Shaping of Slave Life in the Americas.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Chaplin, Joyce E. *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Deyle, Steven. *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Egerton, Douglas R. *He Shall Go Out Free: The Lives of Denmark Vesey.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1999.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996.

Frey, Sylvia R. *Water from the Rock: Black Resistance in a Revolutionary Age.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Frey, Sylvia R., and Betty Wood. *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

McMillin, James A. *The Final Victims: Foreign Slave Trade to North America, 1783–1810.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004.

Melish, Joanne Pope. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Moore, John Hebron. *The Emergence of the Cotton Kingdom in the Old Southwest: Mississippi, 1770–1860.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Nash, Gary B. *Race and Revolution.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1990.

Walsh, Lorena S. *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

Wright, Donald R. *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789–1831.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993.

Donald R. Wright

African American Life and Culture

On 28 February 1829, *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first black newspaper, reported a resolution of the U.S. House of Representatives regarding the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia. The resolution stipulated, "In all sales of slaves made in said District by the authority of law . . . it shall and may be lawful, when such slaves . . . consist of a family or families, to sell them by families: and it shall not be lawful, by any such sale, to dispose separately of thus husband and wife, or of a mother and her children under ten years of age." The government's 1829 resolution was one of hundreds that shaped the ways in which both enslaved and free people of color experienced family life during the early national period. The first provision regulating the status of families in slavery came in 1663, when

a Virginia court declared all children born to an enslaved mother would be considered slaves, thus making slavery hereditary. From that point forward, issues of race and slavery influenced every aspect of domestic life for African Americans—from the food they consumed to where they lived to their interactions with their children and spouses.

FAMILIES IN SLAVERY

As debates over slavery escalated during the first decades of the Republic, they put increasing pressure on both enslaved and free black family dynamics. The debates led to increases of racial tension between blacks and whites, and often to outbursts of racially motivated violence, as in Philadelphia in the summer of 1838, when angry white protestors burned the Pennsylvania abolitionist hall, the colored orphan asylum, and attempted to burn the Mother Bethel American Methodist Episcopal Church. The increasing restrictions on the movement of both free and enslaved blacks that these debates produced also affected families' ability to maintain contact (whether between towns or plantations). While slaves faced the constant threat of physical punishment or separation from familiar communities, free black families faced their own problems of racial prejudice, unemployment, and financial instability.

Courtship and marriage. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), Thomas Jefferson claimed that among slaves, "love seems . . . to be more an eager desire, than a tender . . . sentiment." Jefferson's comment underscored a common eighteenth-century misconception about African American courtship rituals and relationships that ascribed them to biological urges rather than to sentiment. Twentieth-century scholars have noted that African American courtship rites differed sharply from those of their white American counterparts. For example, while a white couple might engage in a private dance as part of their wooing, slave courtships on the plantation often began within the "ring" of the slave community, at a social event such as a corn shucking or hog killing. Members of the community formed a ring around the eligible man or woman, who would then perform both for his or her intended and the rest of the group, whose members would shout out their approval or comments. Relationships among slave couples often evolved in a context that mirrored those of traditional African communities and that integrated both social and spiritual elements.

Since slaves had no legal status within the new nation, they could not legally marry. However, while many were undoubtedly forced into partner-ships by masters interested in "breeding" new slaves, most slave couples chose partners with the hope, if not the certainty, of sustaining a long-term relationship. Slave marriage celebrations varied widely. Some incorporated Christian rites and were performed in the presence of local preachers. Others involved the ceremony of "jumping the broom," a ritual probably derived from African marriage traditions in which the newly married couple leapt over a broom as a symbol of their transition from their unmarried state into their new life together.

Although some masters allowed their slaves to make "broad" marriages (when one slave married another living on a different plantation), many masters were reluctant to allow their slaves to form these kinds of unions. A male slave with a "broad wife" on another plantation could prove problematic, since, for example, he might seek additional time away from his duties to travel to his family, and since any children born out of the union would become the property of the wife's master.

While slave couples on the same plantation might live together, pooling their resources and labor, they had little control over the external factors that could affect their relationship. Traveling through the United States in the early nineteenth century, Alexis de Tocqueville observed that "there exists . . . a profound and natural antipathy between the institution of marriage and that of slavery. A man does not marry when he cannot exercise marital authority." Enslaved husbands could not prevent the forcible rape of their wives by either their white masters or other white male visitors or members of the master's household. Slave narratives often record male slaves' frustration and anxiety at their inability to protect their partners and children.

Children. Despite the harsh conditions, plantation slaves forged successful family relationships with their spouses and children. Some masters allowed slave mothers a month of light duty before and after the birth of their child, and often mothers were permitted to nurse their infants three or four times during the day (receiving time off from their labor to do so). After children were weaned, they were cared for by a slave working as the plantation nurse, who might have as many as twenty or thirty children to look after. Masters seldom assigned children to any challenging or sustained labor before the age of ten or twelve. Children generally lived in their parents' cabins until they started their own families.

Extended family. Kinship networks formed a vital part of sustaining family life within the institution

of slavery. Despite laws passed to ensure that slave families would be sold together, a master could simply choose not to record the names of a slave child's parent, thus effectively eliminating the connection. As a result, many slave families developed patterns of naming and of passing along family lore as a means of memorializing those who might be sold or traded away from the home plantation.

Records of unions and births on the larger plantations suggest that slave families continued to intermarry through successive generations, so that while the first generation of slaves on a plantation might consist largely of unrelated individuals, by the third generation, cousins might begin marrying cousins. Some slaves might eventually boast as many as seventy or eighty grandchildren and great-grandchildren on a single plantation.

Food and housing. Food and housing on the plantation were controlled largely by the master, who meted out supplies of grain, meat, and other staples to the community. Slaves often augmented their diet with family gardens behind their cabins, where they might grow vegetables that they could either consume or sell. Additionally, slave men often used their free time to hunt or fish.

Celebrations such as a corn shucking or Christmas often meant an increase in rations or a special meal. Additionally, while many masters deplored the potentially negative effects of alcohol use by their slaves, many also regularly supplied slaves with whiskey or rum. Some masters doled out alcohol as an incentive for work, while others offered it in recognition of a holiday.

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, slave housing was more haphazard than the traditional rows of cabins or "quarters" that dominated the nineteenth century. House slaves might occupy space in the barn, the attic of the main house, the kitchen floor, or the hallway outside their masters' rooms. Field slaves might be crammed into dormitorylike cabins, with up to sixteen slaves occupying the same open space. By the 1820s, plantation owners realized that these kinds of barrack-style quarters allowed for rapid spread of illness, and some reformers argued that it also promoted immorality. Families began to occupy individual cabins consisting of one room measuring perhaps fourteen by eighteen feet with a cooking fire and such furniture and pottery as their inhabitants were able to build or barter for. Archaeologists have suggested that some slaves built extensions onto their cabins in an effort to create a sense of privacy for husbands and wives away from their children.

Aspirations. The greatest hope of every slave was freedom. In the decades after the Revolution, northern states began transforming their slave laws. Pennsylvania, for example, passed a gradual abolition act in 1780, though any black Pennsylvanians born to slave parents after 1 March 1780 had to serve their masters until age twenty-eight. Slave owners that wanted to keep their slaves could register them with the government. Those slaves who were not registered were automatically freed. Similarly reluctant to free its entire slave population at once, New York instituted a gradual emancipation law in 1799, which meant that children born after 4 July 1799 were legally free but were placed under an "indenture" to their parents' masters until the men reached age twenty-eight and until the women reached age twenty-five. Those already in slavery were not to be freed until 1827.

These laws had a powerful impact on both free and enslaved families. The increase in the free black population affected free black churches, the free black workforce, and the free black schools in communities ranging from Philadelphia to New York to Boston. The increase of a freed population increased both the competition for survival *and* it meant greater possibilities for growth and solidarity, as cities such as Philadelphia were able to develop their own united black elite.

While some states moved slowly toward emancipation, others—in the South—worked to embed the system of slavery even more firmly in their legislative and economic structures. This too had a powerful impact on both enslaved and free families, since it meant that one of the only ways a family in Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, or other southern slave state might achieve freedom was by escaping to the North. Slaves often ran away either upon hearing a rumor that they were to be sold away from their families or to reach loved ones who had already been sold off the plantation. Though escaping in pairs or groups, especially with children, was extremely difficult, many slaves risked the perilous journey and the potential punishment if caught in order to bring their families to freedom.

SLAVES AND FREE BLACKS

Interactions between slaves and free blacks depended largely on how a particular state's legislation affected both populations. In states with gradual emancipation acts such as New York and Pennsylvania, by a certain date parents in slavery were giving birth to free children. Despite the difference in their legal status, many slaves and free blacks in the North worked

side by side during the early national period. Emancipation, while it meant freedom, did not automatically confer a change in economic status or earning power. In an effort to support their families, many newly freed African Americans found themselves reduced to a state of near indenture in the years following the Revolution as former slave owners exploited this ready source of cheap labor. However, by the first decades of the nineteenth century, some urban centers such as Philadelphia had also begun to witness the formation of a black elite—a class of free blacks with sufficient wealth and property to create their own social rituals. During the 1820s, the vicious cartoon series, "Life in Philadelphia," satirized what the artist perceived as black pretensions to white gentility, mocking black couples strolling down the streets in fashionable clothing or black men and women dancing at parties or courting in the parlor. What the cartoons recognize, however, is the emergence of a class division between wealthy free black families and poor or enslaved ones.

The Upper South experienced a different pattern in the relationships between free and enslaved African Americans in the years after the Revolution. In part, the universal oppression of any person of color by the white legislative and social systems forced free and enslaved blacks into alliances against a common enemy. Additionally, free and enslaved blacks in the South were much more likely to share either kinship ties or community relationships forged by the church.

The most obvious exception to this pattern was the phenomenon of free blacks holding other African Americans in slavery, a practice most prevalent in the Deep South—in Louisiana and South Carolina, for example. There, large Creole populations, comprising native free black populations and occasionally refugees from Saint Domingue, created sizeable and profitable slave plantations.

FAMILIES IN FREEDOM
Historians have estimated the free black population of the United States in 1800 hovered somewhere around 100,000. Free black families dwelled in both rural and urban regions and lived in every imaginable socioeconomic condition, from wealth to abject poverty.

Courtship and marriage. Some historians have found a tendency among free black couples to marry partners with the same skin color; that is, light-skinned men or women tended to seek light-skinned partners, while dark-skinned men or women married dark-skinned partners. In some regions, light skin color connoted higher social status, and thus among couples free to choose marriage partners, color made some potential mates more desirable than others.

The urban North. The first years after the Revolution witnessed a slight decline in the North's free black population as there was a comparatively low birth rate during the late 1770s and 1780s. By the late 1790s and early 1800s that trend had reversed, and although free black birth rates still remained below those of whites and infant mortality rates stayed high, the black population began to climb in urban areas as men and women took advantage of the opportunities offered there for social and economic mobility. Many free blacks moved to urban areas seeking work that would allow them to purchase other members of their families still in slavery, a trend that produced an increase in two-parent families by the end of the 1820s.

Former slaves were often able to acquire positions as artisans, building a stable living for their families as well as a broader free community. As historians of the early national period have noted, the free black population of the urban North grew at such a pace that by the first decade of the nineteenth century, schoolmasters for a new generation of African American children were in high demand.

Extended family. Though black families in freedom were often able to exert greater control over their living arrangements than their slave counterparts, they often lacked the same intricate kinship networks formed on the plantation. Greater mobility and access to economic opportunity meant that free black children could settle at a greater distance from their families.

Food and housing. Free black families had access to a much greater range of foodstuffs than families in slavery, which produced a greater variety (if not necessarily a better quality) in diet. Some of the most intriguing evidence concerning patterns of free black nutrition and living conditions has come from analysis of skeletons found in African American burial grounds. That analysis suggests widespread anemia (produced by lack of meat or green vegetables in a diet) but comparatively few instances of rickets or scurvy (produced by lack of dairy or vitamin C). Such data can help historians to understand the kinds of foods free blacks might have had access to on a regular basis.

Alcohol was one of the foodstuffs most frequently mentioned in connection with free blacks during the early national period. Abolitionist tracts called upon slaves to avoid alcohol, lest they confirm

whites' worst prejudices concerning the morality of the African American population. Tracts and newspapers noted the danger of alcohol to the stability of family life as well.

Housing conditions for free black families varied widely during the early national period. While some families were able to establish their own independent homes (whether on black-owned plantations in the South or residential communities in the North), many more free blacks in urban areas occupied crowded, tenementlike dwellings that allowed families little space or privacy.

Aspirations. So long as racial prejudice remained firmly entrenched in the American legal and social system, the aspirations of free black families were necessarily limited. However, by the first decades after the Revolution, free black families had begun to establish networks of community through their churches and other social organizations that allowed them some participation in the formation of the early Republic. For those couples or families persuaded that the Republic would never grant them the rights and citizenship they deserved, the growing colonization movement presented another choice for establishing a life in liberty.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Law: Slavery Law; Plantation, The; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Roger D. *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South.* New York: Pantheon, 1992.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Blassingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South.* Rev. ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Curry, Leonard P. *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Franklin, John Hope, and Loren Schweninger. *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* New York: Vintage Books, 1976.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925.* New York: Vintage Books, 1977.

Hodges, Graham Russell. *Root and Branch: African Americans in New York and East Jersey, 1613–1863.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Nash, Gary B., and Jean Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Philadelphia and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Rankin-Hill, Lesley M. *A Biohistory of Nineteenth-Century Afro-Americans: The Burial Remains of a Philadelphia Cemetery.* Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1997.

White, Shane. *Stories of Freedom in Black New York.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Winch, Julie. *Philadelphia's Black Elite: Activism, Accommodation, and the Struggle for Autonomy, 1787–1848.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Heather S. Nathans

African American Literature

The rich tradition of what became known as the African literary diaspora in North America originated from, and has since been developed by, West African cultural practices of dance, song, and storytelling. These practices, pre-dating European colonialism and the slave trade, were the means by which West Africans relayed important information from one generation to the next. The griot, or storyteller, held what was regarded as one of the most important positions in her or his respective tribe. The stories were seen as both didactic and as a way to preserve the memories of ancestors and fallen warriors. They offered explanations as to why and how the earth was created, stressed the importance of religious and cultural practices, and emphasized strong kinship ties within the community. The griot relied heavily upon cadence, meter, song, and dance to convey the emotion of her or his story. These tactics made it easier for the listener to understand and remember its underlying message.

The arrival of European merchants on the coast of West Africa, a mass of land that stretched from Cape Verde to the equator, dramatically changed the nature of what is known as the African oral tradition. The merchants that came to trade various goods with the tribal chieftains also traded in information. The merchants recorded what they saw and heard and returned to their respective countries with stories that underscored the extreme cultural differences between "civilized" Western Europe and "barbaric" Africa. These recordings not only laid the theoretical and ideological groundwork that was employed to excuse the enslavement of millions of

Africans, but also created a need for Africans to record their stories and their histories in refutation of their supposed barbarism. Thus, we begin to see a transition from a tradition that was once exclusively oral to one that would eventually become written.

This transition in African storytelling tradition continued to occur under slavery in the United States. Africans brought to America were stripped of their languages, religious practices, and families. The stories they had previously told, which enriched their cultural pride, were now preserved as memories in songs about the atrocities of slavery. The slave songs and spirituals that evolved from the African experience in America have become another rich and important addition to their oral tradition. Initially, slave masters and overseers believed the songs to be signs of happiness and contentment among the slaves. The slaves would use this belief to their advantage by passing on pertinent information regarding resistance, warnings, and eventual paths to freedom through their lyrics.

These lyrics would later inspire escaped and freed slaves to record their own experiences under slavery. Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753–1784), who was stolen into slavery at a very young age, recorded in her poems the life of a well-educated house servant living in eighteenth century Boston. Influenced heavily by the poetry of John Milton, Wheatley received much acclaim in the 1760s for her poetry regarding salvation through Christianity. Wheatley's poems were the first to touch upon the injustices of slavery and appeared in print before anyone dared to speak about the African American experience in slavery. Autobiographical works, such as Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa the African* (1789) and William Grimes's *Life of William Grimes, the Runaway Slave* (1825), recounted the inhumanity of slavery; retold the authors' own personal narratives; and exposed the cruel behavior of slave masters, mistresses, and overseers. Equiano's narrative gained particular attention for his use of language and became the model on which all other slave narratives would base their structures upon. By emphasizing his movement from ignorance to self-awareness, Equiano illustrated in his text that the acts of reading and writing were the strongest weapons of defense against those that claimed Africans were only capable of being beasts of burden.

In 1829, David Walker took the movement from ignorance to self-awareness through the act of writing one step further. In his political treatise *An Appeal to Coloured Citizens of the World*, Walker mimics the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of In-

dependence and asserts that "all men are created equal," regardless of race. Walker's "appeal," of course, was not to African Americans, for they were already well-acquainted with the cruelty and inhumanity of slavery. He addressed, rather, a white audience that either was ignorant or wished to be ignorant of the plight of the slave. Walker explicitly called for slaves to revolt against masters who would not grant them their full rights. One of the earliest overt political papers regarding anti-slavery and anti-racism, Walker's written work was championed by abolitionists and weakened the links in the chains of slavery.

The evolution of African American storytelling practices, from an oral tradition in Africa to a written tradition in response to slavery, was a slow and oftentimes painful process. Regardless, though, of the form these stories took, the messages remained clear. Hope, humanity and dignity were essential components to the telling of African and African American history. Whether to remember ancestors passed or to compel the compassionate to take action against slavery, each story was intricately woven so that the listener or reader would never forget.

See also **Autobiography and Memoir.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bontemps, Arna, ed. *Five Black Lives: The Autobiographies of Venture Smith, James Mars, William Grimes, the Rev. G.W. Offley, and James L. Smith.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1971.

Carretta, Vincent, ed. *Olaudah Equiano: The Interesting Narrative and Other Writings.* New York: Penguin, 1995.

Chambers, H. A., ed. *The Treasury of Negro Spirituals.* New York: Emerson, 1963.

Jones, Gayl. *Liberating Voices: Oral Tradition in African American Literature.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Stephanie J. Wilhelm

African American Religion

African American religion during the period from 1754 to 1828 constituted a vibrant spiritual and institutional force that allowed African Americans to cope with and adapt to the circumstances confronting them in America. It enabled African Americans to resist white supremacy and even to engage in dialog with white Americans. It also provided an avenue for blacks to express their understandings of spirituality and to develop institutions that helped organize communal life. At the same time, some white Americans attempted to use this religion to oppress their black
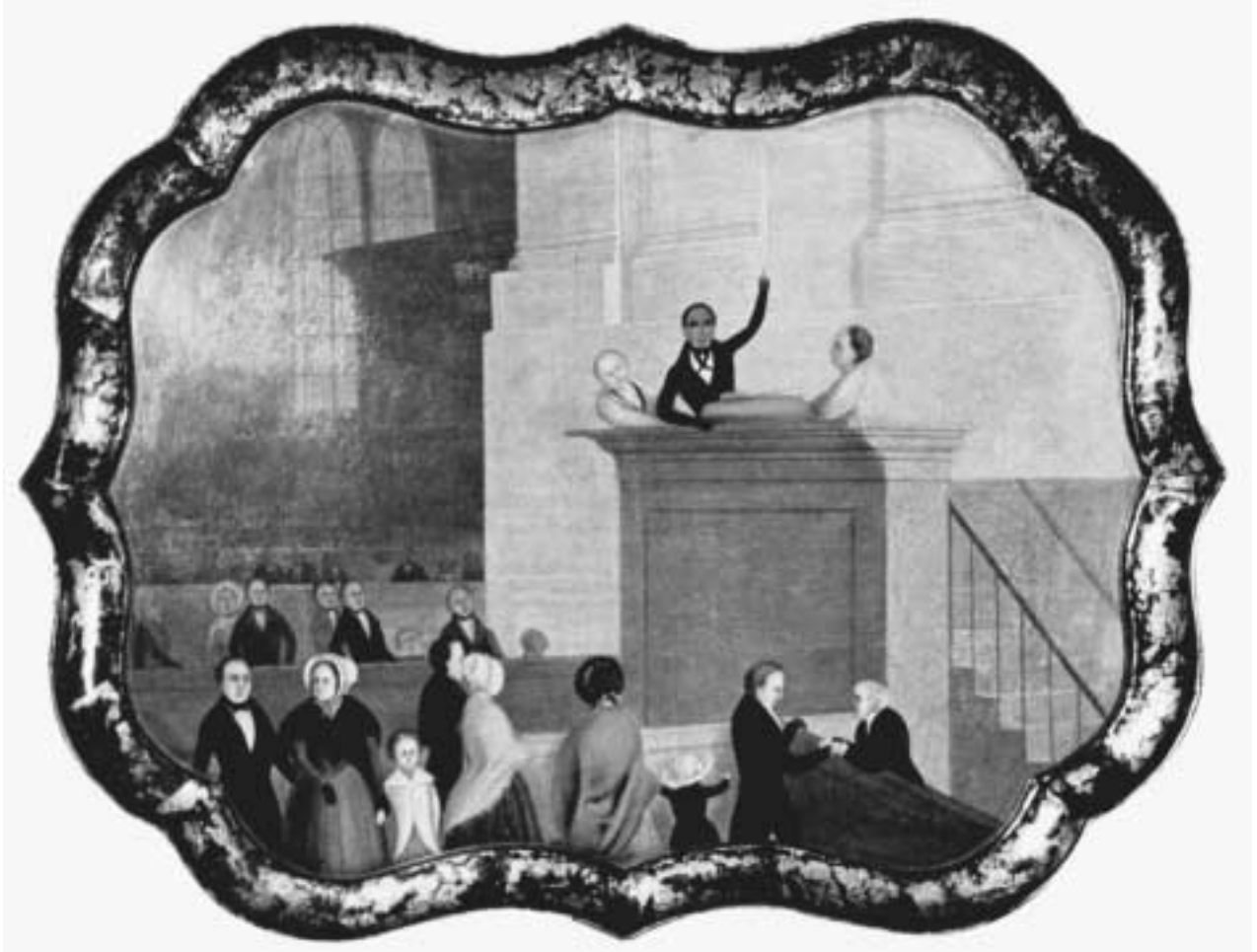
Lemuel Haynes. The Reverend Haynes (1753–1833), pictured here on a tray painting (c. 1810) by an unknown artist, was a Revolutionary soldier, a writer, and a preacher, and one of the first African Americans to serve as the pastor of a predominantly white congregation. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

counterparts, while blacks deployed it in an effort to offset white supremacy.

AFRICAN BACKGROUND

By the mid-eighteenth century, Africans had already been taken to the Americas as slaves for approximately two centuries. Slaves coming from Africa brought virtually nothing with them in the way of possessions, but they did bring religious beliefs. Although scholars debate the degree to which African religious culture survived in the Americas, its influence impacted the development of African American religion. Africa itself was not monolithic regarding religion. Although the vast majority of Africans adhered to a variety of traditional religions, a few had embraced Christianity and Islam while still in Africa. But although Christianity was not unknown to all Africans as they began to encounter it in the Ameri-

cas, they now engaged it from the standpoint of minorities brought forcefully to a new land and possessing little social and political power. To those Africans who had no knowledge of Christianity, it represented a new and strange religion. Yet, these individuals would also encounter established slave communities where some people had significant experience in dealing with their masters' religion. While relatively few African Americans had converted to Christianity, these numbers were beginning to increase by the mid-eighteenth century and would accelerate through the early part of the next.

Adherents to West African religions believed in a High God who was the Supreme Creator of all things. This understanding may have had some compatibility with Christian beliefs, but the context of the two religions weakened the connection. Whereas Christianity adhered to monotheism, West

African religions placed the High God within a web of lesser gods and spirits. These lesser gods and spirits were far more active in human affairs than the High God. Efforts to manage the power of and human relationship with these gods and spirits, especially by magic, constituted an important part of the African religious tradition. Dancing and singing were common ritual expressions. This context, combined with their position as slaves in a new world, composed the vantage point from which Africans understood and related to Christianity. Slaves born in the Americas, though, generally did not possess direct and unimpeded or unchallenged exposure to the African religious heritage, Africans and African Americans nonetheless had to grapple with the challenges presented by Christianity from similar, but not identical frames of reference.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY

The colonial period, particularly during its latter years, produced the initial developments toward an African American Christianity. Some blacks held tenaciously to their traditional religions. Others, particularly those born in America, began to embrace Christianity in varying degrees. Seldom, however, did this embrace constitute a wholesale rejection of traditional religious beliefs and practices. More often, an amalgamation occurred. At first, traditional religions provided the framework from which the incorporation of Christianity occurred. Later, Christianity provided the framework for absorbing the vestiges of traditional religions. An African American Christianity distinct from, but intimately related to, that of white Christianity eventually emerged.

Conversion rates. Initially, conversion rates to Christianity were low, but as evangelicalism began to proliferate after 1740, so too did African American converts. Beginning in the 1760s, the Baptist and Methodist movements reached out to African Americans in tangible ways, as did the Moravian Brethren at about the same time. It was not, however, until the post-Revolutionary period that Christianity began to become a significant factor in the African American community. By 1815 it was a dominant religious force, and by 1830 African American churches had established firm institutional foundations in the community. While it is difficult to know precisely all the reasons involved in an individual's decision to convert, it is apparent that many did so as a means of coping with their poor conditions or in an effort to provide justification for their being freed. The latter reason rarely worked. Others, however, used Christianity as a way to challenge their masters. Whether African Americans converted in order to present a challenge or whether they discovered Christianity's usefulness for challenge some time after conversion is not always clear. The extent to which personal spiritual reasons prompted conversion is also not for the most part known, particularly regarding early converts.

That the proliferation of evangelical expressions of Christianity contributed to increased conversion rates among African Americans probably reflects the appeal of these religions in contrast to Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism (although a relatively large number of blacks in Maryland and Louisiana were Roman Catholic). Evangelical Christianity extended hope to slaves by emphasizing a coming millennial kingdom that offered the promise of a better world. The stress placed on personal and immediate conversion (as opposed to one centered on a process that involved learning proper beliefs), combined with the growing use of emotion in the religious experience, also proved attractive. Within this context, African Americans began to exert their own expressions of Christian religious commitment and experience, often incorporating elements related to traditional African religions. The prominence and importance of singing, dancing, and emotional expression within African religions manifested itself in African American Christianity.

The Exodus theme. The evangelical emphasis on the individual allowed African Americans eventually to interpret and use the Bible in ways that challenged white interpretations and uses. The Bible provided African Americans powerful symbols with which to cope with and critique their environment, as well as to express their own understandings. Chief among these images was the biblical Exodus wherein the Israelites, under the leadership of Moses, overthrew Egyptian bondage and became the divinely chosen nation.

White Americans had freely invoked the Exodus theme in their struggle against Britain, labeling the English monarch a pharaoh and envisioning America as a new Israel coming out of British bondage. White Christians also commonly used it to describe the experience of spiritual salvation. African Americans appropriated the theme in ways that appeared similar to their white counterparts but had quite different implications. While both white and black Christians could jointly explore their spiritual experiences and aspirations through the language of the Exodus, this same motif divided them in the social and political realms. When a slave named David told a racially mixed audience in 1775 in Savannah, Georgia, that

God would deliver "Negroes" from their masters in the same way that he had delivered the Israelites from their Egyptian masters, the slave owners wanted him hanged. Denmark Vesey, a former slave who had purchased his freedom with money won in a lottery, envisioned himself as an African Moses leading the Israelites out of bondage as he attempted a slave rebellion in 1822. The plot, however, was foiled, and Vesey and others were executed. These incidents illustrate the danger African Americans incurred when they employed the Exodus in realms outside the spiritual. Nonetheless, the Exodus became the most significant theme in the nineteenth-century African American experience. Its influence contributed to effective, albeit less brazen, uses of the Exodus theme. The spiritual, *Oh Mary*, *Don't You Weep*, *Don't You Moan*, did not confront the slave system directly, but instead used the Exodus theme to articulate a general hope for both spiritual and physical freedom; implied in this yearning was an abolition of slavery.

The biblical story of the Exodus also provided African Americans with a way to express their suffering that cast them as God's people to whom a deliverer would be sent. One important African American minister, Absalom Jones (1746–1818), took Exodus 3:7–8 as the text of a sermon in which he celebrated the abolition of American participation in the transatlantic slave trade in 1808 as one indicator that God had heard the slaves' cries and would liberate them. David Walker, in his *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (1829), assured his audience that God had heard the cries of African Americans just as he had heard those of the Israelites. The Exodus theme, therefore, took on great significance in articulating the spiritual and physical experiences and hopes of African Americans. The period from 1754 to 1828 laid the foundation for an even greater use of that theme in the subsequent decades, during which white abolitionists would join African Americans in invoking it. White Southerners employed it at the same time to buttress slavery by portraying their attempt at secession in terms of the Exodus, while also calling attention to the differences between the Israelite exodus and contemporary colonization and abolitionist schemes. These differences were used to demonstrate that the African American exodus was not endowed with divine approval and support. The figure of Jesus also operated alongside the Exodus in African American Christianity. Both motifs allowed whites and blacks to share a spiritual space that manifested itself in drastically different ways in the physical realm.

Black churches, white control. The formation of African American churches and denominations illustrates another avenue of self-expression, protest, and assertion of African American authority. As the consequence of a 1787 incident in which black members of St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia were physically forced to sit in seats designated for blacks, two black churches were eventually formed: St. Thomas African Episcopal Church and Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Similar occurrences happened in other cities as blacks and whites struggled over authority and power. One of the participants in the Philadelphia episode, Richard Allen (Absalom Jones also participated in the 1787 event), along with other leaders such as Daniel Coker, founded in 1816 the first national black denomination in the United States, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. The denomination and its churches grew rapidly as African Americans increasingly took control of their spiritual lives on an institutional basis. Using the Bible as their authority, Allen and others proclaimed the biblical doctrines of equality and inclusiveness in the eyes of God in their protest against white supremacy. African American churches in other denominations also proliferated, but not without resistance from whites. Black Baptist churches and preachers were especially prominent, with the first churches being founded in Virginia and Georgia. Typically in Baptist churches (as well as others), blacks and whites participated in joint, but segregated, worship. Often African American members exceeded whites numerically, and sometimes African American services were held separately from whites when the number of blacks grew too large. Some separate African American churches, such as the Baptist church in Silver Bluff, South Carolina, formed in the 1770s, arose before 1800. Yet by the 1820s whites maintained control over most black churches, either through white pastors or white representatives at associational meetings.

Two African American pastors, Gowan Pamphlet and Moses, founded the African Baptist Church in Williamsburg, Virginia, during the 1780s. It became one of the largest churches in the Dover Association by 1830, but was closed by whites in 1832 after the Nat Turner slave rebellion the preceding year. White pastors often oversaw black churches in an effort to regulate more closely their activities and teachings. The Gillfield Baptist Church in Petersburg, Virginia, for example, had become the largest church in the Portsmouth Association by 1821. Yet it continued to be pastored by white ministers, and the Association even attempted unsuccessfully to merge it with a white church. Although whites continued to

exercise dominance in black churches, African Americans made great strides during the post-revolutionary period in establishing their own authority.

Black churches helped shape and foster an African American Christianity that shared certain beliefs and practices with white Christians while at the same time developing into a distinctive religion. African Americans contested biblical interpretations and congregational practices and increasingly took charge of their own spiritual instruction. While blacks were unable to exercise complete freedom in these matters, African American religion in 1828 differed substantially from that of 1754. It had developed from a conglomeration of African religious understandings held by slaves who were being taught Christianity as practiced by whites to an organized expression of black Christian spirituality that challenged the existing social order and white Christian practices and theology. White Christianity itself changed as a result of contact with African American Christianity. Black Christians, therefore, could confront the challenges of the upcoming decades with established religious institutions, practices, and theology.

See also **Religion: Overview.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Frey, Sylvia R., and Betty Wood. *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Genovese, Eugene D. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Glaude, Eddie S., Jr. *Exodus! Religion, Race, and Nation in Early Nineteenth-Century Black America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Raboteau, Albert J. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

———. *Canaan Land: A Religious History of African Americans.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Sensbach, Jon F. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Sernett, Milton C. *African American Religious History: A Documentary Witness.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.

Weisenfeld, Judith. "On Jordan's Stormy Banks: Margins, Center, and Bridges in African American Religious History." In *New Directions in American Religious History.* Edited by Harry S. Stout and D. G. Hart. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Scott M. Langston

African American Responses to Slavery and Race

In the seven decades before 1830, African American life underwent significant changes. In particular, African Americans developed and explored new methods to challenge the slavery and racial inequality that characterized late colonial America and the new nation that emerged from the American Revolution (1775–1783).

AN ERA OF REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE

The coming of the Revolution prompted many colonists—black and white—to openly question the morality of slavery for the first time. African Americans imbibed the rhetoric of natural rights that sounded from the lips of white American patriots. They responded to the Revolution in a variety of ways. There were a few attempts at slave rebellion. Following Lord Dunmore's Proclamation of 1775 promising freedom to slaves who flocked to the British banner, about 100,000 slaves made personal declarations of independence by running away from their masters in the South. About a fifth of these eventually shouldered arms for the king in Virginia and the Carolinas. Many who did left with other Loyalists at the end of the Revolution for British colonies in Canada, Florida, and the West Indies. Another five thousand enlisted on the American side, fighting valiantly in battles from Lexington and Concord to Yorktown. Nearly all were motivated by the hope of liberty.

In the North, dozens of slaves brought freedom suits to local courts or petitioned colonial assemblies or new state legislatures for personal or universal emancipation. This was particularly the case in Massachusetts, where blacks petitioned the legislature for a general emancipation five times between 1773 and 1777. At the start of the 1780s, two Massachusetts slaves—Mumbet (later known as Elizabeth Freeman) and Quock Walker—initiated freedom suits in the courts of Massachusetts. The suits were based on the language of natural rights embedded in the state constitution of 1780, which was in turn based on the Declaration of Independence. In 1783 their suits ended in victory when Massachusetts's chief justice outlawed slavery in the state. Others, most notably the poet Phillis Wheatley (1753?–1784), raised the call for freedom in the colonial press.

The post–Revolutionary decades brought dramatic changes in the context of American slavery. Between 1780 and 1804, northern states gradually ended their involvement in the institution through explicit bans on slavery in state constitutions, court

action, and the passage of gradual emancipation acts by state legislatures. In the Upper South, Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia eased their laws concerning private manumission. As a result, free blacks increased to about one-tenth of the African American population during this era, concentrated in the North and Upper South—particularly in Atlantic seaports such as Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where sizeable black communities formed. Faced with discrimination in the larger society, these communities soon developed their own institutions, often in specific acts of protest. Prince Hall (c. 1735–1807) founded an African Lodge in Boston in the 1770s, leading to the formation of similar fraternal organizations in other cities. These often became centers for African American politics and protest. Independent black churches performed a similar role. Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones (1746–1818) founded Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church after leaving a white church in 1792 because of segregated seating and other racial mistreatment. Other withdrawals led to the formation of black congregations in Baltimore, New York, and many other cities. By the early nineteenth century, independent black Baptist, Methodist, and other congregations existed in most black communities in the North and Upper South. In 1816 Allen created the first all-black denomination, the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME). Often such churches provided the impetus for the creation of black schools.

After a period of relative calm in the 1780s, those remaining in slavery increasingly found ways to register their discontent with the institution. Some slaves attempted to rise up against their masters. News of the Haitian Revolution filtered through slave communities in the South beginning in 1791 and inspired a wave of conspiracies and revolts over the next four decades, including those instigated by Quillo in North Carolina (1794), Gabriel in Virginia (1800), Charles Deslondes in Louisiana (1811), and Denmark Vesey in South Carolina (1822). Other slaves sought to run away to freedom. In the Lower South, many ran to Spanish Florida or to Maroon communities along the frontier or in nearby swamps. Those in the Upper South, however, increasingly looked to the North. With the ending of slavery there, that region became a haven for runaway slaves. Perhaps as many as a thousand fugitives reached the free states each year. A few even continued on to Canada.

THE POWER OF THE WORD

African Americans also pressed for emancipation and equality through the political structure of the new nation. With voting and other means of political influence usually closed to them, they exercised their First Amendment right to "petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Throughout the nation, free blacks and slaves petitioned state legislatures for a variety of purposes: personal freedom; a general emancipation; protection against the reenslavement of manumitted blacks; compensation for work done in slavery; the right to vote; an end to the poll tax; wages for military service and compensation for injuries sustained in the Continental Army; land in the West; funds for transport to Africa; and a host of other goals. Again, Massachusetts blacks were especially strident. In 1780 Paul and John Cuffe petitioned the state legislature for exemption from the poll tax because they were not permitted to vote, labeling the practice "taxation without representation." Three years later, Belinda, a former slave, asked for and received compensation from her former master's estate. Prince Hall regularly petitioned the Massachusetts legislature on topics ranging from black access to public schools to protection against kidnapping into slavery. Some went further. Philadelphia blacks twice petitioned the U.S. Congress for protection against reenslavement for four manumitted North Carolinians in 1797 and three years later when they called for a ban on the slave trade and legislation for the gradual abolition of slavery.

African Americans in the new nation also found a host of ways to fight for their rights and freedom through the printed word. Like petitions, these methods represented a shift toward literary forms of protest on the part of African Americans in the new nation. A few published public letters to prominent whites. A letter of the black mathematician and scientist Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806) to Thomas Jefferson in 1791 openly challenged the racism of the founding father in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Dozens of speeches, sermons, and other orations by African Americans, often commemorating antislavery events such as the abolition of American involvement in the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, found their way into print. These were circulated to a broader audience as African Americans relied increasingly on pamphlet literature. *Letters from a Man of Colour* (1813), written by the black Philadelphia businessman James Forten (1766–1842) to protest a bill to prevent further black settlement in Pennsylvania, proved to be a particularly influential pamphlet. A few blacks published book-length narratives of their experiences in slavery, often with the aid of white amanuenses. The earliest of these, by Briton Hammon, appeared in 1760. But several more, those of Venture Smith, George White, John Jea, Solomon

Bayley, and William Grimes were published in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, helping to inform and move white Americans on the subject of slavery. Several blacks were able to publish antislavery essays in local newspapers or in friendly periodicals such as Matthew Carey's magazine, *American Museum* (1787–1792). Following in the footsteps of Wheatley, a few published poems on racial themes. Richard Allen even offered a few antislavery hymns that he had authored in his hymnbooks for the young AME denomination.

A particular concern of African Americans after the War of 1812 (1812–1815) was the increasing prominence of the issue of their repatriation to the African continent. As early as 1787, Hall had petitioned the Massachusetts legislature for funds to establish a colony for black Bostonians in Africa. Paul Cuffe raised similar concerns in the early nineteenth century. But the issue took on a greater immediacy after the formation of the American Colonization Society in 1816 and its colony in Liberia a few years later. Only a minority of blacks supported the repatriation effort. Blacks in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere organized against the colonization movement, reminding white Americans that the new nation was their home. Even so, a few hundred blacks had emigrated to Liberia by 1830; a few hundred more accepted the invitation of the Haitian government to resettle in the island nation. Most African Americans, however, chose to stay and fight for emancipation and equality.

African American responses to American slavery and racial inequality took on a new militancy in the late 1820s. In many ways, these years served as a prelude to the more strident black abolitionism of the antebellum decades. The first black antislavery society, the Massachusetts General Colored Association, was organized in 1826 in Boston. *Freedom's Journal* (1827–1829), the first African American newspaper, was published in New York by Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm. The year 1829 witnessed the publication of three particularly strident works—George Horton's *The Hope of Liberty*, Robert Alexander Young's *The Ethiopian Manifesto*, and David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*. Horton's collection of verse included poems such as "The Slave's Complaint" and "On Liberty and Slavery," which characterized liberty as the "golden prize" sought by all blacks. Young's pamphlet sought to "call together the black people as a nation in themselves" and predicted the rise of a leader to vindicate black rights. Walker's controversial and widely circulated pamphlet challenged America's mistreatment of its black citizens and prophesied a violent response. It reminded white Americans of the promise of equality and natural rights in the nation's founding document—the Declaration of Independence—and demonstrated how far the country fell short of that promise in its treatment of African Americans. In many ways Horton, Young, and Walker represented hundreds of other African Americans who exposed the new nation's failures to live up to its creed.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; Newspapers; Press, The; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bruce, Dickson D., Jr. *The Origins of African American Literature, 1680–1865.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Dain, Bruce. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Hinks, Peter P., ed. *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Kaplan, Sidney, and Emma Nogrady Kaplan. *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution.* Rev. ed. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989.

Newman, Richard S. *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Porter, Dorothy, ed. *Early Negro Writing, 1760–1837.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

Rael, Patrick. *Black Identity and Black Protest in the Antebellum North.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Sweet, John Wood. *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730–1830.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Roy E. Finkenbine

Free Blacks in the North

Traveling across the United States in the early 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville searched for the distinctive or "exceptional" quality of American democracy. What set Americans apart, Tocqueville contended, was the basic equality of social condition that Americans enjoyed. The society he observed was in the throes of a fundamental transformation in the very concept of representative, democratic government. Voluntary associations proliferated and, by the early 1830s, state after state had dropped property qualifications for voting for white men. And yet Tocqueville was

alarmed at the foundations upon which American democracy seemed to rest: racial prejudice and a white supremacy that pervaded every institution of society. After about 175 years of slavery, the unique nature of the black experience in the United States—politically, socially, economically, culturally—had come into such sharp focus that Tocqueville believed whites and blacks incapable of complete integration or, for that matter, complete separation. "These two races are fastened to each other without intermingling; and they are unable to separate entirely or to combine," Tocqueville asserted in his classic book, *Democracy in America* (2 vols., 1835, 1840). "The most formidable of all ills that threaten the future of the Union arises from the presence of a black population upon its territory; and in contemplating the causes of present embarrassments, or of future dangers in the United States, the observer is invariably led to this as a primary fact." For Tocqueville the real secret to what modern scholars call American exceptionalism lay at the doorstep of the color line.

In the new American nation, racial prejudice sometimes seemed more intense in the northern states than in the South. Northern whites who feared blacks or harbored deep racial prejudice were probably more hostile to their black neighbors than were slave owners. This made sense. In the South blacks were controlled by masters, overseers, and slave codes. The entire legal apparatus of the South was available to suppress blacks and keep them in perpetual servitude and perpetual servility. But in the North, especially in the eastern states that formed the Union, free blacks were not under the control of anyone and after the Revolution were free to move about; interact in society; and, in a number of states, participate in politics.

ABOLITION AND DISCRIMINATION

In the years following the Revolution the northern states abolished slavery and the free black population grew rapidly. In 1790 there were about 27,000 free blacks and over 40,000 slaves in the northern states. By 1810 these states had over 75,000 free blacks and about 27,000 slaves. By 1830—the end of the early national period—there were over 122,000 free blacks in these states and about 2,700 slaves, almost all of them in New Jersey, which was the last northern state to begin to end slavery. There were three sources for the growing numbers of free blacks: the emancipation and manumission of slaves; the children of slaves who were born free under the gradual emancipation statutes of Pennsylvania (1780), Connecticut (1784), Rhode Island (1784), New York

(1799), and New Jersey (1804); and the free blacks and fugitive slaves who left the South for the greater freedom and opportunity of the North. The Northeast was not the only destination for free blacks. Despite laws that discriminated against them, southern blacks flocked to Ohio, where the free black population rose from a paltry 198 in 1800 to over 9,500 by 1830. Similarly, Indiana's free black population grew from 87 in 1800 to over 3,600 by 1830. Illinois, with about 400 free blacks at statehood in 1818, had over 1,600 by 1830.

The rights of free blacks in the North varied tremendously in the half century after independence. In Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and later Maine they had virtually full rights as citizens The only formal discrimination they faced in those states was laws banning interracial marriage. After the Revolution blacks could vote not only in those states, but in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey as well. But the new states of the Midwest—Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), and Illinois (1818)—prohibited blacks from voting and passed laws requiring them to register and prove their freedom. These laws were rarely enforced and did little to slow the growth of the free black population in those states, but the laws did brand them as second-class citizens. More pernicious were laws prohibiting them from testifying against whites, receiving public assistance if they became impoverished, and banning them from public schools.

By the end of the early national period, the political status of blacks had declined. In 1821 New York allowed all whites to vote but retained a property requirement for black voters. New Jersey had taken the vote away from blacks by this time. Ohio had begun to build public schools, but only for whites.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Just up from slavery, blacks were faced with the difficult task of carving out independent lives for themselves and providing the means of economic sustenance. Slavery operated much differently in the North than in the South. Rather than toiling on large, sprawling plantations, slaves were mostly concentrated in northern urban centers and worked as domestics in their owners' homes. As free blacks moved out of white households and into their own (segregated) communities, they sought work anywhere they could find it. Naturally, they competed on the lowest rung of the economic ladder with poor whites, many of whom were recent immigrants in places like Philadelphia, Boston, Providence, and New York City. Economic competition caused racial ten-

Dreadful Riot on Negro Hill! Although Massachusetts was one of the few states where the rights of black northerners expanded, many free blacks continued to suffer the brutal realities of discrimination. This broadside from 1827, purportedly a "letter from Phillis to her sister in the country," featured a satirical poem describing an attack by white Bostonians on a black family. © CORBIS.

sions in those areas where urbanization, immigration, and industrialization were the most pronounced. The larger the growing free black population, the more visible blacks were and hence the more resentment they faced. Also, the earlier immigration, urbanization, and industrialization took place, the greater the likelihood that racial animosities would flare up. In general, the social and economic milieu of the early nineteenth century across the North tested what Joanne Pope Melish has described in *Disowning Slavery* (1998) as "the stability of social identity and the meaning of citizenship for whites as well as for people of color."

In the northern and the mid-Atlantic states, a small portion of free blacks worked in their own fields on land that was either purchased by them or bequeathed to them. In the cities, they carved out their own economic existence as barbers, carpenters, cabinetmakers, painters, and shoemakers. Yet many struggled to become completely independent from white benefactors, many of whom had been their former masters. In New York City from 1790 to 1810, for example, roughly a third of all free blacks lived in white households. Most of these blacks lived and worked as domestic laborers in the homes of merchants, artisans, professionals, and retail salesmen—in other words, in the homes of prominent white citizens of New York City. But in the same period, the number of households headed by free blacks went up from 157 to 1,228, or about an eightfold increase.

FORGING BLACK COMMUNITIES

In Pennsylvania, the gradual abolition law passed by the Pennsylvania assembly in 1780 stipulated that any child born to a mother held in slavery would be freed upon reaching the age of twenty-eight. Thus, by 1810 manumission was taking place all across the state. Gradual abolition no doubt played a large role in both the increase in the number of free blacks in the state and the black migration to Philadelphia. By 1810, there were only 795 slaves and 22,493 free blacks in Pennsylvania. In 1800, 56 percent of all Philadelphia blacks lived in white households; by 1810 that number had dropped to 39 percent. Ten years later only 27 percent of blacks resided in white households. Blacks were forging their own communities in Philadelphia, but were doing so in the face of increasing political and economic discrimination on the one hand and residential segregation on the other.

Black communities in other northern states also struggled to piece together a tolerable existence. To the northeast of Pennsylvania in Rhode Island, any black child born to a slave after 4 March 1784 was freed upon reaching the age of majority—eighteen for females, twenty-one for males. The children were bound to their masters until that time, and the slave owner was responsible for the child's education until the age of majority was reached. By 1820 the slave population in Rhode Island had dwindled down to a mere several dozen; in Newport, the foothold of plantation slavery in the state, the number of slaves had declined to seventeen, and the census of the same year recorded only four slaves in Providence. As Rhode Island entered an era of industrial expansion between 1800 and 1830, manumitted blacks were moving from south to north within the state, converging mainly on Providence, where a burgeoning black community began to thrive. Furthermore, the newly freed class eventually possessed and maintained some modicum of economic independence from the white majority.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century, nearly two-thirds of all blacks lived in black-headed households. Most of those living outside black homes were children who remained in white households as apprenticed house servants, placed there by the black parents; in return for their services, black children received educational instruction from whites. These ties between the white elite and blacks were formed in the days of slavery and took the shape, specifically in Rhode Island, of whites allowing blacks into their churches and, to a lesser extent, their schools. However, the removal of blacks from white households coincided with an attempt at racial separation through the creation of wholly black institutions. While black groups such as the Free African Union Society and the African Benevolent Society had been in existence in Newport since the 1790s, by 1820 there was a concerted effort on the part of both white and black leaders to establish separate schools and churches for blacks.

Some blacks attended college. John Russwurm for example, graduated from Maine's Bowdoin College in 1826 and then moved to New York, where he was co-founder with Samuel Cornish, a Presbyterian minister, of the nation's first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827. Cornish was one of a number of free black ministers in the North who helped create viable black communities in the early national period. By 1830 black churches could be found throughout the North, run by black ministers and supported by black communities. These communities resisted segregation and discrimination in public places even as they turned inward to create schools, fraternal or-

ganizations, clubs, churches, and intellectual institutions, like Russwurm's newspaper. Across the North blacks found freedom, discrimination, racism, white philanthropy, economic opportunity, and discrimination in employment. Whether in Massachusetts or Ohio or New York, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, or anywhere else across the North, free blacks suffered the brutal realities of discrimination, the joyous taste of freedom that came with abolition and a new life, and the bitter disappointments attendant with second-class citizenship as it stalked them wherever they went. All dreamed of what James Oliver Horton and Lois Horton called "The Hope of Liberty"; all lived somewhere between freedom and bondage. How did they endure? In his *Platform for Change: The Foundations of the Northern Free Black Community*, *1775–1865* (1994), Harry Reed argues that free black communities all across the antebellum North looked to five specific things in forming a community identity and "consciousness" to ease the harshness of their increasingly isolated status: the church, self-help organizations, black newspapers, the black convention movement, and the ideology of emigration that began in the 1810s. How did they endure? Faced with the racial prejudice Tocqueville witnessed firsthand across the North, the answer is simply by relying on one another and the bonds discrimination wrought as a source of strength.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Colonization Movement; Emancipation and Manumission; Newspapers; Voting**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carrol, Peter N., and David Noble. *The Free and the Unfree: A New History of the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.

Chambers, William Nisbet, and Philip C. Davis. "Party, Competition, and Mass Participation: The Case of the Democratizing Party System, 1824–1852." In *The History of American Electoral Behavior.* Edited by Joel Silbey, Allan G. Bogue, and William H. Flanigan. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Melish, Joanne Pope. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Roediger, David. *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the White Working Class.* New York: Verso Press, 1991.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* Edited by J. P. Mayer. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969.

White, Shane. *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991.

Paul Finkelman
Christopher Malone

Free Blacks in the South

Prior to the American Revolution, few free blacks resided in the American South, and most of them were in the Chesapeake region. Maryland in 1755 counted 1,817, and Virginia had even fewer as late as 1780. Products of a charter generation of Creoles who came free or who had negotiated freedom out of the yet fluid racial landscape of the seventeenth-century Atlantic world, the earliest free blacks in America were largely of mixed ancestry. They never comprised more than a small fraction of the coastal populations of colonial America, especially after the rapid rise of slavery in the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century arrivals of purer African ancestry would also negotiate freedom, but less easily so as Anglo-American racial attitudes hardened alongside proliferation of slavery in the British colonies.

THE REVOLUTION AND MANUMISSION

The Revolution was a watershed in the history of African Americans. A powerful combination of republican principles, religious persuasion, economic pressure, and antislavery activity during and immediately after the war fashioned a dual path for blacks in the South. Indeed, the egalitarian ideals that sustained both white and black Americans through their War of Independence now made slavery seem for many to be in contradiction to those ideals; some slaveholders, as a consequence, freed their slaves in the war's aftermath. Yet in the Lower South, ironically, the war entrenched slavery even more deeply than before. The British efforts to use slavery to drive a wedge between Loyalists and Patriots caused thousands of bondpeople to seek freedom. This led many planters to eschew their support for England just as it deepened their commitment to slavery. The spread of cotton in the years after the war set slavery on an irreversible course toward an unparalleled expansion in the Lower South states. From 1790 to 1830, the slave population in the Lower South grew from 136,358 to 845,805, a sixfold increase; in the latter year, free blacks numbered 30,193, or just 3.5 percent of its overall black population. Those few slaves freed in the Lower South were generally light-skinned personal servants, often the products of illicit unions between masters or their sons and their

bondwomen, who were often educated, skilled, and frequently given property with their freedom. Indeed, some three-fourths of Lower South freedpeople were of mixed parentage, forming a buffer group whose members styled themselves as "free people of color." As more than one historian has written, free mulattoes occupied a middle ground, enjoying a higher status than the mass of dark-skinned slaves yet denied the rights of full citizenship by whites and being largely despised by both.

Conversely, in the Upper South, the Revolution sparked some waning of slavery. For many white slaveholders, the war unleashed storms that buffeted their ideological stance on slavery as they confronted the contradiction of fighting a war for liberty while maintaining the enslavement of African Americans. That, along with an economic transition from tobacco to grain crops, resulted in a wave of manumissions—by will, deed, and term—that dramatically changed the demographics of the Upper South's black population. By 1790 Virginia boasted 12,766 free blacks while Maryland had some 8,043, constituting some 2.5 percent of the latter state's total population; by 1830 that figure would climb to nearly 12 percent. More telling, the proportion of free blacks to slaves in the Upper South grew appreciably in the early national period, so that by 1820 some 10.6 percent of its black population was free. In Maryland, the figure went up markedly to 27 percent by 1820; a decade later, a full third of Maryland's black population was free.

In marked contrast to the Lower South, as the Upper South's free black population grew, so did it become of a darker hue. Where Lower South masters freed only a select few of their bondpeople, mostly mulattoes, Upper South slave owners liberated their bondpeople more indiscriminately, generally freeing not just one or two but most or all of the master's chattel property. Manumission documents, both deeds and wills, commonly record such wholesale emancipations, involving tens of bondpeople, with men and women appearing in roughly equal proportions. Thousands more owners either simply liberated their slaves or allowed them to purchase their freedom. Such practices soon made the freedpeople of the Upper South most distinguishable from those of the Lower South in their skin color; nearly two-thirds of the Upper South's free blacks were dark-skinned.

Term manumission and term slavery. Unique to the Upper South was the process of term manumission. In an economic environment where slavery was increasingly less profitable, masters could recoup their investment in their slaves, whom they often pos-sessed from an early age and thus provided for them in years when they offered little labor, by promising freedom at a particular age or year in consideration of faithful service. The widespread practice of term slavery created a legal and social contretemps by which term slaves were neither slave nor free, but both at once. Slaves recognized this anomaly and often shrewdly manipulated the existing circumstances to their best advantage. Recognizing their own agency in the slave-master relationship, slaves badgered their owners, threatened their own flight, and even inflicted physical intimidation and violence, to force owners to register documents providing for term manumission for unneeded slaves rather than to sell them to traders who would transport them to the cotton regions. This development, viewed unfavorably by masters largely because it often worked against their interests, played a role in the gradual decline of slavery in the Upper South. Term manumission, in combination with the propensity of owners to free their slaves gradually (by will and deed, the latter promised but not registered until a later date), left the free black class, for the most part, older than the mass of slaves, enough to prompt several states to pass legislation restricting owners' liberty to emancipate their slaves after certain ages.

FREE BLACKS IN THE CITIES

As the free black class grew, it quickly shifted its base somewhat from the countryside to the South's cities, especially in the Lower South. As the historian Ira Berlin has written, "free Negroes were the most urban caste in the South," a characterization that complement's Frederick Douglass's observation that "slavery dislikes a dense population." The wide variety of occupations available in the growing cities drew many freedpeople from rural regions, where opportunities were limited largely to agriculture. But nearly as important, the relative anonymity of the city offered free blacks the opportunity to live lives more like their free white urban counterparts than plantation slaves. Where in 1790 Baltimore's free blacks constituted less than 12 percent of its black population, a decade later they made up nearly half; by 1830, its 14,790 free blacks would represent nearly 80 percent of its black population. In some of the port cities of the Lower South, mulattoes made up 90 percent of their free black populations.

Employment, property, and housing. The cities soon offered their free black workers employment opportunities that varied considerably between the Upper and Lower Souths. In Lower South ports such as New Orleans and Charleston, the overwhelming pro-

portion of free black workers labored in skilled trades. With slaves in those cities outnumbering free blacks by more than four to one and thus dominating the unskilled labor market, fewer than one in five free men of color employed in Charleston worked as a common laborer, while just 5 percent held nonmanual occupations such as shopkeeper. The remainder worked as artisans and shopkeepers. Similarly, six of ten free black women in Charleston worked as semiskilled dressmakers, mantua makers, and seamstresses; fewer than one-fourth worked as laundresses and even fewer as domestic workers. Conversely, in Upper South ports such as Baltimore and Norfolk, a large skilled white population drove black workers largely into the ranks of unskilled labor. More than 60 percent of Baltimore's free black men worked as laborers in 1827; black women fared even worse, with more than nine in ten working as laundresses. Those free blacks in both the Upper and Lower Souths who found higher-paying, skilled, semiskilled, and trading occupations soon found themselves forming an elite class within the black communities of their respective cities. Free blacks in Lower South cities were from three to four times more likely to own property than those in the Upper South cities, and the former possessed property of far greater value.

Ironically, such differences in wealth did not find their way so prominently into residential patterns for free blacks. Whether in the countryside or in the cities, free blacks, poor whites, and slaves lived in much the same type of housing, often in close proximity to one another. Most rural free blacks lived in houses indistinguishable from those of bondpeople, and white slave employers generally housed free black hands with slaves. In Deep South cities, high walls enclosed compounds at the rear of owners' residences in which their slaves lived, thus spreading black residents throughout the urban setting and discouraging racial segregation. Economics often relegated most free blacks to poorer neighborhoods, where they lived on alleys and side streets and in garrets and cellars alongside working-class whites. No uniform black ghetto emerged in southern cities; the absence of urban transportation and the need for black workers to live near their place of work scattered free blacks and slaves. Only the most affluent free blacks could live apart from these poor neighborhoods, and some lived on the most fashionable streets of their cities.

In comparative terms, in the Upper South (and especially in its cities) fewer free blacks held noticeably less real property than free blacks in the Lower South. Overall, some two-thirds of the South's free blacks lived in rural areas; in Virginia, for example, only 1.5 percent owned land in 1830. Of Maryland's two hundred black property owners in the twenty-five years after the Revolution, one-fourth lived in Baltimore and the average value of their holdings was $150, as opposed to the average holdings of Maryland's black property owners, which was $104. In direct contrast, Charleston's free persons of color, with access to skilled trades, had begun to acquire property well before the war and by the 1790s the city boasted a number of black craftsmen who possessed impressive amounts of property. Because most propertied blacks in the Upper South engaged in service occupations with generally modest remuneration rather than the more lucrative skilled trades as in the Lower South, the number of black persons acquiring real property, and the value of property held, was unavoidably low. In 1815, property ownership among Charleston's black residents stood at nearly 20 percent; in Baltimore the percentage was a modest 5.3 percent. Because the margin was so thin and the level of ownership so low, black property holding was particularly sensitive to economic downturns. The ability to acquire and hold on to property became ever more important in the growing division within southern free black communities.

Racial stratification. In the cities, occupational diversification soon contributed to a growing racial stratification within black communities. Free African Americans created their own, if often subtle, brand of elitism, employing their own blend of ingredients for defining and measuring others. Freeborn status, education, organizational participation, church leadership, and above all skin color, became defining characteristics of social standing, ones that often worked in complement with occupation and wealth. Mulattoes dominated the most lucrative, artisanal occupations in both the Lower and Upper Souths. In Charleston, free mulattoes held mean wealth more than double that of black-skinned free blacks. By the 1830s, the free black elites had developed a system of stratification that distinguished them from the mass of free African Americans. The prejudice accompanying these stratifications found its way into free black marriage patterns, with free mulattoes throughout the South marrying largely those with similarly light skin, a practice that had prevailed in the Lower South from the earliest days of the free black population. Many with the fairest skins passed as white, legally and illegally, to avoid all racial stigma.

Nowhere was the intraracial divide in black communities more evident than in the growth of slave

ownership by free blacks. Though never a large portion of the free population (they numbered only 3,600 in 1850), free black slave owners most often owned their own family members, using their states' legal property protections to guard their wives and children from whites. Others owned their own relatives because in many southern states, freedpeople had to leave the state after their manumissions. Many free blacks worked their entire lives to purchase their family members' legal freedom. Yet a handful of free black slaveholders operated slave plantations or industries, behaving much like whites in the way they treated their slave workers. That meant whipping them and also buying and selling slaves to obtain more labor or in response to bad behavior. The Metoyer family of Louisiana owned several hundred slaves in 1830; similarly, William Ellison of South Carolina owned dozens of slaves, whom he employed in his cotton gin manufactory. Both the Metoyers and Ellison were mulattoes; most of their slaves were black.

GROWING RESTRICTIONS ON FREE BLACKS

During the early national period, white southerners increasingly viewed their states' free black populations with suspicion. Where once the South's free blacks enjoyed relative freedoms consistent with citizenship, especially in the Upper South where in Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee they held voting rights for a time (largely as a result of their voting clout having been severely limited because so few were eligible to vote because of small numbers and property qualifications), by the latter years of the period white southerners began to consider them a visible contradiction to the prevailing notion that freedom was a white-only domain and that slavery was the natural condition for people of African descent. Consequently, southern politicians began enacting laws circumscribing the liberties of free blacks while curbing the growth of the free black population. States like Virginia tightened their manumission laws by requiring that freed slaves leave the state within a year or face reenslavement; others barred free blacks from moving into their state. In Mississippi, individual manumissions required a special act of the state legislature. All states required free blacks to carry papers proving their legal freedom and enacted legislations defining racial caste; other states banned free blacks from certain occupations, restricted their movements, denied them voting privileges and the right to testify in court against whites, and barred them from owning guns and even dogs. Some of the states segregated their public facilities. White southerners gave impetus to national and state colonization initiatives, including the American Colonization Society, founded in 1816, which sought to remove freed slaves and free blacks from America, transplanting them variously to Africa, the Caribbean, South America, and the American West. Many left voluntarily, going to those places or to the North or Canada rather than face the growing web of racial restrictions. Increasing violence drove others out; a race riot in Cincinnati in 1829 reduced the city's black population by half. By 1830, free blacks had become the South's most reviled class of people.

Churches, schools, and communities. Despite, and in part because of whites' perceptions and efforts to restrict free blacks, the South's African Americans (especially those in the growing cities) began to evolve from a formless aggregate of transients from the countryside to societies that coalesced around their communities and their various bulwarks. The creation of independent black churches began the process, creating spiritual and psychological bedrocks upon which to construct their communities' social foundations. By 1812, three African Baptist churches existed in Savannah; the first African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church organized in the slave states began meeting in Baltimore in 1816. Branches soon sprang up in other southern cities as far south as Charleston.

Independent black churches, predominantly Baptist in the Lower South and Methodist in the Upper South, soon became the social centers of urban and rural communities. As corporate bodies, churches provided innumerable services to the community, as educational centers, libraries, meeting halls, community recreational centers, and social centers. Each conducted Sabbath schools, sponsored benevolent societies, held fairs, exhibits, Christmas pageants, and concerts for the financial benefit of their church, the moral and cultural improvement of their parishioners, and for the future of their children. Moreover, by providing burial sites for black parishioners—which few white churches and private burying grounds would permit in the nineteenth century—the African churches provided respectability even in the afterlife.

Moreover, black churches played an essential role in the founding of, and worked in tandem with black private schools; many of the teachers were themselves ministers or prominent members of those churches. Because the African church had available rooms in which to conduct classes, and because of its nearly immediate function as the focal point for black life in the city and country, black churches affiliated naturally with the nascent movement for

black education. Thus the black church became the primary vehicle of education for most of those black community members who received formal schooling.

Finally, black organizations emerged in southern cities, bringing together those residents with the same moral and behavioral practices into socially cohesive, self-conscious groups. Beginning in the 1820s, many free blacks aspiring to respectability exerted their commitment to self-help by organizing, joining, and in various ways sustaining a wide array of black fraternal societies, benevolent associations, mutual aid and relief societies, and literary and debating societies in various southern cities. Like black schools, African American social organizations were often tied inextricably with the churches and fulfilled a multitude of purposes. As early as 1821, one such benevolent society was in existence in Baltimore, the Baltimore Bethel Benevolent Society of the Young Men of Color; in Charleston the Brown Fellowship Society had existed since the 1790s.

See also **Baltimore; Charleston; Emancipation and Manumission; Norfolk; Richmond.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Curry, Leonard P. *The Free Black in Urban America, 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Johnson, Michael P., and James L. Roark. *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South.* New York: Norton, 1984.

Phillips, Christopher. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Whitman, T. Stephen. *The Price of Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997.

Christopher Phillips

AFRICAN SURVIVALS   African American culture on the North American mainland was shaped by many forces. In addition to economic, geographic, and demographic factors, these forces included the extent of social contacts with other blacks, proximity to whites and Native Americans, and African cultures. Although different African American subcultures formed at various times in the separate regions of North America, American blacks still had much in common, especially their African cultural heritage.

It shaped language, their views of how the world worked (which usually involved a religion), how people interacted, ideas of time and space, how they expressed themselves aesthetically, family relations, historical traditions, social customs, and work habits.

During the colonial era the most persistent patterns of African influence could be seen in the Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia and the coastal low country of Georgia and South Carolina. Not surprisingly, these regions received the overwhelming majority of nearly 300,000 Africans transported to colonial America. The first Africans sold on the North American mainland landed in Virginia in 1619. More would follow, but for decades most slaves were either trans-shipped from the West Indies in small lots or brought as bondspeople by European and West Indies immigrants when they migrated to America. Not until the late seventeenth century did demand for enslaved labor reach a level that would support regular direct shipments from Africa. By the time strife with Great Britain ended the colonial slave trade in 1775, an estimated 100,000 Africans, mainly from Senegambia, the Gold Coast, the Bight of Biafra, and Angola in West-Central Africa, had been transported to the Chesapeake. Farther south in Georgia and South Carolina, English slavers delivered another 130,000 people from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Windward and Gold Coasts, and Angola.

Despite their variant ethnic backgrounds, when substantial numbers of Africans were able to make extensive social contacts with other blacks in an American community, live in families, and raise children, the creation of a new African American culture from a blending of African, Native American, and European elements began. For the black population of the Chesapeake, the transformation was well under way by the middle of the eighteenth century. American-born blacks, who made up 80 percent of the black population, had mastered English and adjusted to their new environment and work. As they became increasingly acculturated, African languages and names faded, but African ways were still present. These could be seen in the extended kinship networks slaves and free blacks formed, the pottery and pipes they made, and the colorful clothing and headgear they wore. African ways were also reflected in songs, which were often antiphonal in style, and dance, which was usually accompanied by African-styled instruments such as the banjo and drums. And despite strenuous efforts by Christians, African Americans were able to preserve some elements of

African religious practices in their lives, evidenced by the prominent role of conjuring and folk medicine in everyday life, distinctive funeral practices, and expressive behavior in worship services.

In the Georgia and South Carolina low country, two different African American cultures developed. In Charleston, South Carolina, slaves and free blacks lived and worked closely with whites; by 1750 the urban African American subculture was tied closely to the European American culture of whites. On low-country rice and indigo plantations, where bondspeople had little contact with whites and Africans made up more than 40 percent of the black population for most of the eighteenth century, slaves created their own world. They lived in slave quarters that had the look and feel of a West African village. They established stable families, and elders assumed positions of authority. They continued African naming practices, and on the coastal islands they developed a distinctive Creole language, Gullah, spoken with a West African grammatical structure. The task system, in which slaves had to complete an assigned amount of work before their time was their own, allowed them to perpetuate African attitudes toward work. Slaves made baskets that incorporated African influences and continued to observe Old World religious beliefs. In almost every way, African American culture in the low country was linked much more closely to Africa than Europe or America.

The Revolutionary War disrupted the Chesapeake and low-country subcultures. In the Chesapeake thousands of slaves escaped, and even more were manumitted. Many settled in northern Virginia and Maryland and started new lives. Within a generation these free blacks were working steady jobs, had established households, and had founded their own churches, schools, and cemeteries, most of which bore the name "African." However, in the southern Chesapeake the commitment to slavery deepened, and slavery became more entrenched. As the slave population expanded, slave owners began selling "excess" slaves to slave traders, who took them to the West and Southwest. When the cotton boom hit at the turn of the century, the pace of the migration increased. In Georgia and South Carolina, slaves were also on the move. The war had wrecked slavery in the low country. Some 30,000 slaves, 30 percent of the prewar slave population of Georgia and South Carolina, either died, escaped, or were evacuated by the British. When the war ended in 1783, planters looked to the transatlantic slave trade for replacements, and Africans poured into Charleston and Savannah, Georgia. The influx of Africans, mainly from Senegambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and West-Central Africa, reinforced the unique African American culture that had developed in the low country before the war.

Many of the 170,000 Africans who landed in America between 1783 and 1810 were sent to the interior of the Lower South and Lower Mississippi Valley. Although they were dispersed over a wide geographic area, and lived and worked closely with their white owners and American-born blacks, they left their mark. Old World names were common throughout the antebellum years. Hoping to win their freedom, many Africans participated in conspiracies and revolts. Although their intrigues failed, like many other Africans who came to America during the colonial and early national eras they contributed much to the formation of American culture.

See also **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; African American Religion; African American Responses to Slavery and Race; Chesapeake Region; Gabriel's Rebellion; Georgia; Music: African American; Plantation, The; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; South Carolina; Vesey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or, Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself.* Edited by Shelley Eversley. New York: Modern Library, 2004.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Wood, Peter H. *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion.* New York: Knopf, 1974; New York: Norton, 1975.

James A. McMillin

AGRICULTURE

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Overview*, *Agricultural Improvement*, and *Agricultural Technology*.

Cattle on a Massachusetts Farm. This illustration from the 1790s accompanied a story titled "Maria: A Sentimental Fragment," set on a Massachusetts farm. © CORBIS.

Overview

Agriculture in the British colonies of North America consisted of a fusion between the plants and animals of Eurasia and Africa—cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, horses, wheat, oats, rye, barley, rice, okra, and sugar—and those first domesticated by American Indians, including, corn (maize), squash, beans, and tobacco. Farming differed by climate and region throughout the colonies and varied according to local politics, economy, and access to markets. Between the 1750s and the 1830s, eastern farmers and southern planters increasingly produced for markets, while those in the interior continued to depend on hunting and subsistence cultivation.

THREE TYPES OF AGRICULTURE

Three major forms of colonial agriculture existed by 1750: the diversified farm, the plantation, and the backwoods settlement. Northern farmers tended to practice a diversified agriculture in which they combined corn and rye with dairy stock. The cattle not only gave them milk for high-value products like butter but also manure, which they spread over their fields to replenish soil nutrients. Either the manure would be carted to fields in the spring or the animals would be allowed to dung the ground where they grazed. The New England farmstead included apple orchards for cider, a garden for vegetables, and outlying fields that were cultivated less intensively than those closer to the barn. Farmers in eighteenth-century Concord, Massachusetts, cultivated no more than twelve acres, depending on their needs and labor, with half or more of all the land they owned in either wild meadow or pasture sown with high-quality grasses. The town of Concord maintained broad common meadows that residents spent generations reclaiming from the Concord River. Most remote of all were the woodlands.

Plantations raised a principle commodity for sale in international markets and appeared throughout the southern states with products characteristic of their subregions: tobacco in Virginia and North Carolina; rice on the South Carolina and Georgia coasts; and by the 1790s cotton, which had begun to proliferate through the upcountry of South Carolina and Georgia. Plantations consisted of hundreds of acres of mostly forested land, with some having more than a thousand acres. Cultivated spaces varied by time, place, and available labor; they could be as large as three hundred acres. Planters needed such large holdings because they did little or nothing to restore

the fertility of their soils. They shifted their cultivated acres though the forest in a process of burning and clearing (known later as swidden) that consumed vast areas. Where land could be purchased for little money by any white adult male, few people sold their labor. Planters imported African slaves to perform every task: clearing woodland for new planting, harvesting cotton and ginning it, and managing rice production. Planters shipped their cotton to market cities—New Orleans, Richmond, or New York—where merchants sold it to British and later American mills for fabrication into textiles.

A third form of settlement, mixing Finnish log-cabin construction with the hunting and swidden techniques of Delaware Indians, came together in the Lower Delaware River valley in the 1720s. It spread rapidly south and west. Backwoods settlers possessed few domesticated animals and favored squatting over land ownership. As farmers, they raised corn and hogs, thus combining two products that offered them great flexibility in changing conditions. Corn could be consumed directly or as hog flesh, in which form it could walk to market. It could also be converted into whiskey, a dense and valuable commodity able to withstand long-distance trade. In such a durable form, corn became visible to the state and taxable. In 1794 the poor farmers of Minco Creek in western Pennsylvania rebelled against an excise tax imposed by Congress on their stills. Agriculture always played a secondary role to hunting in the economy of the backwoods, but the two together created an astonishingly powerful complex of tools and strategies for wilderness living. Backwoods Americans settled more land more quickly than any other people in human history, pouring out of their hearths and into western Kentucky and Tennessee by the 1790s, Illinois by the 1820s, and Texas by the 1830s. A decade later they colonized the Willamette Valley in Oregon.

MARKET REVOLUTION

In 1800 the combined population of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, along with the larger towns like Lancaster, Pennsylvania, amounted to no more than 200,000 people. The home market for agricultural commodities was so small that, beginning in the seventeenth century, northern farmers with access to the coast sent their surplus flour, pork, and butter to the English, French, and Dutch sugar islands in the Caribbean. Colonial farmers provisioned themselves, producing their own clothing, furnishings, and farm implements. Yet this world of self-sufficiency began to change after the Revolution,

and within twenty years farmers near the growing cities had begun to sell surplus for export and consumption by others. Population density per square mile in the North increased from 14.7 in 1790 to 36.4 in 1830. Most agricultural exports tended to follow the trajectory of pork, ham, bacon, and lard. Considered as a single commodity, 15 million pounds of pork products shipped though American ports in 1811; the quantity spiked after the War of 1812 (1812–1815) and the resumption of trade with Great Britain; crashed after the Panic of 1819; and then began a sharp rise, reaching a level of 60 million pounds exported by 1845.

Hoping to boost the exports flowing through their warehouses, New York merchants convinced the legislature in 1817 to build the Erie Canal, connecting Buffalo on Lake Erie, the Genesee Valley, and the Finger Lakes to the port of New York. When it opened in 1825, the canal changed the patterns and products of agriculture. Farmers who once had lived too far from New York to think of a market connection could produce wheat for bakeries, fresh grapes and apples for street carts, or milk for neighborhood stores. The market revolution also set off a frenzy for new products, like merino sheep—a Spanish breed known for wool as fine as human hair. Farmers in Vermont and Massachusetts spent great sums on the sheep and dedicated vast acreage to them, looking forward to years of profitable sales as the number of textile factories increased.

In the South, cotton production spread following the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney of New Haven, Connecticut, in 1793. Long-staple cotton had fibers that came away easily from the seed, but it could be grown only along the Carolina and Georgia coast—thus, it was termed "sea-island" cotton. Short staple could be grown on the uplands, but its fuzzy fibers clung to the seed, requiring time-consuming labor to separate them. The labor required to make short staple marketable prevented the diffusion of cotton throughout the interior until Whitney's gin changed the labor calculus. Production climbed from just over 3,000 bales of raw cotton in 1790, to 177,638 bales in 1810, to 731,452 in 1830. By the time the United States entered the Mexican War in 1846, it was producing 1.8 million bales of raw cotton a year.

SOILS AND SCIENCE

Constant cropping without soil restoration brought the agricultural lands of the eastern states nearly to ruin in some places by the 1790s. A generation of agricultural reformers worried that decline in the fertil-

ity of eastern soils would result in a redistribution of population to the western states and territories, amounting to a western shift in political power. Specifically, they disdained the common practice of planting crops year after year without soil restoration, by which they meant manure transferred from barns (where animals could be penned and their dung collected) to fields. Not all farmers and planters of the 1820s possessed the capital and the labor to undertake a full-scale restoration of their lands, and many suffered from the decline in commodity prices and demand following the Panic of 1819. They responded in two ways: by emigrating to unsettled lands in the West as a means of maintaining production by exploiting fresh soil, or by intensifying production as a way of yielding greater value from worn-out land. The motive for emigration could be read in the land-and-labor-relations of the plantation: slaves paid greater returns when they worked fertile rather than infertile land. Since slaves represented most of a planter's invested capital, they needed to be well employed all the time. That is why planters looked to Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and eventually Texas.

The decline in southern soils after the Revolution and the consequent threat to population and thus to the political influence of the southern states brought forth some of the first and most politically motivated agrarian reformers of the nineteenth century. The Virginian John Taylor (1753–1824), author of a series of essays published as *Arator* (1813), warned that planters placed more than their profits in jeopardy when they failed to integrate grasses and cattle into their plantations, a system for creating manure; they threatened their economic and political independence. Another Virginian, Edmund Ruffin (1794–1865), dedicated most of his life to promoting marl—calcium carbonate in the form of decaying seashells found in extensive deposits throughout the Atlantic states of the South. When properly mixed into topsoil, marl reduced the acidity so common in damp and rainy climates, resulting in larger yields. Planters, however, no matter how often they decried their declining profits and the flow of households to the West, rarely dedicated labor or land to any form of restoration.

The system at the heart of "improved" husbandry consisted of an intensified form of English husbandry that emphasized rotation, special crops for feeding cattle (like turnips), high quality grasses (like timothy) planted in "leys" that became part of the general rotation, and winter penning in order to collect animal manure. Improved cultivation served the purpose of capitalist farmers because it allowed for constant production without fallow. Reformers spread their methods and the ethic of community and constancy through the rural press. Examples included *The Cultivator* (Albany, New York, edited by Jesse Buel), *The Farmer's Register* (Shellbanks, Virginia, edited by Edmund Ruffin), and *The American Farmer* (Baltimore, edited by John Stuart Skinner), as well as *Soil of the South*, *The New England Farmer*, *The Farmer's Cabinet*, and *The Plough Boy* (Albany, New York). Hundreds of farmer and planter associations formed in 1819 and throughout the following two decades, because the Panic of 1819 set off a depression that severely reduced the value of eastern farmland, inspiring planters and farmers to recover that value through improved methods of cultivation. Their published minutes functioned as scientific journals, reporting on the results of experiments.

Research into agricultural production centered on the two most important factors of production: land and labor. Americans read Humphry Davy's (1778–1829) *Course of Lectures on Chemistry*, published in 1802 and his *Treatise on Soils and Manures* (1818). The experiments of Sir John Lawes (1814–1900), also found a limited audience. No other theorist, however, received as much attention as Justus von Liebig (1803–1873), a German chemist whose "mineral theory" proposed that soils contained specific fertile elements—nitrogen, calcium, and phosphors—that could be added into chemical, or artificial, manures. In *Organic Chemistry in Its Applications to Agriculture and Physiology* (1840), Liebig offered a kind of knowledge that was obscure to most farmers, creating a field of agricultural chemistry that initiated the creation of a class of agricultural experts located in colleges and universities. Liebig's research also spurred the search for fertile elements and created a new industry—the farm input industry. Among the first products that linked soils chemistry and capitalist agriculture was guano, the dung of seabirds discovered on Pacific islands early in the nineteenth century. Guano came to American farmers in much the same way that synthetic fertilizers soon would, as a commercial product that replaced the manure they had long produced themselves from the resources of their own farms.

EXPANSION INTO THE 1830S

Cyrus McCormick (1809–1884) invented the first successful reaping machine in northern Virginia in 1831. It was the most notable of a generation of farm implements including binders, corn drills, rakes, and threshers intended to lower the cost of labor and

allow farmers to cultivate larger units of land in the context of a rising capitalist market in all farm commodities. The reaper (though it did not become affordable or widely available until the 1850s) appealed to farmers because they paid high wages for labor in places where population density remained low. The reaper radically increased the number of acres a single person could harvest in one day, thus offering a powerful tool for transforming the prairies into farmland.

During Andrew Jackson's two terms in office (1829–1837), cotton planters moved into new regions, dispossessing Indians and expanding American influence in North America. Jackson initiated the forced removal of the southern tribes by decree in order to make that land available to slaveholders. Americans moved into the Mexican province of Tejas in the 1820s. Stephen F. Austin (1793–1836) received a grant from the Mexican government in the region of the Brazos River in January 1823. The colonists fought the Battle of Velasco against Mexico in June 1832, organized a constitutional convention in the following year, 1833, and won independence from Mexico in 1836—a classic example of how agrarian societies take over territories by force of population and reproduce their practices and landscapes, creating a new home ground.

See also **Chemistry; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Erie Canal; Farm Making; Foreign Investment and Trade; Frontier.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barron, Hal S. *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Bidwell, Percy Wells, and John I. Falconer. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620–1860.* Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1925.

Clark, Christopher. *Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Donahue, Brian. *The Great Meadow: Farmers and the Land in Colonial Concord.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Faragher, John Mack. *Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Gray, Lewis Cecil. *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860.* 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1933.

Jordan, Terry G., and Matti Kaups. *The American Backwoods Frontier: An Ethnic and Ecological Interpretation.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Kulikoff, Allan. *The Agrarian Origins of American Capitalism.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992.

Racine, Philip N., ed. *Piedmont Farmer: The Journals of David Golightly Harris, 1855–1870.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990.

Sheriff, Carol. *The Artificial River: The Erie Canal and the Paradox of Progress, 1817–1862.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1996.

Stoll, Steven. *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2002.

Stuart, Mart A. *"What Nature Suffers to Groe": Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680–1920.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996.

Wright, Gavin. *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Norton, 1978.

Steven Stoll

Agricultural Improvement

Colonial farmers mostly replicated the ways of Old World farms. They particularly embraced open-field husbandry, which divided lands into separate plots, rotating usage between pasture, arable fields, and fallow ones in which the soil was rested. This system hardly maintained soil fertility and required much acreage. Because of limited market opportunities, inadequate transportation infrastructure, and underdeveloped credit systems, colonial semisubsistence agriculture aimed at achieving a competency—security and independence for the family and succeeding generations. Printed agricultural information circulated only in almanacs, often with unhealthy doses of superstition. Most sons were content to learn their farming from their fathers.

In older seaboard communities, deteriorating soil fertility and dwindling farm sizes due to population pressure posed a threat to generational prospects. Some colonists concluded that open-field husbandry was unsustainable. In 1761 the Reverend Jared Eliot of Killingworth, Connecticut, published *Essays upon Field-Husbandry in New-England*, in which he discussed the system of horse-powered cultivation of the English agriculturist Jethro Tull. After Eliot's death in 1763, some colonists took an interest in European improvements like convertible husbandry. This practice emphasized planting grasses and legumes that restored nitrogen to the soil and provided excellent forage and fodder for livestock, whose manure was collected and applied to croplands to return nutrients to the soil. Other innovations included the use of horse-drawn implements like harrows and seed drills; draining and ditching lowlands; and the

better care, feeding, and selective breeding of animals. American farmers preferred to emigrate to fresher western soils instead of adopting new, labor-intensive practices. Those attempting intensive agriculture were wealthy gentlemen who could invest in the large initial outlay and absorb the higher labor costs involved. Plantation lords like George Washington and northern landholders like Robert R. Livingston and Timothy Ruggles imported British agricultural publications, seeds, and improved breeds of livestock and corresponded with the progressive gentlemen transforming the British countryside. These early American improvers promoted the new farming as individuals before the Revolutionary War, relying on personal prestige and private networks.

Economic recovery, the establishment of the federal government, and growing national patriotism fueled a postwar agricultural improvement movement. The promise of more affordable and accessible material comforts induced farm families to increase production of surpluses for sale and whetted their appetite for agricultural information and market intelligence. The mid-1780s saw the creation of the New Jersey Society for Promoting Agriculture, Commerce, and Arts and similar societies in South Carolina and Philadelphia; statewide agricultural societies in New York and Massachusetts soon followed, as overseas trade spurred the rise of commercial agriculture and thriving market towns. The movement's leaders, including John Beale Bordley of Maryland, who published an influential review of the successful English Norfolk system of tillage in 1784, Richard Peters, John Lowell, and Livingston applied principles of cooperative action and public opinion making learned from Revolutionary War experiences. Their societies successfully lobbied for government support of their chief programs based on Enlightenment empiricism and experimentation: offering and awarding premiums targeted at particular ends and publishing in annual journals the observations and conclusions of the resulting experiments.

Before the War of 1812 a second wave of agricultural organizations arose. Claiming that the mass of farmers ignored the elite associations' volumes of transactions such as the *Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal* and their state-funded premiums offered for agricultural experiments, Elkanah Watson and the founders of the Berkshire County (Massachusetts) Agricultural Society in 1811 instituted a new system of agricultural education and promotion based on competition and éclat. American agriculture would be better improved by the cumu-

lative effect of self-interested families competing for local prizes offered for excellent specimens of specific plants, animals, and domestic manufactures. Visitors would be attracted to the annual exhibitions of the premium-winning productions by elaborate prize ceremonies, opportunities to socialize with neighbors and merchandize farm products, and cultural festivities, including parades and processions, dining and drinking, singing and dancing, and oratory and religious exercises. The resulting institution of the agricultural fair, the backbone of modern agricultural societies, spread quickly through the Northeast and Old Northwest, as state legislatures in the 1810s and 1820s provided newly organized county societies with grants for their premiums. A popular agricultural press simultaneously arose, as farmers gained appreciation for agricultural newspapers that first appeared in the late 1810s. Circulation figures of such periodicals as *The Plough Boy*, *The Cultivator*, and *The New England Farmer* soon reached the tens of thousands by reporting on agricultural improvements, providing practical advice for rural families, reviewing market conditions, and ennobling farming as a profession. Newspapers regularly included information on fairs.

Agricultural improvement became a successful popular movement during the depression following the Panic of 1819. Falling prices, especially on cotton, and tighter credit prevented planters and farmers from making mortgage payments and lowered land values. Only increased production promised to offset the declining value of capital investments in real estate and slaves. Marginal croplands and careless practices were no longer profitable. Agricultural societies patronized inventors, and annual fairs showcased new plows and labor-saving mechanized implements in the 1820s. In addition to animal manures, soil additives such as gypsum (or plaster of Paris), lime, marl, and other calcareous manures, were increasingly used to restore fertility and improve crop yields, although a basic understanding of soil chemistry would wait until the work of the German chemist Justus von Liebig reached America in the 1840s.

See also **Expansion; Fairs; Farm Making; Food; Livestock Production; Panic of 1819; Science; Social Life: Rural Life; Work: Agricultural Labor.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chaplin, Joyce E. *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730–1815.* Chapel Hill, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

McClelland, Peter D. *Sowing Modernity: America's First Agricultural Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Stoll, Steven. *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2002.

Mark A. Mastromarino

Agricultural Technology

From the colonial period and its wooden and iron hand and animal implements to the start of the nineteenth century and the development of cast-iron and polished-steel plows, cotton gins, reapers, and threshing machines, agricultural technology advanced at a quick rate and brought about large-scale agriculture by the end of the nineteenth century. Tasks that had taken days or hours to complete could now be finished in hours or minutes. With the new implements, the use of hired labor declined as farmers utilized family members for labor and machinery operation. The mid-Atlantic and Midwest became technologically advanced early in their agricultural history, while the South lagged behind as slave, then sharecropper, labor made use of hand tools.

During the colonial era, hand tools were common on most farms. A wooden hoe with an iron blade was used to prepare the field for planting and cultivating. Other tools included the flail, sickle, and scythe. Used in grain and hay production, the sickle cut the stalk, while the scythe gathered the cut crop that was carried from the field. Flails threshed the grain. Labor intensive during the colonial period, agriculture required several hands to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops. Some plows were present in colonial America. Constructed by local blacksmiths or imported from England, colonial plows bore regional differences. In most cases, they were wooden with a metal plowshare. Wooden plows remained the plow of choice for most farmers until the 1820s. In the 1790s Charles Newbold patented the first cast-iron plow. This implement proved impractical, as it had to be cast in one piece. In 1807 David Peacock patented a plow whose moldboard, landslide, and share were cast separately. Further refinements were made by Jethro Wood in the 1810s. Wood's plow was popular in the East; many farmers abandoned their wooden and older cast-iron plows for his model.

During the period from the 1820s to the 1840s, several innovations occurred in plow production. As people moved onto the prairie frontier, farmers needed plows to work the soil there. The Breaking Plow,

or Prairie Breaker, was a heavy wooden plow plated with iron strips to reduce friction. Prairie plows were heavy, weighing at least 125 pounds and requiring from three to seven yoke of oxen. Cutting only three inches into the soil, farmers could break eight acres a year. Professional prairie breakers could break more land as they traveled from farm to farm. In 1833 John Lane of Illinois designed the first plow for general farm use on the prairie. Lane used steel instead of cast iron. In 1836 John Deere began to produce steel plows in Illinois. Deere's plows contained a polished wrought iron moldboard and steel share. This design quickly became the plow of the prairie frontier as the polished steel blade cut through the prairie soil.

The cotton gin that was developed in the 1790s drastically changed southern agriculture. Dependent on hand labor but without a strong cotton market, southern planters recognized the need for a device to process and clean upland cotton. The cotton gin patented by Eli Whitney in 1794 allowed for the cleaning and ginning of upland cotton. This invention changed southern agriculture by spreading upland cotton across the South and West, developing a dependence on one-crop agriculture, and perpetuating southern slavery.

After plowing, other implements were used. The harrow was necessary to smooth the soil in areas where the soil remained rough. Initially as simple as a tree branch, the harrow became more sophisticated after the Revolution. By the 1790s, two distinct types of harrows were in use: the square and the triangle, or "A" frame. The square harrow was used on old fields that were free of large obstructions, while the triangular frame was used on freshly plowed fields. These models had wooden frames with wood or iron teeth.

Cultivators weeded crops once they were planted. By 1820 Americans were using an implement called a horse-hoe. Based on a design by the Englishman Jethro Tull in the early eighteenth century, this horse-drawn machine loosened the soil and killed weeds. In the mid-1820s an expandable cultivator appeared: a triangular-shaped frame that expanded from twelve to twenty-eight inches to till between rows.

The mechanical reaper appeared in the 1830s, making mechanized grain harvests possible. The reaper of Cyrus McCormick, patented in 1834, cut through grain stalks as the machine moved forward. Stalks fell onto a platform and were raked off by someone walking alongside the reaper. The McCormick reaper was used for small grains such as rye

and wheat. Obed Hussey also developed a reaper in the 1830s. This machine was heavy and proved better suited to mowing hay.

Threshing machines were necessary to process cut grain. Replacing the flail, the first American machine was patented in 1791 by Samuel Mulliken. In the 1820s several simple, inexpensive, and locally made hand- and horse-powered threshing machines appeared on the American market. These early machines did not separate the straw from the grain; they merely threshed. Many farmers found that it was more difficult to turn the crank of these simple machines then it was to wield a flail, and in general farmers were not inclined to use these early threshers until a horse-powered machine was developed.

See also **Cotton Gin; Technology; Work: Agricultural Labor.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hurt, R. Douglas. *American Agriculture: A Brief History.* Ames: Iowa State University, 1994.

———. *American Farm Tools from Hand-Power to Steam-Power.* Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 1982.

McClelland, Peter D. *Sowing Modernity: America's First Agricultural Revolution.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997.

Stephanie A. Carpenter

ALABAMA Alabama (meaning "clearers of the thicket" in Choctaw) was at the crossroads of French, Spanish, and English interests in pre-Revolutionary times. As a result, lands within its modern boundaries were sites of international contention until the conclusion of the French and Indian War (also known as the Seven Years' War) in 1763, when the Treaty of Paris terminated French and Spanish claims to Alabama and acknowledged England's hegemony. This agreement ignored Alabama's indigenous peoples, who by the late eighteenth century consisted of four main groups: the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks. During the American Revolution, these natives fought on both sides, as well as with the Spanish, who invaded the region from New Orleans and successfully ousted English troops from the region. At the conclusion of the war, political control of Alabama remained divided, with Spain claiming the gulf coast and the newly independent (from England) state of Georgia claiming the remaining portions. The subsequent Treaty of New York (1790),

signed by Creek representatives and federal officials—along with the new U.S. government's claims to Alabama lands as part of the national domain—invalidated Georgia's claims and facilitated inclusion of the northern and central sections of Alabama into the Mississippi Territory in 1798.

Treaties signed in 1805–1806 between the U.S. government and the Chickasaw and Cherokee nations took native lands, which were sold to settlers under the Land Law of 1800. The construction of a Federal Road through southern Alabama began in 1805. In addition, the United States seized Mobile from Spain in 1812. These developments and internal factionalism among Alabama's native communities helped precipitate the Creek War (1813–1814). After Red Stick Creek traditionalists destroyed the outpost of Fort Mims, a compound built by white settlers, the ensuing outcry led the U.S. administration to pledge to put an end to the Red Stick uprising. U.S. forces declared war (forces were primarily state militia from the Tennessee, Georgia, and Mississippi territory—no official declaration of war was made by Congress) on 30 August 1813 after the outpost of Fort Mims was destroyed. During the next year, armies led by Andrew Jackson steadily destroyed Red Stick resistance and ultimately defeated the natives along the banks of the Horseshoe Bend in the Tallapoosa River on 27 March 1814. In the treaty signed at Fort Jackson (Montgomery) in August, Jackson forced the Creeks (traditionalists and accommodators alike) to give up two-thirds of their Alabama lands. Settlers from the east, hoping to profit from cotton production, quickly inhabited the surrendered tracts. This "Alabama fever" saw the population of the region grow from about 15,000 at the end of the colonial era to 127,901 in 1820. During the next decade, settlers established plantations throughout the rich agricultural lands in the southern part of the state known as the "black belt," while the future capital of Montgomery was founded and Mobile emerged as a major port of the southeasteastern U.S. By 1830 at least 309,527 people lived in Alabama, including 117,484 African American slaves, most of whom were brought to Alabama by recent immigrants from the east. Seeing that Alabama possessed a smaller population than Louisiana and the western portions of the Mississippi Territory due to past boundary disputes, residents requested that the national government create a separate territory out of the larger Mississippi polity. They found support from Southern politicians seeking additional sectional votes. As a result, Congress established the Alabama Territory on 3 March 1817. A little more than two years later, on 14 December 1819, Alabama be-

came the twenty-second member of the United States, and over the next decade it emerged as the heart of the South in terms of its dependence on cotton, use of slaves, and advocacy of states' rights.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians: Southeast; Creek War; Land Policies.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Griffith, Lucille. *Alabama: A Documentary History to 1900.* Rev. and enl. ed. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1972.

Rogers, William R., Robert D. Ward, Leah R. Atkins, and Wayne Flint, eds. *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State.* Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1994.

Daniel S. Murphree

ALASKA   Alaska was claimed by Russia but was only sparsely populated by Russians. It served chiefly to provide sea otter furs for the Asian market between 1743 and 1867.

By the end of Peter the Great's reign in 1725, the Russians had begun to explore the North Pacific Ocean in an effort to discover if Asia and North America were connected. In 1741 explorer Vitus Bering sighted the Alaskan mainland for the Russian government. Companies of *promyshlenniki* (fur trappers) then began traveling to Alaska in 1743 to exploit its natural resources. The Russian government sent a few military personnel but the primary energy for Alaskan expansion and development was private.

The *promyshlenniki*, interested only in profit, did not treat Alaskan natives well. The *promyshlenniki* system of taking pelts involved demands for tribute. To get this tribute, the Russians held native women and children villagers as hostages until the male hunters returned with a sufficient number of pelts. The *promyshlenniki* then left. While as many as forty different fur trading companies operated in Alaska between 1743 and 1799, the first permanent Russian settlement was established only in 1784 on Kodiak Island. The largest number of Russians ever in Russian America is estimated to have been 823, with the average population set at about 600.

Great distances and cost eventually forced the consolidation of Russian activities. In 1799 the Russian government chartered the Russian American Company (RAC), giving it a monopoly on all Alaskan trade. RAC employed Russians, Creoles, and Native Americans, the latter including Aleuts, Kurils, Koniags, Kenais, Chugach, Tlingits, Athabaskans, Yupiks, and Inuit Eskimos. The company mistreated most of its subjects, moving them about at will, providing substandard housing, and forcing native women to provide sexual services.

RAC's hold on North America was always precarious. Russia was never determined to create a new society and provided no incentives for its citizens to remain in the New World. Additionally, supplies could take as much as two years to travel from Russia to Alaska and often arrived spoiled. Its lack of self-sufficiency defeated Russian America. Russia, which had established formal diplomatic relations with the United States in 1809, sold Alaska to the new nation in 1867.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Haycox, Stephen. *Alaska: An American Colony.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002.

Starr, S. Frederick, ed. *Russia's American Colony.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1987.

Caryn E. Neumann

ALBANY   Located 135 miles north of New York City and 165 miles west of Boston, Albany was founded by the Dutch in 1624 as a fur trading post and was chartered as a city by the British in 1686. The settlement first came to international attention in 1754 as the site of the Albany Congress, a gathering of colonial representatives and Native American Iroquois leaders. The colonials, delegations of which came from seven of the thirteen British colonies, needed this Indian alliance as a defense against the armed power of New France in the looming imperial conflict that would be known as the French and Indian War (1754–1760).

Despite difficulties, the Iroquois' assistance was secured and the colonial delegates turned their attention to a plan of union to enable greater cooperation and coordination between their colonial governments. The plan that was adopted, conceived by Benjamin Franklin, advocated a single American government with far-reaching powers, uniting the thirteen colonies under one president general appointed by the crown. While it was rejected by both the British government and the colonial legislatures as encroaching on their authority, the Albany Plan paved the way for subsequent national assemblies such as

the Stamp Act Congress of 1765 and the Continental Congress of 1774.

During the French and Indian War, Albany was a major base for English regulars and colonial soldiers. Twenty years later, Albany was a Patriot stronghold in the American Revolution, and in 1775 it was again the site of important negotiation as General Philip Schuyler tried to persuade the Six Nations to remain neutral in the escalating conflict. Throughout the war, Albany's three thousand residents doggedly resisted British attempts to invade the city. Albany's riverfront location held strategic value for both sides, and the city thus served as a major supply depot for the Continental Army.

Albany developed rapidly after the war, becoming the capital of New York State in 1797, chosen because its inland location promised safety from naval attack and also gave access to new farmlands to the west. The transportation revolution of the early nineteenth century made the city the center of a new web of commercial links. The introduction of steamboats put New York City within twenty hours' reach, while the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825 connected the city to the Great Lakes. While the colonial settlement had once been an entrepôt between frontier colonists and Indian traders, now Albany grew wealthy on the trade between the coastal cities and the resource-rich interior. As Albany expanded, the grid system was adopted and the city acquired banks, hotels, newspapers, a hospital, and a jail. While many of the city's residents were still of Dutch origin, the population, which reached twenty-four thousand in 1830, was now swelled by Irish construction workers as well as large numbers of northern European Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

The city would enjoy continued antebellum prosperity with the arrival of the country's first commercial railroad, the Mohawk and Hudson, in 1831. Further industrial growth was spurred by the city's iron foundries and leather industries, creating a period of general growth that would last for much of the century.

See also **Albany Plan of Union; Erie Canal; Fur and Pelt Trade; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Munsell, Joel. *The Annals of Albany.* 2nd ed. Albany, N.Y.: Munsell, 1869.

Shannon, Timothy J. *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Richard J. Bell

ALBANY PLAN OF UNION   In June 1754 delegates from seven colonies—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland—met in Albany, New York, to hold a treaty conference with the six Iroquois nations. A year earlier, a party of Mohawk Indians in New York City had declared the alliance between the Iroquois and the northern British colonies broken because of land frauds and trading abuses perpetrated by the colonists. With the Anglo-French contest for control of North America heating up along the Ohio frontier, the British crown could not afford to lose its Indian allies, and so it ordered the colonies to mend the rift by making "one general treaty" with the Iroquois.

Similar intercolonial treaty conferences had met in Albany before, but none had included delegations from so many colonies nor been convened with such a sense of urgency. As news of the crown's order for the treaty conference circulated, a handful of royal officials and colonists in America thought the moment should be seized to coordinate intercolonial Indian relations and military affairs. The royal governor of Massachusetts, William Shirley, made certain that his colony's delegation to Albany was empowered to enter into a plan of union with the other delegations present; Connecticut's delegation carried authority to consult on such a plan. The other colonial delegations carried instructions that either did not address the subject of colonial union or specifically proscribed the delegates' powers to discuss it. Nevertheless, shortly after opening their proceedings, the delegates formed a committee to draft a plan of colonial union.

In addition to the New England delegates, the chief force behind this push for colonial union at the Albany Congress was Pennsylvania delegate Benjamin Franklin. In 1751 Franklin had published a plan for creating an intercolonial legislature presided over by a royally appointed governor general. On the eve of the Albany Congress, he published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* the famous "Join, or Die" cartoon of a snake cut into several pieces to encourage a united colonial resistance to French expansion in the Ohio country. While en route to the Congress, Franklin drafted "Short Hints towards a Scheme for Uniting the Northern Colonies," which he circulated among some acquaintances. This document provided the starting point for the committee on colonial union that Franklin joined in Albany.

After taking care of their negotiations with the Iroquois, the delegates turned their attention to the

committee's work. After some debate, they accepted a final version of the committee's plan on 10 July 1754 and ordered copies for each colonial assembly and the crown. The Albany Plan of Union offered a novel approach to strengthening both intercolonial and Anglo–American union. The center of the plan was the creation of a Grand Council consisting of representatives from each colony, in proportion to the amount of money it contributed to a common treasury. The crown would appoint a president-general, who would work with the Grand Council in directing Indian affairs, coordinating colonial military operations, and forming new colonies in western territories. The Albany Plan called for implementation of this new general government for America by an act of Parliament, but it also specifically recognized each colony's right to retain its "present constitution," except where altered by the Albany Plan.

The Albany Plan of Union failed to attract much support in either Britain or the colonies. The king's ministers expressed some confusion over the plan, which they had not called for in their original instructions for the treaty conference, and failed to forward it to Parliament. The colonial assemblies ignored it, rejected it as antithetical to colonial liberties, or drafted alternative plans designed to do less damage to the autonomy of colonial governments. Even in New England, where the sentiment for colonial union was strongest, the Albany Plan was regarded as a dangerous intrusion on the sanctity of colonial charters, and it slipped into oblivion as the outbreak of war in the Ohio country diverted political energies elsewhere. The plan's most significant impact was felt in Indian affairs. While the crown was not sympathetic to creating an intercolonial legislature, it did like the idea of centralizing Indian affairs under royal management. In 1756 the ministry created two Indian superintendencies for North America, one for the northern colonies and one for the southern colonies.

While some historians have considered the Albany Congress as a precedent for the intercolonial congresses of the Revolutionary era, its influence on the American union forged between 1765 and 1776 is questionable. Franklin's role in drafting the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution has likewise encouraged some historians to see in the Albany Plan of Union a harbinger of American federalism, but there is little evidence that the founders cited the Albany Plan as a precedent when they drafted those later documents. More recently, Native Americans and sympathetic scholars have argued that the Albany Plan of Union, Articles of Confederation, and Constitution bear resemblance to the Grand League

of the Iroquois, but there is no historical evidence from the Albany Congress, Second Continental Congress, or Constitutional Convention that confirms a purposeful effort by Franklin or others to model their ideas for American union after Native American principles.

See also **Franklin, Benjamin; Iroquois Confederacy.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alden, John R. "The Albany Congress and the Creation of the Indian Superintendencies." *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 27 (1940): 193–210.

Levy, Philip A. "Exemplars of Taking Liberties: The Iroquois Influence Thesis and the Problem of Evidence." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 53, no. 3 (1996): 588–604.

Olson, Alison Gilbert. "The British Government and Colonial Union, 1754." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 17, no. 1 (1960): 22–34.

Shannon, Timothy J. *Indians and Colonists at the Crossroads of Empire: The Albany Congress of 1754.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.

Timothy J. Shannon

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION During colonial times Americans became hearty drinkers, consuming considerable rum and hard apple cider. They also drank a lesser amount of low alcohol beer that housewives brewed. Colonists brought a cultural predisposition to drink from Europe. Europeans had been using beer and wine for thousands of years and hard liquor since they borrowed distillation of alcohol from the Arabs at the end of the Middle Ages. In contrast, American Indians prior to white contact used alcohol sparingly, usually in the form of mildly alcoholic beer for ritual purposes. However, native inhabitants proved eager to trade furs and other valuable items for the white man's "firewater." Slaves in America took little alcohol; they came from African societies that had only beer.

By the 1750s Americans were drinking heavily. Much of the rum was imported, and the rest was distilled in the seaports from molasses brought from the West Indies. Although available data is rough, by 1750 the colonists may have consumed more than 6 gallons of alcohol per adult per year, nearly triple the 2.2 gallons drunk in 1998. During the American Revolution, consumption temporarily dropped as the British cut off rum and molasses imports. As a substitute, Scots–Irish immigrants imported distilling technology to turn corn into whiskey.

In those days much drinking took place in taverns, which served as community meeting places for entertainment and politics. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence was drafted in a Philadelphia tavern and Revolutionary War soldiers and sailors were recruited in drinking houses. A hangover might bring awareness that one had enlisted while drunk. Soldiers in the Continental Army, like their British opponents, received two ounces of distilled spirits twice daily. Alcohol was considered to be a preserver of good health, a cure for colds or fevers, a pain reliever, and a way to endure hot and cold weather. The main limit on consumption was availability.

THE EARLY REPUBLIC

From the 1790s through the 1820s, whiskey use soared. Heralded as the national beverage, whiskey made getting drunk a patriotic gesture and an act of American pride. In 1790, when Congress, at the request of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, imposed duties on imported molasses and rum, rum distillers complained that they could not compete with untaxed whiskey. The next year the federal government began to tax all distilled spirits. Many frontier whiskey distillers lacked the means to pay or refused to do so, and in 1794 the federal government crushed the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. Illegal distilling, however, continued, especially in frontier areas such as Kentucky, and in 1802 Thomas Jefferson repealed the tax on domestic distilled liquor. Alcohol remained untaxed until the Civil War.

Around 1800 settlement of the Middle West began, and that region's hot summers and excellent soil produced bumper corn crops. The result was a corn glut, which increased when Europe stopped buying American grain after the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815. Desperate western farmers turned their corn into whiskey in order to afford the shipping costs of sending it to the East for sale. Whiskey became both cheaper and more plentiful. By the 1820s whiskey was five cents a fifth, cheaper than rum, wine, beer, milk, tea, or coffee. It was often safer to drink than water, too.

At the consumption peak, around 1830, Americans drank about seven gallons of alcohol per adult per year. This rate of use is among the highest ever recorded in any society and is close to the human body's physiological maximum capacity for intake of alcohol.

While cider continued to be taken in rural apple-growing areas, three-fifths of the alcohol that Americans drank was in the form of whiskey. Beer and wine together accounted for less than 5 percent of the alcohol consumed. Beer neither shipped nor stored well, and it was hard to handle in a largely rural country. With low population density, beer dealers often sold so little that a tapped keg went bad before it was empty. Wine was imported and expensive, and attempts to plant vineyards failed.

Adult white men drank the most, consuming perhaps as much as five-sixths of the liquor at an average rate of a half pint a day, but women also drank, often at home and sometimes for real or imagined health problems. Many patent medicines contained alcohol; laudanum, opium dissolved in alcohol, was popular to induce sleep or quiet children. It was effective and addictive. Slaves were barred by law from drinking, and most had much less access to alcohol than did whites, but masters often provided slaves with whiskey for a drunken binge after Christmas.

Small children tended to sip tiny amounts, such as finishing off a parent's glass. To pretend to be adults, twelve-year-old boys swaggered into taverns and ordered drinks. Masters or journeymen sent teenage craft apprentices to the store to get liquor in a pail and bring it back to workshops. When an apprentice finished his term of service at age twenty-one, he was expected to treat the shop.

Whiskey, usually mixed with water, was taken on rising in the morning, with breakfast, at the "elevens" (the predecessor of the coffee break), with midday dinner, in mid-afternoon, with supper, and upon retiring. The American diet ran heavily to salt pork and corn flour johnnycakes fried in pork lard. The same food appeared at all three meals. Whiskey helped wash down this greasy, salty fare. In the early Republic, Americans did not often get drunk in binges; rather, they stayed mildly high all day long.

All social classes drank, from teamsters who allowed the horses to find their own way home to judges who passed a jug or bottle around the courtroom. To keep workers from quitting, farm owners had to provide diluted liquor in the fields. Americans drank on many occasions. Businessmen sealed deals with drinks, political candidates treated voters, and militia musters ended with drunken militiamen covering the ground.

TEMPERANCE

Alcohol did have critics. In the colonial period, Quakers and Methodists opposed drinking, and especially public drunkenness, as socially disruptive, personally irresponsible, and sinful. After the Revolutionary War, Dr. Benjamin Rush, who had been physician to the Continental Army, published *An Inquiry into the*

Effects of Spirituous Liquors (1784). This key pamphlet blamed the overuse of distilled spirits for disease, urged restraint in the intake of alcohol, and recommended beer or wine instead of spirits. Although consumption did not fall immediately, Rush influenced doctors and Protestant clergy, who blamed alcohol for wife beating, family abandonment, high illegitimacy, job instability, poverty, crime, and violence.

The early Republic was a time of social turmoil, and taverns, especially in seaports, were associated with rising public drunkenness, prostitution, and gambling. As early as 1810 New England ministers campaigned in *The Panoplist*, a religious magazine, for moderate use of alcohol, which they called "temperance." Stressing health and social problems, this early campaign had little appeal, even after the founding of the first temperance society, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, in 1812. The public appeared to prefer alcohol to protecting health or changing society.

During the 1820s northeastern evangelical ministers, often Congregationalists or Presbyterians, turned alcohol into a moral issue. At first they urged moderation, but after 1830 these preachers increasingly opposed any drinking. They called liquor the Demon Rum and suggested it came from the devil. The renunciation of alcohol gradually became one way in which Evangelicals, including many Methodists and Baptists, demonstrated the sincerity of conversion experiences during the Second Great Awakening, which lasted from the late 1790s through the 1830s. Ministers found that abstainers who were reborn in the spiritual revival were more likely to join a church than were drinkers, who found nonreligious fellowship in taverns. Although churches began to require members to abstain, Catholics, Episcopalians, and many Lutherans never accepted this practice. At communion, Evangelicals served grape juice, which they declared was the pure wine of the Bible.

Temperance leaders found it hard to defend limited use because no one agreed how much alcohol was safe. They also found that attacking whiskey while exempting wine did not work, because the poor would not give up cheap whiskey while the wealthy continued to drink expensive wine. Some temperance leaders, notably Sylvester Graham of cracker fame, also embraced vegetarianism on the grounds that meat eaters became animalistic. Temperance gradually spread to the Midwest and the South, but southerners were slow to embrace the idea, in part because those who opposed alcohol often also opposed slavery.

By 1834 the American Temperance Society (1826), which claimed 1.25 million members in 7,000 local organizations, urged "teetotalism," or abstinence from all alcohol. This idea was popular in rural areas and small towns. Some farmers even cut down cider-producing apple trees. Many city residents never accepted teetotalism. At the same time, heavy-drinking Irish and German immigrants arrived in large numbers.

By the 1850s, alcohol consumption had dropped by two-thirds or more as Evangelicals stopped drinking altogether. To be northern and middle class in 1850 was, by definition, to abstain. The country, however, was divided about drinking by region, by class, by rural or urban residence, by type of religion, and by ethnicity.

See also **Reform, Social; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blocker, Jack S., Jr. *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform.* Boston: Twayne, 1989.

Conroy, David W. *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Rorabaugh, W. J. *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Salinger, Sharon V. *Taverns and Drinking in Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Tyrrell, Ian R. *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America*, *1800–1860.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979.

W. J. Rorabaugh

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES AND PRODUCTION Before the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), American colonists made large quantities of alcoholic beverages. The overwhelming bulk of this production consisted of commercially distilled rum. In 1770 the colonists imported four million gallons of rum and distilled another five million gallons from imported molasses. Although some rum was traded overseas, Americans drank eight million gallons per year, about seven gallons per adult. Most distillers operated in the seaboard port cities because the molasses from which rum was made came from sugar-

cane grown in the West Indies. Rum was cheaper to produce in large batches, and a few large-scale distillers dominated the industry.

In urban places, commercial brewers made limited quantities of English-style beer. At the time more than 95 percent of Americans lived on farms, where access to commercial beer was poor due to bad transportation and a lack of cash to purchase this relatively expensive beverage.

In addition, brewing beer in the English fashion required considerable technical ability, and many American brewers lacked a thorough knowledge of the skills taught through the apprenticeship system in England. English-style beer used light yeast that floated on the top of the vat, and the yeast could easily pick up wild yeasts that gave the beer a bad taste. Wild yeasts in England posed less of a problem than those found in the colonies.

On farms as well as in cities, many housewives brewed at home. Often doing so only once a week, they fermented mash naturally from barley, corn, or other grain. This so-called small beer contained little alcohol, about half the strength of beer in the late 1990s. Because of low alcohol content as well as lack of refrigeration, it went sour after a few days. The colonists tended no wine grape vineyards, but farmers in apple-growing areas pressed fruit into alcoholic hard cider for their own use.

WHISKEY CHALLENGES RUM

During the Revolutionary War, the British blockaded the seacoast and cut off imports of both molasses and rum. Meanwhile, Irish and Scots-Irish immigrants, who had moved to the colonies in large numbers after 1750, had brought distilling technology from Ireland to turn corn and rye into what the Irish called *usquebaugh*, which soon was known as whiskey. While these immigrants had distilled small amounts of whiskey for personal use before the Revolution, the disappearance of rum during the war led large numbers of Americans increasingly to substitute whiskey for rum.

After 1783 the British continued to block trade between the British West Indies and the new United States. Molasses and rum from other sources was sporadic and unreliable, and by 1789 Americans drank only seven million gallons of rum, about three and a half gallons per adult. In addition, many states taxed imports, including molasses, and rum distillers found themselves at a disadvantage in competition with manufacturers who distilled untaxed whiskey from untaxed grain.

Around this time, small-scale whiskey distillers innovated better small stills, including one model called the perpetual still, which was claimed to be so efficient that it generated its own energy supply. This was nonsense, but whiskey stills were nevertheless inexpensive to construct and easy to operate. They were portable, required little firewood, and could be moved to wherever a corn glut occurred. However, these new stills were not suitable for molasses, which—unlike corn or rye—became scorched in a small still.

Whereas rum distillation had been concentrated in the seaports, whiskey distillation was more common in western frontier areas populated by Scots-Irish and where surplus grain lacked a local market. Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress in the 1780s tried to impose national duties on imported molasses and rum, but such taxes required unanimous consent, and Rhode Island, dominated by the rum-distilling Brown family, refused approval because the taxes would have made rum more expensive than untaxed whiskey.

After the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, the new federal government in 1790 raised revenue by taxing imported molasses and rum. Rum distillers complained, and in 1791 the federal government imposed a tax on whiskey and other domestic distilled liquors both to raise more revenue and to level the playing field between rum and whiskey.

In 1790 the United States produced about five gallons of hard liquor per adult. Two-thirds was rum; most of the remainder was whiskey. Many whiskey distillers, especially in remote areas, did not pay any tax. Some farmer-distillers lacked cash, and whiskey often circulated as an item of barter on the frontier, where it was traded at general stores. A barrel of whiskey was a convenient way to keep assets in easily saleable liquid form.

In 1794 the federal government sent a tax collector into western Pennsylvania, an area heavily settled by Scots-Irish and well known for its extensive whiskey production. Local farmer-distillers physically forced the agent to leave the region. This resistance to authority alarmed federal officials, especially Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who persuaded President George Washington to call out fifteen thousand militiamen to put down the Whiskey Rebellion.

The insurrection was crushed, its leaders were arrested, and stills were seized, but significant defiance persisted. Even after the rebellion, western Pennsylvania yielded little whiskey tax revenue, and

none was obtained from Kentucky, where no tax collector was ever appointed.

WHISKEY PREVAILS

In 1802 Congress repealed the hated whiskey tax, and the federal government did not again tax alcohol production until the Civil War. Imported molasses and rum, however, still paid duties, and rum sales continued to decline. Molasses imports were a steady one gallon per person after 1802, while rum imports declined from more than a gallon per person during the 1790s to less than half that amount from 1808 to 1827 and less than one-fifth of a gallon from 1828 to 1850. Meanwhile, production of cheap whiskey gradually rose.

In 1810 the government calculated that the production of distilled spirits, nearly 90 percent of which was whiskey, amounted to about 8.7 gallons per adult. This prodigious amount made hard liquor the third most important industry in the United States when measured by the value of production. However, this official statistic is too low and the true amount of beverage distillation is impossible to determine. While official production excluded unreported stills, it also included an unknown but considerable amount of liquor that was used for mechanical purposes or as medicine, in the latter case applied both internally and externally.

The settlement of the Midwest corn belt in the early 1800s led to higher whiskey production; as a result, the price steadily declined, until by 1825 it was the cheapest beverage at 25 cents a gallon. The United States had fourteen thousand distilleries in 1810, twenty thousand in 1820, but only ten thousand in 1830, when production reached 9.5 gallons per adult. Whiskey distilling continued to be a small-scale business until the 1830s, when cheap grain concentrated in certain areas combined with more efficient large stills and low railroad shipping charges enabled large-scale distillers to gain a major portion of the market.

Whiskey varied in quality in these years, and the customer had to take a chance, because it was sold from an unmarked barrel without any brand or labeling until shortly before the Civil War. Most whiskey was 100 proof or 50 percent alcohol. (The technical process for proofing alcohol made it easier to make 100 proof liquor.) Clear in color, whiskey usually had a kick because then it was not aged in charcoal barrels, as it later would be to remove impurities. Whiskey was usually sold within thirty days of production. The modern equivalent is bootleg white lightning.

Although there are no reliable statistics, impressionistic evidence suggests that after 1800 production of both commercial and home-brewed beer declined, perhaps because whiskey was so cheap that it discouraged anyone, including housewives, from brewing. Only with the arrival of German immigrants after 1840 did beer production increase. Farmers in apple-growing areas made much hard cider throughout the period. This beverage was never popular in towns or cities, and since it lacked much of a market beyond the farm, it is impossible to know accurately the annual production, which mostly went unreported.

Wine could be made from native Concord or Catawba grapes, but such wine was limited to small amounts produced for home consumption. Around 1800 a number of gentlemen farmers, including Nicholas Longworth (1783–1863), experimented with European wine grapes, but the roots tended to rot in the American climate, and the vines yielded more leaves than grapes. Longworth, however, took pleasure in serving surprised Europeans wine from his Cincinnati farm. Although he produced a few bottles of excellent wine, his winery was never a commercial success.

Thomas Jefferson tried and failed to make wine at his Virginia plantation, Monticello, and his sponsorship of a colony of experienced wine-growing Swiss immigrants, who settled in Switzerland County, Indiana, in 1805 also came to nothing. These early experiments did not succeed because European vintners misunderstood the soil and climate in the United States. Americans also lacked expertise both in vine growing and in wine making. Only with the acquisition of California in 1848 would the nation gain an area where wine grapes thrived with little effort.

See also **Alcoholic Consumption; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Whiskey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baron, Stanley W. *Brewed in America: A History of Beer and Ale in the United States.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1962.

Carson, Gerald. *The Social History of Bourbon: An Unhurried Account of Our Star Spangled Drink.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1963.

Crowgey, Henry G. *Kentucky Bourbon*: *The Early Years of Whiskeymaking.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971.

Downard, William L. *Dictionary of the History of the American Brewing and Distilling Industries.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1980.

Pinney, Thomas. *A History of Wine in America from the Beginnings to Prohibition.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

W. J. Rorabaugh

ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS   In 1798 America's Federalists drafted the Alien and Sedition Acts to preserve the national government they had crafted and their own political power. These four laws violated rights guaranteed by the Constitution, inflated presidential power, and disenfranchised America's immigrants. Although the Federalist majority was able to enact and implement its legislative program, it could not silence the public outcry against these repressive measures or force the acceptance of its political beliefs.

The Constitution of 1787 is a sparse document. This is in part because it was conceived as a blueprint for republican government, unencumbered with procedural minutiae, and in part because the delegates to the Constitutional Convention, lacking the time to hammer out the precise powers and roles of each branch of government, left the completion of their work to Congress. The Constitution of 1787 directed Congress to create a national judicial system, to establish a "uniform rule of naturalization," and to "make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" to execute its enumerated powers. By restricting the Constitution to broad principles, delegates ensured its continued relevance. But the document's brevity also conferred great power on those who controlled the new national government in the 1790s—the men responsible for implementing the Constitution and filling in its gaps.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCES

Congressional debates in the 1790s soon revealed differing political beliefs among Americans who had united to throw off British rule. As the decade progressed, two dominant groupings emerged. The Federalist Party, headed by the nation's first president, George Washington, and first secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, styled itself the party of order or "Friends of Government." The Federalists advocated rule by "the better sort" and, using England as a model, strove to create a prosperous and powerful American nation. The Republican Party, headed by the nation's first secretary of state, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison, who led the opposition in Congress, called itself "Friends of the People," placed a stronger emphasis on the sovereignty of the people, and feared a distant and powerful government. The Jeffersonian Republicans also repudiated the British model of development, whether political, economic, or social.

Alexander Hamilton's plan of economic development (1790–1791) triggered the first battle in the struggle to define America's political principles. Hamilton's plan was based on a broad reading of the Constitution and was designed to create a powerful national government. Although President Washington was won over by Hamilton's vision and arguments, the men who coalesced into the Jeffersonian opposition demanded a "strict construction" of the powers granted by the Constitution in order to prevent the creation of an elected despotism. International developments heightened the tensions between these divergent political philosophies. Many Americans who had initially seen the French Revolution as a copy of their own noble struggle against tyranny were disquieted by the escalation of violence and radical ideas in the 1790s—especially the execution of Louis XVI and France's declaration of war against Great Britain in 1793, the writings of Thomas Paine, and the French subversion of republican governments that had been established throughout Europe.

In 1794 the Federalists, fearing the spread of French radicalism, negotiated Jay's Treaty, which secured peace with England, but only by surrendering America's claim to the right of neutral trade and by, in French eyes, abrogating America's 1778 Treaty with France. Publication of Jay's Treaty precipitated demonstrations by Americans who saw it as selling out to Great Britain; the prosecution of Benjamin Bache, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, for publishing the terms of the treaty; and attacks on American shipping by France, which viewed the treaty as an alliance between the United States and England. The Quasi-War (1798–1800) with France that ensued increased popular support for the Federalists, especially after peace talks between France and the United States were scuttled by bribes demanded by three French officials, identified only as X, Y, and Z. Blaming the continued hostilities on French venality and the seditious activities of foreign agents and the Republican opposition, Federalist leaders took advantage of their new popularity to arm themselves with the weapons necessary to silence their critics and to perpetuate their political power and principles.

TABLE 1

Naturalizations		
Court Location	# Naturalized, 1796–1818 June 1798 (Under Act of 1795)	# Naturalized, 1800–1814 April 1802 (Under Act of 1798)
3 courts, N.Y. County	288	0
3 courts, Baltimore Co., Md.	444	0
1 court, Frederick Co., Md.	66	0
3 courts, Charleston Co., S.C.	195	4
Totals	993	4

THE ACTS

Although part of the Federalist program to protect the United States from foreign saboteurs and domestic dissidents, the Alien Enemies Act, passed on 6 July 1798, was supported by most members of Congress, who recognized the need to control unnaturalized immigrants whose governments were at war with the United States. The only provision challenged by the Jeffersonian opposition was the "very extraordinary power" given to the president to decide when the threat of "predatory incursion" was sufficient to invoke the act and to specify the treatment of enemy aliens. From a Federalist standpoint, this act was a complete failure. Because war was never declared between France and the United States, the Alien Enemies Act could not be used to apprehend or restrain French radicals. Instead, much to the chagrin of Federalist Anglophiles, the provisions of the Alien Enemies Act would be used against unnaturalized British immigrants during the War of 1812.

The remainder of the Federalist program sparked far more controversy. The Naturalization Act, passed on 18 June 1798, was designed to disenfranchise immigrants, by increasing residency requirements from five to fourteen years, and to identify potential troublemakers, by requiring the registration of all unnaturalized aliens residing in the United States in 1798 and of all future arrivals. Penalties for immigrants who refused to report themselves and for all who failed to register aliens in their charge ranged from a monthly fine of two dollars for each infraction, to incarceration until the reports were made. The Naturalization Act of 1798 was, by Federalist standards, a great success. The new requirements virtually ended naturalization activity throughout the United States until the act's repeal on 14 April 1802. (See table 1.)

The Alien Act, passed on 25 June 1798 (also known as the Alien Friends Act), and the Sedition Act, passed on 14 July 1798, were temporary measures designed to silence the political opposition. This Alien Act gave President John Adams the power to deport any unnaturalized foreigner he considered "dangerous to the peace and public safety of the United States." Aliens who defied a deportation order would be imprisoned for up to three years and permanently excluded from U.S. citizenship; any deportee who returned could be imprisoned for "so long as, in the opinion of the President, the public safety may require." The furor generated by the Alien Act focused on the "inquisitorial power" conferred on the American president, the Federalists' extraordinarily broad interpretation of the power granted to Congress by the Constitution, and the violation of rights guaranteed to all "persons"—including unnaturalized immigrants. Members of the Republican opposition warned their colleagues of the dangerous precedent that the Alien Act would set and predicted that, if passed, it would be followed by a similar attack on the rights of American citizens. And indeed, the Sedition Act was enacted less than three weeks after the Alien Act.

The Sedition Act was a flagrantly partisan measure designed to ensure the reelection of a Federalist majority in 1800. The act's provisions, to remain in force until 31 March 1801, made it a crime for anyone, foreign- or native-born, to "write, print, utter or publish," or to "knowingly . . . assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering or publishing any false, scandalous and malicious writings" concerning the members of Congress or the President; those who did so could be fined two thousand dollars and imprisoned up to two years. Conspicuously excluded from the act's protection was Vice President Thomas Jefferson—the leader of the Republican opposition. During the election of 1800, no one could, or would, be charged under the Sedition Act for "uttering or publishing" any criticism of Jefferson, no matter how false or scurrilous. Ironically, despite its repressive implementation, the Sedition Act can be considered a progressive development in the law of libel because it allowed truth as a defense and because juries, rather than judges, were allowed to decide whether the publication or statement violated the law. Although some defendants were acquitted under the law, most were convicted by partisan judges and juries who ignored the Act's more progressive provisions.

THE FEDERALIST "REIGN OF TERROR"

The Federalist campaign to silence, vilify, and weaken the political opposition made full use of the pow-

ers conveyed by the Alien, Sedition, and Naturalization Acts of 1798. The fourteen-year residence requirement prevented foreigners from casting (legal) votes for members of the Jeffersonian opposition. Immediately after the passage of the Alien Act, Federalist officials drew up lists of "dangerous" immigrants and prepared deportation orders for President Adams's signature. But official measures proved unnecessary, as hundreds of immigrants, most of them French refugees from Saint Domingue (the earlier name of Haiti), set sail from America's inhospitable shores in the summer of 1798; other immigrants went into hiding. News of the treatment awaiting them also reduced the number of English and Irish radicals emigrating to America. In the end, no foreigners were deported under the provisions of the Alien Act.

The Sedition Act resulted in the arrests of twenty-five Americans. The most prominent of these was Matthew Lyon, a Republican Congressman from Vermont. Since his election in 1797, Federalists had portrayed the Irish-born Lyon as a savage and seditious "beast," a promoter of anarchy, and a tool of the French government. In October 1798 a jury, acting on the blatantly partisan charge of Supreme Court Justice William Paterson, found Lyon guilty of making remarks that heaped contempt and odium on the government and president of the United States. Sentenced to a four-month jail term and fined one thousand dollars for deriding President John Adams's "unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation" and his "continual grasp for power," Lyon conducted his successful reelection campaign from jail. In New Jersey an inebriated Republican and two drinking companions were found guilty of seditious libel for hoping that one of the artillery shots that accompanied John Adams's procession through town might lodge itself in the president's posterior. The Sedition Act's harshest penalties were meted out by the Massachusetts Circuit Court on Daniel Brown, a semiliterate "wandering apostle of sedition" who, after advocating the "downfall of the Tyrants of America, peace and retirement to the President," and long life to "the Vice-President and the Minority," hoped that "moral virtue" would become "the basis of civil government." Most of the others indicted under the Sedition Act were editors of Republican newspapers. Of those arrested, ten were found guilty; untimely deaths and disappearances allowed others to evade Federalist "justice." After his election President Jefferson pardoned the men who remained incarcerated for violations of the newly expired Sedition Act.

Ultimately the Alien and Sedition Acts destroyed the Federalist Party. By the end of 1798, the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures had passed resolutions denouncing the acts as unconstitutional and refusing to aid in their enforcement. The Kentucky Resolution, drafted by Thomas Jefferson, went even further, claiming that each state had the right to nullify any federal law it found unconstitutional. At the beginning of 1799, petitions signed by thousands of citizens across the country were presented in Congress, "praying" for the repeal of the "impolitic, tyrannical, and unconstitutional" Alien and Sedition Acts. The election of Thomas Jefferson and a Republican congressional majority in 1800 was the ultimate rejection of Federalist policies and principles.

THE LEGACY

The political battles triggered by the Alien and Sedition Acts had many far-reaching and often unintended consequences. The legislative excesses of the Federalist Party discredited the concept of the "better sort" as society's natural rulers. After the victory of the Jeffersonian "Friends of the People" in 1800, most successful politicians stressed their (often fabricated) humble beginnings. The Federalist attack on the opposition press resulted in the proliferation of partisan newspapers and increased political participation by the public at large. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, states lowered or abolished property requirements for voters and ever larger percentages of the electorate cast ballots on election day. Prosecutions under the Sedition Act of 1798 illustrated both the importance and frailty of the American Constitution, which defined treason as an *overt* act, and the Bill of Rights, which decreed that "Congress shall make no law. . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." In the nineteenth century, Republicans expanded their reading of the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment; during the War of 1812, no Federalist was prosecuted for his opposition to the war with Great Britain. Thus, at one level, the experience of the acts led to a stronger ideology of freedom of expression.

The Alien and Sedition Acts also had pernicious consequences. They confirmed America's fear of the abuse of power by a distant, national government, demonstrated the inefficacy of "parchment barriers," and sowed the seeds of disunion. Because it had taken state action to topple the Federalist Party, state and local governments came to be seen as the true guardians of American liberty—qualified to challenge, perhaps even to nullify, federal laws that seemed to violate the Constitution or individual rights. From there

it would be a small step to claim the right of a state to secede from a national government that refused to repeal "unconstitutional" edicts. The Alien and Sedition Acts also became a precedent for dealing with national crises. America has repeatedly responded to international threats by circumventing constitutional rights, impugning the motives of political opponents, equating criticism of government leaders and policies with treason, and exacerbating xenophobia.

See also **Adams, John; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalism; Federalist Party; Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander; Immigration and Immigrants: Immigrant Policy and Law; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Judiciary Act of 1789; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; Presidency, The; Press, The; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812; Washington, George; XYZ Affair.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baseler, Marilyn C. *"Asylum for Mankind": America, 1607–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Buel, Richard, Jr. "Freedom of the Press in Revolutionary America: The Evolution of Libertarianism, 1760–1820." In *The Press and the American Revolution.* Edited by Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1981.

Cole, David. *Enemy Aliens: Double Standards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism.* New York: Norton, 2003.

Levy, Leonard W. *Emergence of a Free Press.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985; Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. "1800 as a Revolution in Political Culture: Newspapers, Celebrations, Voting, and Democratization in the Early Republic." In *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Edited by James Horn, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Powe, Lucas A., Jr. *The Fourth Estate and the Constitution: Freedom of the Press in America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Simon, James F. *What Kind of Nation: Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and the Epic Struggle to Create a United States.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002.

Smith, James Morton. *Freedom's Fetters: The Alien and Sedition Laws and American Civil Liberties.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1956.

Taylor, Alan. "From Fathers to Friends of the People: Political Personae in the Early Republic." In *Federalists Reconsidered.* Edited by Doron Ben-Atar and Barbara B. Oberg. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Marilyn C. Baseler

ALMANACS   No other publication attracted as loyal a following, nor had as widespread a reach, as the almanac. Every fall local newspapers throughout colonial America contained advertisements heralding the latest editions of the many different local almanacs. The annual announcements served as a siren call, beckoning local merchants, artisans, and farmers alike to the printer's office to purchase their traditional almanac, while salesmen arrived, acquiring almanacs in bulk before heading out to the frontier to peddle their best-selling item. Full of must-have information, like the days local courts convened, the rising and setting of the sun, and the dates of holidays, along with entertaining stories, medicinal cures, astrological prognostications, and favorite recipes, no other single genre of book was purchased as frequently as the almanac, nor was the market for any single item as fully developed or competitive as the almanac market. Yet these almanacs, pervasive in their local markets, could not be sold in other markets because of their highly localized information. A farmer in Pennsylvania could not profit from lunar and solar calculations for Boston, nor could a Bostonian benefit from knowing when a local court met in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

The Revolution left most of the almanac's content unchanged. For all the upheaval it wrought, apparently that conflict did not alter America's litigious society or the movement of the sun, moon, or stars. Yet the changes that did occur and, more important, where and when these changes happened, provide insight into the creation of the new nation.

The most notable, yet subtle, shift appeared in the calendar, which formed the core of every almanac. The British calendar had peacefully resided in every almanac before the imperial crisis, but over the course of the Revolution, it shifted from a celebratory focus on English events, mostly monarchical, to a new, American perspective. Unlike government decrees mandating celebratory days, the almanac makers were free to determine what dates to include in their almanacs. Furthermore, because days, events, and astrology shifted from year to year, printers could not use standing type in their calendars. Therefore, every year they conscientiously constructed the calendar for the upcoming year. Inertia never controlled the almanac and because of the almanac's profitability and popularity, it can be inferred that popular sentiments implicitly shaped the calendar's outlook. Every fall during the imperial crisis, almanac makers and publishers needed to survey their contentious audience and determine how to make

their almanacs as popular, or as inoffensive to as many, as possible. Although the nationalization of the almanacs occurred regionally during the War for Independence, by the 1780s virtually every almanac celebrated the declaration of independence in addition to many of the battles from the Revolutionary War. The shared celebration of the war and of independence in these localized publications helped foster a shared sense of national community.

Philadelphia and Boston served as printing centers for almanacs, accounting for over 70 percent of all the almanacs printed. Philadelphia is remembered as the home of the Continental Congress and birthplace of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1787. It also is synonymous with early American almanacs, thanks in large part to Philadelphia printer cum politician Benjamin Franklin, who produced *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757). But at the time of the imperial crisis, Franklin had given up printing, and the almanac market was far more robust than it ever had been during his years as a printer. In Franklin's time, there were perhaps five or six competing almanacs, but by the imperial crisis Philadelphia printers produced, on average, twelve different almanacs annually, accounting for over 40 percent of all almanacs in the colonies.

The New England market produced no less than a dozen different almanac makers and accounted for 30 percent of all almanacs produced. Here, almanac maker Nathaniel Ames of Massachusetts created a massive following, which his son, Nathaniel Ames Jr., inherited in 1765. At the time, it is likely that Ames's almanac outsold any other almanac produced in the colonies. Throughout the imperial crisis, Ames Jr. turned his almanac into a political pamphlet. This trend was soon duplicated by other popular compilers like Benjamin West and Nathaniel Low, both also of Massachusetts. During the Revolution, the New England almanac was transformed from an innocuous serial to a political pamphlet to a source of news dissemination and progenitor of national identity. Often the almanac published accounts of battles, and images of George Washington, Horatio Gates, and John Hancock adorned the frontispiece. Thus, almanacs established a nationalizing trend later replicated in the other areas of the country during the early Republic.

The vitality of the almanac market did not wane after the Revolution. With the retirement of Ames and his peers, the early Republic witnessed the rise of a new generation of popular almanac makers. Benjamin Banneker, a self-taught free black living in Maryland and Washington, D.C., proved to be one of the most popular compilers in the 1790s.

The market explosion that characterized the early Republic also affected almanacs. Between 1765 and 1785, printers produced just over seven hundred almanacs. In the fifteen years immediately following the departure of the last British troops from New York City, production increased by over 140 percent, resulting in almost one thousand almanacs. In the early nineteenth century, American printers produced on average almost one hundred different almanacs a year, often in areas that had not even had printers prior to the Revolution. Such a large circulation of often overtly nationalistic almanacs helped create a national community bound by a shared calendar focused on independence.

See also **Printers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Franklin, Benjamin V., ed. *Boston Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers: 1640–1800.* Boston: Hall, 1980.

Raymond, Allan R. "To Reach Men's Minds: Almanacs and the American Revolution, 1760–1777." *New England Quarterly* 51 (1978): 370–371.

Stowell, Marion Barber. *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible.* New York: Franklin, 1977.

Patrick Spero

AMERICA AND THE WORLD   "Since the revolution which assured the sovereignty of the United States," noted one European journal in 1786, "European observers have painted of conditions there pictures which are sometimes enthusiastic and sometimes lamentable." That much is undeniable. As Americans expanded their borders through conquest and commerce, they touched off a global debate over the virtue and practicality of their defining attribute: freedom from monarchy. Some considered the United States the last best hope for humankind and thus drew "enthusiastic" pictures of America. For others, life in the American Republic was "lamentable," confirming the need for and wisdom of monarchical government. These conflicting views—products of the tumultuous Age of Revolution—helped to shape American foreign policy and national identity through much of the nineteenth century.

EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES
During the 1770s, American Revolutionaries portrayed Britain as "corrupt" and "luxurious," a deca-

Tea-Tax Tempest, or the Anglo-American Revolution (1778). In this German satirical engraving, attributed to Carl Guttenberg after Robert Edge Pine, Father Time projects a magic lantern show for viewers representing figures from around the world. The image on the wall—a teapot exploding among British troops—expresses support for the Americans. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

dent relic of a glorious past. They urged their countrymen and women to forgo British consumer goods and to reject the comfortable bonds of empire in favor of republican "virtue." Although Americans rushed to buy British manufactures as soon as the Revolutionary War ended in 1783, the image of Britain as the declining parent and America as the vigorous youth endured. "Unshackle your minds and act like independent beings," Noah Webster challenged his countrymen in 1790. "You have been children long enough." Bitter memories of wartime atrocities fed a popular hatred for British power, and stories of marauding British troops filled young Americans with a powerful sense of distance—both geographical and cultural—from the Old World in general.

The continuing influence of British culture in American life complicated this widespread Anglo-phobia—or, perhaps, intensified it. British books, magazines, and sermons left their mark at every level of American society and culture. Wealthy merchants in seaports read gentlemen's magazines published in London; well-educated women read novels by English authors like Jane Austen. British culture permeated American life in more popular and pedestrian ways, too. Newspapers sometimes favored European over local or national events. Children read allegories and morals written by British authors and intended for British youth. And British Evangelicals and moral reformers helped to lead or inspire antislavery and missionary efforts in the United States. In 1800 as in 1750, one measured cosmopolitanism in the English-speaking world by counting the miles from London, not from New York, Boston, or Philadelphia.

But if America remained something of a cultural colony, it quickly emerged as an economic power in its own right. From 1793, when the wars of the French Revolution began, to 1801, when they momentarily halted, the value of American exports surged fivefold. American farmers produced grain surpluses for sale across the Atlantic, where war had disrupted harvests. American merchants kept tobacco, sugar, barrel staves, and hemp circulating throughout the Atlantic basin. In the South, meanwhile, a new staple crop emerged that would make planters immensely powerful in Europe as well as America: cotton. Harvested by enslaved Africans, raw cotton was processed by the newly invented cotton gin and then funneled through American ports to British textile cities. American ships sailed south and west as well, weaving a thin but thickening web of global business. Whalers from New England regularly pursued their quarry into Pacific waters after 1800, making contact with Polynesian peoples and establishing trading posts from the Galápagos Islands to Hawaii. Pious missionaries followed the hard-drinking whalers, leaving native peoples with a most confusing picture of the American character.

The most spectacular advances out of the original thirteen states, however, were made in wagons rather than ships. At the time of the Revolution, only about twelve thousand of the roughly three million Americans lived west of the Appalachians. But the westward trickle became a flood after the 1780s, as young families who were pressed by a shortage of land along the seaboard sought their own piece of earth, their own "independence," within the new territories. Americans also headed west in the wake of military victories over Indian peoples; in 1795, one year after federal troops defeated the Miami Confederacy at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, settlers surged into the Ohio region. And the acquisition of the Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 encouraged tens of thousands of Americans to head west. Others came against their will—in slave coffles. From 1810 to 1820 alone, some 137,000 slaves were marched from the old tobacco lands in North Carolina and the Chesapeake to Alabama and Mississippi. The "Empire of Liberty" that President Thomas Jefferson envisioned was also a dominion of slavery, a place for white masters to wring labor and profits out of black bodies.

But no matter if they arrived as slaves or free citizens, in Ohio or Alabama, western settlers transformed the Republic and its place in the world. A massive internal economy developed, reorienting American commerce from trade with Europe to trade with other states. By 1830, a middle-class family in Connecticut might eat pork taken from an upstate New York farm, or even from an Ohio family whose surplus goods sailed east over the new Erie Canal, which was finished in 1825. Along with the conversion of millions of acres of grassland and forest into farms and townships came rapid population growth: by 1810, the United States had more than seven million inhabitants, nearly as many as Britain. "Old America," noted one migrant in 1817, "seems to be breaking up and moving westward."

EUROPEAN VIEWS OF AMERICA

Generally speaking, European judgments of America had been few and unkind before the Revolution. Although Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and a handful of other philosophes celebrated America as a place of natural simplicity, the prevailing view was of America as a place of moral and natural degeneration. In the 1760s the French scientist Comte de Buffon and the Swedish naturalist Pehr Kalm synthesized these notions into a scientific theory. Because North America had emerged from the sea more recently than Europe, they reasoned, the indigenous flora and fauna of America had not developed as long or as well as Old World species. European settlers in the colonies had regressed within this primitive environment, which explained why they lagged behind Europeans in wealth, learning, and artistic accomplishment. The lowly status of European immigrants to the colonies reinforced these unflattering portraits of American life. During the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, three out of four immigrants to British North America were unfree: slaves, bound laborers, or convicts. North America seemed like little more than a dumping ground for the unwanted or exploited.

America's image abroad improved dramatically in the period of the Revolution. The political philosophy of republicanism, which pictured a society based on popular rule and citizens' autonomy, had resonated with western intellectuals and radicals since the Renaissance. During the eighteenth century, it merged with Enlightenment values of human reason and progress to become a powerful logic for social and political change. Rather than a dependent child—a subject of God or king—republicans insisted that the human being was, or should be, an independent adult. When American radicals defied their parent country, therefore, European liberals cheered. Some joined the fray. Thomas Paine, an English-born radical, helped start the Revolutionary War with his pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776); the Marquis de La-

fayette, a French nobleman, and Thaddeus Kosciusko, a Polish general, helped to win it for the Americans. Also, over eight thousand Frenchmen served in the war, and they carried the dangerous vision of an independent citizenry back to Louis XVI's France.

As revolution swept over France in 1789, America briefly seemed like the vanguard of a brave new world—a remarkable turnaround in national repute since the late colonial period. The Legislative Assembly of the new French republic conveyed honorary citizenship on George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton—"foreign philosophers who have with courage upheld the cause of liberty and have deserved well of humanity." Its leadership aside, the American Republic appeared to offer a new kind of liberty and autonomy to ordinary people. The continent itself, once thought to have degenerative effects, now seemed like the foundation of Americans' liberty and virtue. On his own piece of ground, an American farmer was beholden to no manor lord or religious dogma and could think and reason and create. The everyday reality for America's struggling farmers, tenants, and tradesmen was far less rosy, of course. But from the European perspective, American soil became liberty's garden, the cradle of enlightenment and progress. In his 1782 work, *Letters from an American Farmer*, J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur celebrated the new world: "This continent will become one day the theater on which the liberated forces of the human mind will acquire all the energy of which they are susceptible—the theater on which human nature, so long confined . . . will achieve perhaps, its final and greatest honors." For this Frenchman, the American Republic was destined to lead the world out of the darkness that priests and kings had so long cast over the globe.

Yet, European conservatives decried the very qualities that Crèvecoeur celebrated. To them, American "democracy" (the word became more and more common in the 1780s) was little better than mob rule or demagoguery. Caring only for personal gain, an American politician flattered common people but cared nothing for them; far better, aristocrats declared, to preserve a deferential society in which "disinterested" gentlefolk (like them) looked after a grateful public. Moreover, the character of the American populace itself unsettled and often revolted Europeans. Visiting gentlemen found common people in America to be impertinent and crude. Americans ate too quickly, drank too much, and spit too often. They refused to show deference to their social betters, yet they themselves drove their servants and slaves mercilessly. They seemed too immersed in wealth-

getting to live like civilized people. One émigré from France lamented that the pursuit of profit weakened every social bond and genteel sentiment in America: "Grab everything, hang on to everything, everything for yourself and nothing for the other fellow, that is the great principle of this nation."

These voices grew louder and more convincing as the French Revolution devolved into anarchy, and then terror, and then tyranny. In 1790 the English philosopher Edmund Burke published *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, which not only defended the English system of constitutional monarchy but also attacked the basic premises of revolutionary republicanism. The accumulated wisdom of the past, Burke argued, offered a better guide to politics than any slogans about liberty, equality, and the rights of man. Republican ideas upset the "principles of natural subordination" on which society rested. Such conservative principles found a ready audience among Britain's commercial and landed gentry as well as its Anglican elite. Across Europe, the ruling classes began to rally against the threat of worldwide rebellion against monarchy.

The massacre of French priests and nobles in September 1792 and the execution of Louis XVI four months later convinced the European powers to close ranks against radical republicanism. After Thomas Paine published *The Rights of Man* (1791–1792), for example, the British government tried him in absentia for seditious libel. (Paine initially escaped to France, where he had been elected to sit in the new National Convention.) In 1795 Parliament passed the infamous Two Acts: one outlawed large public gatherings, while the other made prosecution for treason easier to prove. No longer able to control their restive populations through outright censorship or personal patronage, monarchies increasingly turned to professional bureaucracies and police powers to keep order. War with revolutionary France catalyzed this effort. In 1793 Britain joined Prussia, Austria, Sardinia, Holland, and Spain to make war on the French republic. Thus began the series of European conflicts that benefited American commerce but also recast the United States as a global oddity—a republic in a world of monarchies.

FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In his Farewell Address in 1796, President George Washington warned Americans to steer clear of European entanglements. The United States, he counseled, should cultivate commercial and economic ties to Europe but avoid political alliances or military conflicts. Shortly after Washington's successor,

John Adams, took office, however, the new leaders of the French republic allowed their navy to prey on American shipping. When Adams sent three emissaries to Paris, French officials demanded bribes before any negotiations began. This XYZ affair—Adams called his three agents X, Y, and Z to protect their identities—sparked war fever among many Americans in 1798. Adams's own Federalist Party called for war to uphold the honor and defend the commerce of the Republic; meanwhile, American naval vessels fought an undeclared Quasi-War (1798–1800) with French privateers in Caribbean waters. Wisely, Adams broke with his party and dispatched more peace emissaries to France, heading off war. Two years later, Adams and the Federalists were defeated by Jefferson and the Democratic Republicans, who sought to preserve peace with Europe while American commerce and internal trade burgeoned.

When Napoleon Bonaparte, who had seized power in France after a coup in 1799, set out to conquer the European world, the United States tried to stay neutral. In a bold attempt to counter British hostility on the high seas, President Jefferson pushed through Congress the Embargo Act of 1807. By prohibiting American vessels from sailing to ports abroad and foreign ships from taking cargo in the United States, this measure was designed to force the British into changing their policies without resort to war. It also echoed some of the Revolutionary idealism of the 1770s, when American Revolutionaries had agreed to cease importation of certain British goods. The republican dream endured: complete independence, not only from the British Crown, but also from European warfare and corruption. But the embargo brought more hardship to the United States than to Britain, and it collapsed in 1809. Three years later Jefferson's successor, James Madison, led the nation to war against Britain.

In many respects, the War of 1812 (1812–1815) was catastrophic for the United States. American campaigns against British Canada failed; redcoats burned much of Washington, D.C., in 1814; New England Federalists considered secession and spoke bitterly of "Mr. Madison's War." Only Andrew Jackson's triumph at New Orleans in January 1815 allowed the Americans to claim a measure of victory. This battle had no bearing on the diplomatic settlement of the war—a treaty ending the conflict had been signed two weeks before—but it vaulted Jackson into heroic status. In 1818 he capitalized on his fame by invading Spanish Florida and rampaging through native lands in the Southeast. With his hostility towards both European powers and Indian tribes, Jackson personified a new, more aggressive, and more isolationist form of American nationalism.

The final defeat of Napoleon in Europe followed soon after the end of this second Anglo-American war, and with peace came a new world order and a new role for the United States. The victorious monarchies of Europe could not push the genie of republicanism back into the ancien régime bottle. But they tried. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the European powers redrew national borders to their pre-Napoleonic status and placed Louis XVIII on the restored throne of France. These allies also considered ways to strengthen the Spanish Crown and its hold over Central and South America. (Napoleon's conquest of Spain had sparked independence movements in much of Latin America starting in 1808.) The British government wanted no part of this effort, but in Britain, as well, revolutionary ideas fell on hard times. Republicans and working-class activists in London and the new industrial cities won piecemeal reforms, nothing more. In this conservative age, the United States became a political anomaly, a relic from the bygone and defeated Age of Revolution. In any case, it was a second-rate power with a small army and navy. Although tied to the United States through trade, especially in cotton, the European powers after 1815 did not place the Republic high on their priority lists.

In 1823 President James Monroe formalized this general tendency in world affairs by issuing the famous doctrine that bears his name. In response to fears of European intervention in Latin America, Monroe proclaimed the Western Hemisphere off limits for European colonization. (European governments denounced or disdained the Monroe Doctrine; former President Jefferson applauded it.) By and large, Americans seemed to agree with the president: the United States did not need to meddle with Europe, and so Europe should not meddle with the United States. Increasingly, Americans told themselves that they lived in "a world within ourselves," a vast Republic that looked west rather than east. Isolation from European affairs and European culture became a key source of American nationalism, a way for the citizens of a pluralistic society to relate to one another.

Yet the soaring image of America as a land of liberty and enlightenment did not die in Europe. It simply became more sober, more practical, more in keeping with the emerging culture of the Republic itself. The Revolutionary period had halted European immigration to North America, and after the 1780s

the immigrant pool took on an entirely new character. Unfree and unwanted people from Europe no longer boarded ships for America; they went instead to European cities or to the new penal colony of Australia. In 1808, moreover, the U.S. Congress halted the direct importation of African slaves to American shores. In their place came artisans and farm laborers from England, Scotland, Ireland, and German states, all looking for land and freedom, which meshed together in people's minds. This early version of the American Dream was not so much a dream for fabulous wealth as it was for modest improvements in one's life situation and family resources. And, in many respects, the United States did offer a better chance at economic survival than did the more tightly stratified societies of Europe. Even as it became an imperial power abroad and an industrial, class-based society at home during the nineteenth century, America upheld this image and attracted millions of people to its shores.

See also **China Trade; Embargo; European Responses to America; European Influences; Foreign Investment and Trade; French; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Monroe Doctrine; Presidency, The: Overview; Quasi-War with France; Spain; War of 1812; XYZ Affair.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Durant, Will, and Ariel Durant. *The Age of Napoleon: A History of European Civilization from 1789 to 1815*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975.

Echeverria, Duran. *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Foner, Eric. *Tom Paine and Revolutionary America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Fugleman, Aaron S. "From Slaves, Convicts, and Servants to Free Passengers: The Transformation of Immigration in the Era of the American Revolution." *Journal of American History*, 85 (1998): 43–76.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. New York: Vintage, 1991.

J. M. Opal

AMERICAN CHARACTER AND IDENTITY

From the day that the United States won its independence, thoughtful Americans have attempted to define the new national identity that the Peace of Paris invited. Splendid scholars, especially in the early years of the twenty-first century, have traced the emergence of such an identity. Their ingenuity has enriched America's understanding of its nascent national character. And yet, in the end, their endeavor has been doomed. It has asked how national attachments came to supersede parochial ones when in fact they did not. It has presumed that American identity was focused when in fact it was fractured, and it has predicated the primacy of politics among a people preoccupied with social and economic issues.

American allegiances in the new nation, as ever since, were multiple and kaleidoscopic. But the most meaningful senses of selfhood and the most absorbing identity adventures, for most citizens of the early Republic, were simply not political. National identity and local identities alike were paltry parts of the personality. Other self-conceptions mattered much more.

Concerns for career and for the attainment of affluence or advancement preoccupied the citizenry of the infant nation. And such concerns were never narrowly utilitarian. Self-made men and women ventured creatively into the void, inventing themselves as they made social space for their unprecedented enterprises. Masking and its attendant risks were then, as they have been since, the business of American businessmen. Confidence men and painted women were more than mere calculating creatures. They always had to contemplate at least a little the meaning of their masks for the meaning of their existence.

Social identities similarly transcended the utilitarian, as surely as national political identities did and far more powerfully. To be a Methodist in 1790 was, in many places, to risk rejection in the family and ostracism in the community. To be a Methodist circuit-rider in 1800 was, everywhere, to court early death. And yet Methodism grew far faster, in the early Republic, than nationalism ever did, though the movement proclaimed openly its indifference to politics and its insistence that the blessings of "scripture-holiness" were "infinitely more valuable than any which the revolution of states can possibly afford" (Andrews, p. 81).

To cross the mountains in Conestoga wagons, to expect the end of the world, to ply steamboats on the western rivers, to oppose slavery, or to envision canals connecting the interior to the coastal ports was often more visionary, more ethically or spiritually charged, than to effect a continental identity or promulgate a nationalistic ideology in that era. Even to migrate to Spanish Mexico, to support the Hartford Convention, to urge nullification, or to "conspire" to

detach the trans–Appalachian west from the United States was often more daring and less crassly advantageous than to espouse a mild, modest nationalism.

The discussion of identity in the new Republic has historically been carried on in two very different ways. In the one that has overwhelmingly engaged them, historians have studied the emergence of explicit sentiments vaunting American nationality. This is the ancient cosmopolitan project that still sets the terms of the national narrative. This is the saga of "the architects of the early American Republic," with its emphasis on the epic and exemplary confrontations of Federalists and anti-Federalists, of Jefferson and Hamilton, of Marbury and Madison. It is, at bottom, tautological.

In the other, historians have not taken for granted the reality of the formation they say they study. They ask more empirically about the actual identities of Americans. They address the energies and obsessions of the people as they find them—their inveterate westering, their volatile conversion to and backsliding from the proliferous denominations of the early Republic, their rabid antipathy to Indians, Catholics, Masons, African Americans—and wonder where the thread of national identity fits amid these more limited yet perhaps more urgent identities.

To be sure, historians cannot ignore elite politics and elite political culture in this empirical inquest. There may have been ways in which a nascent national identification might have mattered for a multitude of Americans. Perhaps "an allegiance to the young republic" provided people a modicum of permanence in a world in which many of their other identities changed and churned. No matter how often they moved, abandoning one local and even one regional identity for another; no matter how often they converted, forsaking one church for another, finding faith and backsliding from it; no matter how often they changed employment or occupation, or social standing, or political party—they remained Americans. Perhaps that anchorage afforded them some sustaining reassurance that they did belong, abidingly, in a society increasingly incapable of conferring a secure sense of place.

And perhaps an emergent American attachment allowed them a comforting conviction that they could still find moral bearings in a world where solid ground seemed more and more to slip away. A disembodied imagining of a national community could carry ethical aspirations difficult to embody in everyday life. It could offset the priority on image-management of the schemers and scammers who swarmed the cities and the countryside alike in the

mobile young Republic. It could elevate the sordid scuffle for wealth that was exacerbated by the expansion of the market. It could redeem the quiet desperation that so many observers saw in the early nineteenth century.

But such uses of national allegiance could only provide solace. They could not provide the citizens of the new nation a dominant or decisive sense of themselves.

Political independence did, inevitably, thrust a sort of American identity on men and women who had not previously seen themselves as distinctive. It forced them to forge a sense of special peoplehood after the fact. It drove them, all unprepared, to devise a community and character worthy of the sudden, surprising fact of having a name and being a nation.

In the first fervency of independence, spokesmen expected American distinctiveness to appear automatically. They affirmed again and again their sublime faith that, once free of British fetters, an authentic republican character would manifest itself.

In the ensuing decades, nothing happened. Despite summons upon summons to an indigenous national literature, or art, or music or drama or poetry or architecture—despite plaintive exhortation upon plaintive exhortation to the cultivation of native genius in mathematics, or science, or natural history— virtually no consequential artistry or ideation came forth in the half-century after independence.

The implication grew inescapable. Contrary to the fevered rhetoric of the rebels in the last years of their quarrel with the mother country, the edicts that emanated from Whitehall had not inhibited a surging cultural creativity that waited to well up as soon as colonial constraints could be shed. A distinctive delineation of America would not bubble forth of its own accord.

If there was to be a definition of a national identity, it would have to be contrived, and its concoction would inevitably serve the purposes of people with the power to promote it. The promulgation of an American exceptionalism would be, as the scholar Michael Lind has argued, the province of Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

But Anglo-Saxon Protestant nationalism was not, as Lind thought, a natural formation, arising from a population itself preponderantly Anglo-Saxon and evangelical. Only an ever-diminishing minority of Americans in the first generations after independence were English. Only a scant tithe were evangelical Protestants, in a country in which just

one adult in five affiliated himself (or, more likely, herself) with any church at all.

Anglo-Saxon Protestant identity would be an ideological imposition on an American people who were not themselves English evangelicals and who had not themselves shown any notable aptitude for fathoming their own uniqueness or indeed any apparent possession of such uniqueness. Anglo-Saxon Protestant identity would express the ideological interests of a special stratum of society. Exactly as ideology, it would be thin and abstract. It would never engage conscientiously the distinctive elements of American life that did not serve its celebratory agenda or its persuasive purposes.

Although Anglo-Saxon Protestant identity would exhibit the very disposition to extremity and excess that had always colored American experience, it would never acknowledge that disposition as a constituent of the national character. It would never face up to the new nation's racism, hedonism, violence, conformism, materialism, or amoralism. It would never grapple with the polarities, paradoxes, and horrors with which the early Republic struggled. It would never be an irresistible emanation of the masses—a vast, vague expression of their aspirations and anxieties—so much as a conscious construction of a few.

Precisely as a project of a small cadre of elite Anglo-Protestant males, the fabrication of American identity served psychic needs felt by few others in the new nation. Most men of the early Republic knew men by the work they did: the physical labor of tilling the soil, or working wood or leather, or crossing the mountains or sailing the seas. Even the planters of the old South, who consigned conventional men's work to their slaves, still marked their masculinity by riding horses, fighting duels, and scourging subalterns with the lash. But the leisured men of the North who worked with words, following the "feminine" callings of imagining and writing, needed a facade of "masculine" function to muffle their unease.

As much as the nascent nationalism afforded a muscular posture to such scribbling men, it provided even more to the richer and more powerful men in whose cultural and material interests they wrote. The "cause of America," as one publicist called this new nationalism, promoted the prerogatives of the cosmopolitan few against the parochial many. Its celebration of the political economy of Lockean liberalism recast the claims of clan and community, which had long mattered mightily in the New World, as inauthentically American. Its exaltation of entrepreneurial capitalism as the special genius of the new nation discredited tradition and the entitlements that had always attended it.

American identity as it was inscribed in the epoch after independence cannot be understood in its own words, for those words did not arise from the citizenry. They represented, rather, an enthusiasm of an elite that grasped clearly that the individualism it exhorted had indeed to be exhorted. Americans had to be taught to love the market and their own selfishness in it. They had to learn to be the Americans whom their mentors so stridently told them they were. They had to be pried loose from their very real attachments to family and to fellows, if America was to become the society that the bankers, merchants, and manufacturers envisioned.

Of course, those cosmopolitan entrepreneurial elites were prepared to use the power of the law to teach, and to teach, in truth, more compellingly than the cosmopolitan intellectuals who deployed their prose in the same tutelary campaign. But the mass of Americans remained reluctant students. Unrooted individualism and unabashed enterprise could not constitute American identity until they triumphed over contrary cultural traditions of great power and attractiveness. They did not do so in the era of the early Republic, except among those who talked among themselves.

See also **America and the World; Citizenship; Economic Development; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Founding Fathers; Individualism; Naming of the Nation; National Symbols; Nationalism; Politics: Political Culture; Press, The; Print Culture; Religion: Overview; Work: Work Ethic.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Rev. ed. London and New York: Verso, 1991.

Andrews, Dee. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2000.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Nye, Russell. *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776–1830.* New York: Harper, 1960.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Michael Zuckerman

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY   *See* Colonization Movement.

AMERICAN INDIANS

This entry consists of nineteen separate articles: *Overview, Northern New England, Southern New England, Middle Atlantic, Southeast, Old Northwest, Old Southwest, Plains, Far West, American Indian Ethnography, American Indian Policy, 1787–1830, American Indian Relations, 1763–1815, American Indian Relations, 1815–1829, American Indian Religions, American Indian Removal, American Indian Resistance to White Expansion, American Indians as Symbols/Icons, American Indian Slaveholding,* and *British Policies.*

Overview

The period between the onset of the Seven Years' War in 1754 and the inauguration of President Andrew Jackson in 1829 witnessed profound changes for the indigenous peoples of North America. It proved to be a time of paradoxes—with widespread destruction and creative adaptation, demographic collapse and cultural survival, colonization and nation-building, Christian missionization and spiritual revitalization all occurring simultaneously. Although native peoples met the challenges posed by these trying years, and often played central roles in shaping the outcome of the most pivotal events, their worlds would never be the same.

DEMOGRAPHY AND DISEASE

Native North America in the mid-eighteenth century represented a dynamic landscape, one that had already seen the rise and fall of ancient civilizations. It was an interconnected space in which trade routes bound together literally hundreds of distinct indigenous cultures embodying diverse sociopolitical and economic systems. Although they maintained their separateness, the peoples of the Great Lakes, the Ohio Valley, and the Lower Mississippi, for instance, had long been tied to one another by commerce, and these

A Winnebago Orator. This lithograph is based on an 1828 painting by Charles Bird King, who was commissioned by Thomas Loraine McKenney, Superintendent of Indian Trade, to paint portraits of Native American leaders who came to Washington, D.C., to visit the president. © GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS.

lines stretched to the west and east as well. Commercial ties brought with them conflict, intermarriage and adoption, regional alliances, the development of trading languages, and the exchange of foods, tools, ideas, and technologies.

Native peoples not only knew of one another, but many had long been in contact with Europeans by the mid-eighteenth century. The presence of the French, English, and Dutch along the Atlantic Coast and down the St. Lawrence and Mississippi Rivers, Spanish incursions in the Caribbean, as well as the present-day southeastern and southwestern United States, and Russian settlements along the Northwest Coast had already brought significant change. These encounters did not need to be face-to-face to carry dramatic consequences. Exemplifying a process the historian Alfred Crosby called "the Columbian exchange," American Indians throughout the continent, even in places where Europeans were not physically present, had already confronted these

outsiders' material goods, their plants and animals, and—most devastatingly—their diseases.

Scholars debate indigenous population figures prior to contact with Europeans, and determining aggregate population figures at any period prior to formal census taking poses great difficulties. But scholars do know that, by the mid-eighteenth century, many indigenous peoples had already experienced demographic collapse as a consequence of disease and war. European travel writings, missionary reports, oral traditions, and winter counts all tell of the devastation wrought by "Old World" diseases, especially smallpox, cholera, and typhoid. Wherever they occurred, these "virgin soil epidemics" fundamentally altered indigenous communities by striking down the old and young first, decreasing fertility, wreaking havoc on traditional systems of governance, and interfering with the transmission of sacred knowledge. The very connectedness of the trans-Mississippi West, with its commercial centers and intersecting trade routes, facilitated the transmission of disease, as with the smallpox epidemic of the late eighteenth century.

The demography of Native North America in the mid-eighteenth century, then, must not be thought of merely in terms of northward- or westward-moving frontiers that clearly separated indigenous and nonindigenous peoples. Rather, refugee communities in the Ohio River Valley brought together members of many different peoples who creatively remade themselves into new peoples. Through a process known as "ethnogenesis," for instance, the Delawares had become a far more centralized and corporate people after being pushed into eastern Pennsylvania and westward into present-day Ohio. The Hurons, once located north of Lake Ontario, experienced diaspora in the wake of Iroquois expansion and reconstituted themselves as the Wendat or Wyandot people of the southern Great Lakes region. The Iroquois, on the other hand, had adopted so many individuals from other tribes via their "mourning wars," that many of their communities had a majority population of non-Iroquois people in them.

On the Plains, the Lakotas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Crows, and Comanches developed equestrian buffalo-hunting cultures, replete with new vocabularies, rituals, songs, and gender roles that reflected the centrality of horses and bison. This, in turn, sparked ecological changes that would remake the landscape. Moreover, it set Plains people on a course of becoming increasingly dependent on a single source—the bison—for their sustenance. While this enabled equestrian peoples' quick rise to dominance,

Inhabitants of Northwest America. Native Americans from the Pacific Northwest, depicted circa 1829 by Karl Joseph Brodtmann. © HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS.

it would also serve as their Achilles heel when non-Indian settlement pushed westward in the late nineteenth century. Along the Upper Missouri, Mandans, Arikaras, and Hidatsas developed a major center for trade that bound the region to a vast network of peoples across the continent. Meanwhile, intermarriage between European traders and Indians contributed to mixed-blood communities, such as the French-Indian Metís.

In the Southwest, Utes and Apaches followed a pattern not dissimilar to that found on the Plains. They developed an equestrian culture predicated in part on raiding neighboring Indian and Spanish settlements. Meanwhile, the Navajos and Pueblos cultivated more sedentary ways of life organized around a combination of livestock herding, cultivation of corn, and trade. Historian James Brooks has shown that a system of captivity and exchange bound together these peoples, as well as Comanches and Spaniards, into a tightly knit regional economy. Like the Northeast and the Ohio River Valley, then, the Southwest borderlands contained ethnically diverse and constantly changing indigenous and nonindigenous communities.

The introduction of Christianity carried demographic consequences, as well. "Praying towns" populated by converts to Christianity could be found across the Northeast. Some, like the Wampanoag community on Martha's Vineyard, dated back to the seventeenth century. Elsewhere, such as in the Ohio River Valley, times of war made it dangerous to live in Christian settlements. These peoples were often looked upon with suspicion; their communities became targets of colonists and Indians alike. Such tensions could lead to disaster, as was the case with the massacre of converts living in Gnaddenhutten, a Moravian town in present-day Ohio, during the American Revolution (1775–1783). In the Southwest and along the coast of California, the Franciscan mission system continued to expand. But as with the Wampanoags at Martha's Vineyard, the Yokuts, Pomo, Miwok, Wappo and other diverse peoples who joined missions in places like Alta California did so for reasons that were very much their own. And when Spaniards overstepped the boundaries native peoples had set, they resisted as in the case of the 1824 Chumash uprising.

By the nineteenth century individual American Indians had also become part of European and American societies—as interpreters, traders, soldiers, scouts, husbands, wives, adopted children, ministers, and laborers. On the island of Nantucket, just off the coast of Cape Cod, Indian people adapted to the market economy by engaging in whaling. In the case of the Potawatomis and Miamis in the southern Great Lakes region, survival increasingly meant "hiding in plain view" by establishing farms, dressing in Western fashion, and intermarrying with non-Indians. Along the coast from Rhode Island to Georgia, peoples such as the Narragansetts, Catawbas, Cherokees, Chickahominies, and Monacans struggled to retain their identities as Indians, even as whites attempted to impose upon them racial classifications such as "Colored" and "Negro." Even as white Americans consigned native peoples living east of the Mississippi to the past, indigenous communities found ways to survive. Indeed, creative adaptation and change became hallmarks of Indian identity across Native North America.

INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS

Out of their shared encounters with Europeans—physical, material, economic, political, ideational, religious, and epidemiological—Indians emerged with a vast array of distinct experiences. Since the initial contact period of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Spain, France, and Great Britain had adopted different approaches in their relations with indigenous peoples. Although all of these nations engaged in empire building, the day-to-day realities of diplomacy and exchange revealed that power more often rested in native communities through most of the eighteenth century. This is evidenced by the use of treaties to forge alliances, resolve disputes, and convey land. Treaties signified the respect the colonizers had for Indian claims to sovereignty, for even as they sought to conquer a land they portrayed as being inhabited by savages, they cemented nation-to-nation agreements that were consistent with those forged in the international arena. Treaties served multiple functions for indigenous people—they conveyed stories, signified sacred bonds, and established connections that were to be mutually beneficial to all parties involved. Unfortunately, Europeans often viewed treaties primarily as expedients and looked hopefully to a time when domination would replace diplomacy.

More than any other colonial power, the French came to understand the need to maintain appropriate relationships as Indian communities defined them—relationships predicated on the principle of reciprocity, the language of kinship, and the practice of ritualized gift giving. Because their claim to empire rested primarily on commerce, it also depended on the good graces of the tribes with whom they traded. But even the British, whose contempt for tribal sovereignty grew through the course of the eighteenth century, understood the import of proper treaty relationships. The Covenant Chain with the Iroquois Confederacy best symbolized this recognition. Also known as the Haudenosaunee, the Iroquois Confederacy represented an alliance that allowed the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Mohawks, and Tuscaroras to dominate trade throughout the Northeast. This, as well as the formidable military power it wielded, impelled the British to renew the Covenant Chain ritually and symbolically, even as they sought to exploit it for their own purposes.

During the Seven Years' War (1754–1763), both the British and French relied on their Indian allies to establish dominance in the Upper Ohio Country, an area bounded by Lake Erie to the north, the Ohio River to the south, the Maumee and Miami Rivers to the west, and the Appalachian Mountains to the east. The inverse was true as well, as diverse Indian peoples attempted to play off European powers so as to preserve their homelands, hunting grounds, and political autonomy. The most intense conflict occurred in the Upper Ohio Country, where refugee communities made up of Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis,

Ojibwas, and other tribes sought to fend off the intrusion of British colonists and the Iroquois Confederacy by aligning themselves more closely with the French.

WARS, ALLIANCES, AND CHANGING RELATIONS
In the wake of French defeat in 1763, a nativistic spiritual revitalization movement erupted across the Upper Ohio Country. The conflict known as Pontiac's Rebellion or Pontiac's War can be traced to many contributing factors, but its particular significance was a clear shift in Indian-white relations. As their military power diminished and economic dependency grew, indigenous peoples were no longer treated in accordance with what they considered to be their proper status. No less than the pan-Indian movement that would follow in the second decade of the nineteenth century, this struggle sought to reestablish Indian control over the rate and nature of change in tribal communities. By invoking sacred power, rejecting many of the outward manifestations of Anglo-American culture, and freeing themselves from economic dependency, Indians endeavored to restore balance to their worlds. This came at a time when the British signaled their desire to replace reciprocity with dominance, kinship with subordination.

The Seven Years' War carried important implications for Indian-white relations in the Southwest as well. Through the 1760s the Spanish staked a claim to and held nominal control over the region they named New Mexico. However, the Comanches held sway in the surrounding area and used their own tenuous alliance with the French to establish peaceful relations on terms of their own making. Known as the "lords of the southern plains," the Comanches possessed vast numbers of horses and drew their strength from the enormous herds of buffalo in the area and their access to larger trade networks. When France transferred the Louisiana Territory to Spain in 1762, however, the Comanches lost a critical countervailing force. This, combined with the increasing movement of other Indian peoples onto the plains, complicated trade relations, made access to goods and firearms more difficult, and forced Comanches to turn to the British as commercial partners.

Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, conditions worsened for tribes living east of the Mississippi River. The American Revolutionary War meant many things to many different peoples—from opportunities to renew the system of playing powers off against each other to the impetus

for civil war—but it ultimately brought with it a diminution of tribal autonomy, the loss of land and life, the destruction of crops and villages, and the dislocation of peoples from their homelands. As had happened in the wake of the Seven Years' War, American Indians were not given a place at the table during the negotiations that brought the Revolutionary War to an end. In war's aftermath, the United States followed British precedent by establishing boundaries to separate Indian from non-Indian lands and passing legislation to regulate trade. The use of treaties to secure land cessions and establish peace became the cornerstone of the new nation's policy that contemporaries called "expansion with honor." Best captured in the text of the Northwest Ordinance (1787), a document that attempted to lay the foundation for future American expansion into the Ohio Country and beyond, expansion with honor meant that the federal government pledged itself to the continuation of treaty making with "the utmost good faith" and supported the "civilization" of Indian people by sending missionaries and federal agents specializing in animal husbandry and agriculture into their communities. Congress further passed the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act in 1790, establishing systems for licensing traders operating in Indian country, purchasing Indian lands, and taking over the Indian trade.

Contradictions riddled Indian-white relations. In the Northwest Ordinance, the federal government simultaneously laid claim to the right to wage just wars—as it defined them. Like their British and Spanish forebears, they had no intention of forfeiting what they considered to be their right—by discovery, conquest, or otherwise—to Indian land. If they met resistance they deemed unwarranted, Americans similarly found it easy to rationalize war. On more than one occasion during the 1790s, this was precisely what happened in the Upper Ohio Country. After delivering several decisive defeats and suffering one of their own, representatives from the Miamis, Potawatomis, Ottawas, Kickapoos, Shawnees, and other tribes signed the Treaty of Greenville. This event not only failed to end conflict in the region, it also underscored the extent to which the treaty-making process had altered traditional systems of governance. The advent of treaty or annuity chiefs—individuals who gained their authority primarily by virtue of having control over American largesse—ultimately caused strife in Indian communities.

Still other contradictions complicated the notion of expansion with honor. First, neither words nor lines could stanch the flow of westward-moving set-

tlers. By the time of the War of 1812, the onrush of non-Indians into the Ohio Country and throughout the Southeast set the stage for bloody warfare. Second, the factory system established by the federal government served a purpose greater than regulating trade between the United States and Indian nations. President Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) indicated his hope that trade would cultivate dependency among Indian people and that dependency would lead to United States control over them. Finally, the so-called civilization program championed by federal policymakers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries failed to destroy tribal cultures or transform Indians into yeoman farmers. Rather than clearing the way for non-Indian settlement, the presence of missionaries and federal agents sowed the seeds of anomie and discontent.

The roles of men and women played a critical part in Indian-white relations from the moment of initial contact with Europeans, and the import of gender did not diminish during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Across cultures, Indian women served as intermediaries, particularly in the realm of trade and commerce; they were integral to the process of forging fictive and literal kinship ties between their communities and outsiders. Historian Susan Sleeper-Smith has revealed a fascinating fur trade network that reached across the southern Great Lakes, from Cahokia, Detroit, and Green Bay to Michilmackinac, Ouintnanon, and St. Joseph. An extensive Catholic kin network that bound multiple families together through godparenthood made this possible.

If the creative adaptations to kinship ties enabled native trade networks to thrive, the disruption of these kinship ties, and the reciprocal obligations they implied, also figured significantly in conflicts between Indians and outsiders. The United States civilization program, for instance, could do violence to native peoples' own conceptions of appropriate gender roles for both men and women. Among the Cherokees, for instance, the process of becoming "civilized" actually marginalized women economically, politically, and socially. Patriarchy and patrilineal descent competed with the clan-based matriarchal and matrilineal system of governance. And, as the market economy prevented Cherokee males from attaining prestige through traditional means, they often turned to things such as horse stealing. This, in turn, further complicated the already difficult relationships between Indians and non-Indian settlers. And finally, early-nineteenth-century prophets of nativistic revival such as Neolin (Delaware), Tens-

kwatawa (Shawnee), and the Trout (Ottawa) warned that the disruption of traditional gender divisions of labor—in which women cultivated crops and men served as hunters and traders—carried profound spiritual consequences. Indeed, they tied the Christian effort to move women into the home and men into the fields to a loss of sacred power.

With that said, neither the fur trade nor the United States government's civilization program should be thought of as solely deleterious to women or destructive to native societies. Among the Ojibways in the Western Great Lakes, women carved out their own niche in the fur trade predicated on traditional responsibilities for producing maple syrup and cultivating rice well into the nineteenth century. And among the Cherokees, the authority of clans and the power of women continued to be influential. To be sure, the governing elite in Southeastern tribes such as the Cherokees embraced Christianity and Euro-American culture. By the 1820s, the Cherokees had forged a constitutional form of government, developed a syllabary that allowed their language to be written, established a national newspaper entitled *The Cherokee Phoenix* enjoyed a literacy rate higher than that of surrounding non-Indians, and actively engaged in the southern plantation economy. Cherokees used all of these to fashion themselves not only as a "civilized tribe," but also as a nation with a claim to sovereignty equal to that of the United States. No less important, as historian Theda Perdue has demonstrated, elite members of the Cherokee Nation—like the majority of Cherokee people—continued to recognize the traditional authority of clans and matrilineal descent. At times, this proved to be the case even when that meant that Cherokee National Council and Supreme Court might refuse to enforce its own laws.

By the inauguration of Andrew Jackson in 1829, the balance of power had shifted decisively toward the United States—at least east of the Mississippi. A culture of Indian hating, a hunger for land, and a growing sense of both states' rights and nationalism brought increasing pressure for the removal of the remaining tribes. Historian Daniel Richter did not overstate the situation when he likened the resulting policy to one of ethnic cleansing. The roots of removal extended at least to the late eighteenth century and gained momentum with the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 and the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806). American Indians east of the Mississippi would mount spirited defenses of their homelands during the 1830s and 1840s, but for most of them the effort ended in the forced relocation of their peo-

ple to western lands. Like their relatives who made long journeys to remake their homelands in places they had never seen, those who stayed behind found ways to survive. This survival would come at considerable cost.

See also **British Empire and the Atlantic World; Expansion; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pontiac's War; Spain; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brooks, James F. *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Calloway, Colin G. *One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Fredrika J. Teute, eds. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Fenn, Elizabeth. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775-82.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Gutiérrez, Ramón A. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Jones, David S. *Rationalizing Epidemics: Meanings and Uses of American Indian Mortality since 1600.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Mancall, Peter C., and James H. Merrell, eds. *American Encounters: Natives and Newcomers from European Contact to Indian Removal, 1500–1850.* New York: Routledge, 2000.

Merrell, James H. *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1989.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.* Vol. 1. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001.

Sturtevant, William C., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians.* 12 volumes. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978–2001.

Thornton, Russell. *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History since 1492.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Weber, David J. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Williams, Robert A., Jr. *Linking Arms Together: American Indian Treaty Visions of Law and Peace, 1600–1800.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Daniel M. Cobb

Northern New England

Two distinct Wabanaki (or Abenaki; "people of the dawnland") groups lived in northern New England. Western Wabanakis, including the Penacooks, Sokokis, and Missisquois, lived along the Upper Merrimac and Connecticut Rivers and Lake Champlain watersheds. Eastern Wabanakis lived near the coast; they consisted of interrelated tribes usually identified by the rivers along which they lived, particularly the Sacos (also Pigwackets), Kennebecs (or Norridgewocks), and Penobscots. Further northeast lived the related Maliseet–Passamaquoddies and Mi'kmaqs. The Wabanakis' economies were primarily based on seasonal rounds of fishing, hunting, and gathering, and settlements were small and temporary; people lived in small kinship bands. They quickly became involved in the fur trade, which resulted in larger, semi–permanent villages along rivers and near trading posts. Beginning in late 1675, war with English colonists frequently flared, largely because Massachusetts sought to establish settlements and imperial conflict between France and England intensified, with Wabanakis responding by developing closer connections to the French. They abandoned vulnerable villages when threatened and moved to the Bécancour and Odanak–St. Francis mission towns near Montreal and Quebec. While some went back when peace returned, others remained, creating permanent kinship ties spanning the region.

By 1760 only a few villages remained along with families and seasonal camps scattered throughout the region. Western Wabanakis remained centered at St. Francis, although they never surrendered their claims to ancestral homelands and village sites, and members often traveled to those areas to visit, fish, hunt, and sell crafts. Most Eastern Wabanakis lived

in settlements along the St. John's River, Passamaquoddy Bay, and the Penobscot River. The Penobscots, with about eight hundred people, served as the "representatives" for most of the remaining Wabanakis between Quebec and the coast; all were also part of an emerging Algonquian Confederacy that met at Kahnawake near Montreal. The expansion of English settlements kept tensions high, and the occasional murder of Indians triggered alarms of war. But the Penobscots were able to make a place for themselves and sought a protected reservation. In the summer of 1775 as the Revolution erupted, Penobscot chiefs obtained, from the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, a trading post and protection for their lands against encroachment in exchange for their support for the colonial cause. One year later, two Maliseet chiefs signed a similar agreement, supposedly on behalf of the Mi'kmaqs as well, although these tribes were divided over the war and some signed a nonaggression treaty with the English. By the end of the war, between forty and fifty men from the three tribes and the Passamaquoddies served with U.S. forces. After the war Massachusetts manipulated ambiguities in the agreement and by 1790 had taken everything but two islands along the coast and the islands in the river northward from the main Penobscot village at Old Town. Maliseets at Passamaquoddy Bay also received a reservation, and groups of Mi'kmaqs obtained similar protection from Canada.

In the new Republic, Wabanakis continued their subsistence rounds of hunting and fishing, living in wigwams and wood huts and occasionally traveling and camping in family bands. In 1822 Jedidiah Morse found about 300 Mi'kmaqs, 379 Passamaquoddies, and 277 Penobscots; this count missed Wabanakis traveling or living outside the reserves. The three tribes retained deep connections through the Wabanaki confederation, and members attended each other's celebrations, including the installation of a new sachem. Each tribe also retained considerable political and cultural autonomy: they elected their sachems; combined Catholicism and belief in traditional spirit beings; lived in wigwams; and spurned state schools. The men continued to trap and sell furs; they also worked for farmers and lumbermen, while women and families peddled baskets. This ancillary income became more important as Anglo-Americans settled and "developed" the region, destroying or taking fishing and hunting habitat. The changes in the environment and white racism demoralized natives, which only increased the rising problem of alcohol addiction. After 1830 the Penobscots would face more tribulations as the booming lumber industry destroyed hillsides and rivers, and tribal conflicts intensified as the older sachems sold timber and more land. But they and the other two Wabanaki communities survived, and in the early twenty-first century remain semi-sovereign tribes.

See also **Diplomatic and Military Relations, American Indian.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Day, Gordon M. *In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays.* Edited by Michael K. Foster and William Cowan. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.

McBride, Bunny. *Women of the Dawn.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Prins, Harald. *The Mi'kmaq: Resistance, Accommodation, and Cultural Survival.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1996.

Daniel R. Mandell

Southern New England

By 1760 the approximately five thousand Indians in southern New England lived in two fairly distinct worlds. Near the New York border, Mahican-Housatonics resided in relatively autonomous villages, growing crops, hunting, trading furs, and occasionally working and fighting for the English. The largest was the mission town of Stockbridge in Massachusetts, established in the 1730s; to the south in Connecticut lay Scatacook near Kent and a series of smaller settlements. Those to the east of the Connecticut River had deeper connections with Anglo-American culture and institutions and lived either as part of a tribe on a reservation, where they retained a distinctive community and culture, or in a town as an isolated household, a servant with a white family, or a sailor or laborer. There were about twenty-five reservations, primarily along the coast, most ranging from 100 to 4,000 acres, with anywhere from a few families to about 350 people. The largest were Mashpee and Gay Head in Massachusetts, Mohegan in Connecticut, and Narragansett in Rhode Island.

ACCULTURATION AND AUTONOMY

Within these communities, sachems were increasingly rejected as they sold too much land to colonists and became autocratic. Indian ministers were already leaders in Massachusetts before the first Great Awakening of the 1740s, and became very influential in the rest of the region when their people embraced Christianity during the Awakening; particularly prominent were Samson Occom, a Mohegan, and

Samuel Niles, a Narragansett. One result was the conflict between "traditionals" and followers of the new Indian Christian preachers, which often paralleled older conflicts between sachems and their opponents. In addition, provincial governments appointed Anglo-American guardians who controlled tribal lands, resources, accounts, indentures, and labor contracts. While some groups asked for such assistance against trespassers and abuse, guardians were also challenged, particularly by Mashpees, who battled until they won autonomy in 1834. After the Revolution, elected tribal councils became prominent, particularly at Narragansett.

Indians throughout the region gradually adopted Anglo-American farming techniques, cattle-raising, and material culture. However, older customs of communal resource management and hunting and gathering persisted, and subsistence rather than profit remained their goal; this was particularly true in the western part of the region. All felt increased pressure from white neighbors, who poached wood and fish or tried to obtain Indian land. A growing number left their ancestral homes to work for Anglo-Americans: most of the men went whaling, while women worked as domestics in white households. Women also found a growing demand for their crafts, and by 1800 Indian basket peddlers became part of New England folklore. Less romantic but also significant was that Indian children and adults continued to be pressed into servitude. A Rhode Island census in 1774 showed at least 35 percent of all Indians in the colony living in white households.

Communities also changed as natives abandoned small settlements for larger ones, such as Mashpee and Scatacook, driven by the rising population and number of colonial towns and attracted by churches that drew people from many communities. The most significant movement began in 1773, when Samson Occom and other native leaders in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and eastern Long Island joined to create a secure homeland in Oneida territory. After the war, over two hundred moved there to create Brothertown, nearly emptying some communities. Similarly, after the Revolution the Stockbridge Indians reacted to their growing problems by obtaining land from the Oneidas for a new settlement. Even after both communities were forced further west in the 1810s, finally settling in Wisconsin, the Brothertown residents maintained contact with their Mohegan and Narragansett cousins, and individuals occasionally returned to their ancestral communities or left for Brothertown.

Indians continued to have problems with disease; most notably, in 1763 yellow fever nearly wiped out Natives on Nantucket. Men left to fight in the colonial wars or work in the growing whaling industry; by 1765, the women outnumbered men 2 to 1, and a growing number married African Americans and poor whites. This trend was apparent in the smaller inland enclaves by 1750, but was significant throughout the region at the end of the century. By 1830 the number of identifiable Indians had declined to about fifteen hundred.

REACHING A NADIR

Those left faced many tribulations, and the early Republic may have been the nadir of Indian life in the region. Whaling pulled most men out of the villages, leaving the women and children vulnerable, and many sailors preferred to find better homes elsewhere or died at sea. Women and some men continued to work in Boston and other port towns, and many decided to stay, often marrying blacks and creating kinship networks through and alongside the African American community. Servitude continued, particularly affecting children; those in smaller enclaves whose parents were considered poor or disorderly were often indentured to white families for many years. Alcohol addiction became a major epidemic throughout America, although the resulting poverty, violence, and neglect seemed far worse among Indians; towns frequently reported Indian men or women dying alone, often of cold or injuries. White racism seemed to intensify as the rate of exogamous marriages increased, and observers began to view Indians as a disappearing race.

Those who remained on tribal reserves faced growing economic and social problems as neighboring whites poached timber and fish and trespassed on their pasture and fields. Meanwhile, guardians abused their powers and unstable families and lack of financial support battered schools and other institutions. While reform movements after 1820 led to improved social and economic conditions by mid-century, Indians continued to face poverty and prejudice. Ann Wampy, a Pequot basket maker and peddler, complained in the late 1820s that "by me come trouble very much, me very much troubled. Me no like Christians, me hate 'em, hate everybody" (O'Connell, p. 152). At the same time, Indian communities were braced by folk traditions, communal management of land and resources, and kinship and social connections that linked many groups. In 1820 Jedidiah Morse surveyed the larger groups as part of his *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States*

on *Indian Affairs* (1822), commissioned in part to examine the question of removal, and concluded that they would not be willing to leave. And indeed, most of the groups remaining in 1830 still exist at the start of the twenty-first century.

See also **Diplomatic and Military Relations, American Indian.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calloway, Colin G., ed. *After King Philip's War: Presence and Persistence in Indian New England.* Hanover, N.H..: University Press of New England, 1997.

Frazier, Patrick. *The Mohicans of Stockbridge.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Mandell, Daniel R. "Shifting Boundaries of Race and Ethnicity: Indian-Black Intermarriage in Southern New England, 1760–1880." *Journal of American History* 85 (1998): 466–501.

O'Connell, Barry, ed. *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992.

Simmons, William S. *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620–1984.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1986.

Daniel R. Mandell

Middle Atlantic

In 1830 residents of the mid–Atlantic region, led by New Jersey senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, protested loudly against President Andrew Jackson's program to remove Native Americans from the South. There was some irony in this, since the events of the previous seventy-five years had done much to relegate the native population of the mid–Atlantic to small reservations surrounded by white settlers or impel them to emigrate to the West or Canada.

In 1754 western and central New York (the Iroquois heartland) and central and western Pennsylvania were still under native control. The Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy held the balance of power between Great Britain and France, and they manipulated it to their own benefit vis-à-vis both European empires and other native groups. The Iroquois had settled Delawares and other groups fleeing conflict or loss of land on their vulnerable southern flank, in Pennsylvania and southern New York. Although these communities retained considerable autonomy, the Iroquois supervised their formal relations with colonial authorities.

SEVEN YEARS' WAR
Native power and territorial control eroded significantly as a result of the Seven Years' War (1756–

1763). Since the French were fewer in number than the British and their colonial effort was predicated upon engaging Indians in trade rather than settling on their land, they were able to win greater native support during the war. The Indians proved crucial allies, without whom the French would have been unable to defend their North American empire. French-allied Indians, including Shawnees, Senecas, and some Delawares, devastated the frontiers of British America and even struck as close to the coast as New Jersey. However, their prowess was not sufficient to overcome British superiority in numbers or power, and Great Britain was eventually able to turn the tide. Mohawks and New Jersey–based Delawares, both keenly aware of the power of the British, were among the native groups who assisted them.

The British victory created a serious problem for native peoples in the region, since with the French threat removed, there were few reasons left for the British to court them. The flow of goods into Indian country diminished accordingly. The brutality of the war and the preponderance of Indians on one side also contributed to heightened consciousness of racial difference on the part of both white settlers and Indians. Whites proved increasingly willing to attack Native Americans regardless of whether they were friendly or hostile. The most dramatic example was the killing of fourteen friendly Conestogas under government protection by an angry mob at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in December 1763.

Indians' own heightened sense of racial solidarity permitted them to downplay tribal divisions and act with unprecedented coordination in surprising the British in 1763. Inspired in part by Neolin, a Delaware prophet who repudiated European ways, an alliance composed primarily of Indians from the Ohio Valley and Upper Great Lakes launched a series of attacks on forts and settlements across the frontier, including many in western Pennsylvania. Although the Indians were defeated in this conflict, known as Pontiac's War (May–November 1763), a partial resumption of British trade and tribute followed.

THE PROCLAMATION LINE
After the Seven Years' War, the British government hoped to limit tensions between Indians and whites and thereby avoid further military expenditures. The centerpiece of its policy was the Proclamation Line (1763) that limited settlement to the area east of the Appalachian crest until the crown negotiated cessions from the Indians. However, because the Proclamation Line was perceived as restraining economic

opportunities for the rural colonists (not to mention wealthy urban land speculators), it contributed to their alienation from Great Britain. The line was promptly pushed westward in 1768 by Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations at the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. The Six Nations ceded much of the Mohawk homeland, some Oneida territory, and Seneca hunting territories. In general, however, the cession allowed the Iroquois to preserve the majority of their homeland at the expense of the Delawares, Shawnees, and others in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky.

THE REVOLUTION

If the concessions at Fort Stanwix suggest the difficult position in which Native Americans found themselves, the Revolution (1775–1783) restored their leverage. As with the Seven Years' War, diplomacy and interest led most Indians to align themselves with the side that was more likely to limit settler expansion. Four of the six Iroquois nations supported the British. U.S. actions such as the campaign of General John Sullivan in 1779, which burned nearly every village in western Iroquoia, and the murder in 1782 of over ninety unarmed Christian Indians (mostly Delawares) at Gnadenhutten, in the future state of Ohio, only made Indian support of the British more lopsided. Iroquois raids were so successful that the frontier of white settlement in upstate New York was rolled back to Schenectady, only sixteen miles from Albany and the Hudson River. The Oneidas were the only native nation from the region to provide the United States substantial support for the duration of the war.

Despite the military contributions made by its native allies, Great Britain failed to make any provisions for them in the Treaty of Paris (1783). This permitted the United States to proclaim the Indians to be conquered peoples. At a gathering convened in the autumn of 1784 to settle affairs between the United States and the Six Nations, delegates of the latter were forced to sign away their claims to Pennsylvania and Ohio lands in the second Treaty of Fort Stanwix.

DECLINE OF THE IROQUOIS

Eager to defend its claim to Iroquois lands against a rival assertion by Massachusetts, New York began treating directly with the Iroquois beginning in the 1780s. By 1790, New York signed treaties with the Oneidas (1785 and 1788), Onondagas (1788), and Cayugas (1790) that transferred millions of acres of Iroquois land to New York State. The Senecas con-

veyed a large parcel to private speculators in 1788. The fact that these cessions involved individual nations of the Iroquois Confederacy reflected the weakening of that entity. Wartime division and powerlessness in the face of settler encroachment led many Iroquois to emigrate to Canada and Ohio. A parallel Iroquois confederacy emerged in Upper Canada.

In 1794, the U.S. government and Six Nations signed the Treaty of Canandaigua. This treaty returned some lands ceded in 1784 in exchange for the Seneca relinquishment of their claim to Presqu'Isle in Pennsylvania. The treaty provided the Six Nations with annuities and technical assistance to help them adjust to European-style plough agriculture. Although the Canandaigua treaty also guaranteed that reserved lands would not be alienated except at treaties held under federal authority, it did not put an end to Indian land loss. In the Treaty of Big Tree in 1797, the Senecas traded millions of acres for $100,000 and reservations totalling 200,000 acres. Pressure to shrink even these reservations continued, abating during the War of 1812 (in which most of the region's Indians remained neutral or supported the United States) and resuming when canals raised land values across the state.

EMIGRATION, RESERVATIONS, AND SURVIVAL

Reservation life demanded great adjustments on the part of Native Americans. It was particularly disorienting for men, whose traditional hunting and warring activities were sharply curtailed. This challenge was met spiritually by prophets, of which the most renowned was a Seneca named Handsome Lake (c. 1735–1815). He experienced a series of visions that served as the basis of a new theology. He preached against alcohol, witchcraft, and neglect of ceremony. Although Handsome Lake's endorsement of male plough agriculture and the nuclear family helped men adapt to their new context, it undercut traditional sources of women's authority such as the extended family.

As white settlement spread to every corner of the region, the adaptations of Indians newly limited to reservations resembled those of native groups living further east who had faced similar pressures earlier. Some attempted to lease tribal lands to whites. Some also took up small-scale farming or became laborers, usually domestics or farm hands (although whaling remained a popular choice for Native American men on Long Island). Some manufactured and peddled brooms and baskets.

Others decided not to stay and moved west or to Canada. The Ogden Land Company, which held the

preemption rights to most of the Indian reservations of upstate New York, provided financial and political support for Indian emigration. About 150 Oneidas had already emigrated to the vicinity of Green Bay, Wisconsin, before 1830, and more would follow. Nevertheless, about 4,000 Iroquois remained in New York State at the end of the 1820s. Also remaining were scattered tribes such as the Montauks on Long Island whose population numbered in the dozens or fewer. In addition, Native Americans continued to live in the region as families or individuals, and many intermingled with African Americans and others. Of these, some maintained an Indian identity, at least privately, while others did not.

By 1829, Indians of the mid-Atlantic had lost the vast majority of their lands. While well over half the native population departed, others adapted to life in the midst of white settlement. Although further erosion of their land base would ensue, the adaptations made during this early period formed the basis for Native American persistence in the region into the twenty-first century.

See also **French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Iroquois Confederacy; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benn, Carl. *The Iroquois in the War of 1812.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The Struggle for Native American Unity*, *1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac*, *the Indian Nations*, *and the British Empire.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Graymont, Barbara. *The Iroquois in the American Revolution.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1972.

Hauptman, Laurence M. *Conspiracy of Interests: Iroquois Dispossession and the Rise of New York State.* Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1999.

Tanner, Helen Hornbeck. *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Trigger, Bruce G., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians*, *volume 15: Northeast.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Knopf, 1970.

Weslager, C. A. *The Delaware Indians*, *A History.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972.

———. *The Delaware Westward Migration.* Wallingford, Pa.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1978.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians*, *Empires*, *and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, *1650–1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Karim M. Tiro

Southeast

American Indian societies in the southeastern quadrant of North America experienced dramatic change in the period from 1754 to 1829, as they had in the years before. At the beginning of the era, they were still attempting to adjust to the consequences wrought by the European exploration and settlement of the region. The most significant factor in the transformation of the Native American Southeast had been the decimation of the population by diseases brought to the New World by Europeans. Demographers generally agree that the Native American population declined by at least 90 percent after 1500. This depopulation wreaked havoc on the social and political structure of the Southeast. Dozens of tribes and polities, including the great Mississippian chiefdoms dominating the Southeast before 1500, had fallen into ruin and disappeared. In most cases, only remnants survived to integrate into sustainable societies. By the middle of the eighteenth century, only a few prominent tribes—the Cherokees, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, and the Catawbas—and a few smaller groups had emerged from the process of decimation and amalgamation. Even the largest, the Cherokees, probably numbered no more than twenty thousand individuals at the middle of the eighteenth century.

TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Although the spiritual beliefs and customary practices of these societies varied in detail, they all shared some fundamental characteristics. They located their villages along waterways, practiced riverine agriculture, and supplemented their diet by hunting, fishing, and gathering. They divided their communities into clans and moieties, determined kinship relations through the matrilineal system, and organized their towns in a matrilocal fashion. Gender roles were divided to provide the sense of balance required by the southeastern cosmology and social ethic. Women were responsible for the vegetable diet and performed most of the agricultural work; men provided meat and therefore spent much of their energy in hunting. Women also fulfilled domestic responsibilities, while men engaged in war and games.

Southeastern communities were autonomous: each town or village was responsible for its own po-

litical affairs and held its own social and spiritual events. Town councils were divided into civil (white) and military (red) spheres. Civil decisions were reached by consensus after a period of discussion in which all adults had a right to speak. Older members of the community held influence, as did men and women who had distinguished themselves with their military exploits, administrative ability, or wisdom. A red council, which was composed of the warriors of the community, took control of the town when the civil council of the whole determined to go to war. The chiefs, military and civil, did not possess coercive authority over their people; they essentially led their people where the latter wanted to go. Over time, loose confederations of peoples and towns had developed for purposes of security and trade; these ties continued to solidify into national institutions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

CULTURAL CHANGE

New economic relations with settlers of European ancestry had already transformed southeastern Indian subsistence and social patterns. Although the native peoples were already quite experienced in dealing with the multicultural world of disparate tribes, the English, Scots-Irish, French, and Spanish colonists who intruded into their territories brought with them new languages, cultural practices, and material goods. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Indians of the Southeast had adopted many of the items offered by colonial merchants, including firearms and gunpowder, metal tools and implements, cotton, wool, and glass. Southeastern men hunted deer, bear, and other mammals and offered up the skins to pay off the debts they had accrued from the purchase of trade goods.

The trade goods made much of day-to-day life easier and more productive. At the same time, however, by the middle of the eighteenth century all of the southeastern societies had fallen into a state of dependency upon the European suppliers. Native Americans came to rely on the new technology over the old ways of doing things, and at times the colonies were able to force the tribes to accede to their wishes by threatening to withhold trade goods. Colonial settlers continued to intrude westward into tribal territories; and when Indian consumers accumulated large debts to merchants, colonial authorities sometimes forced their councils to surrender land to retire the balances. Overhunting, which resulted from the need to pay trade debts and purchase more goods (including alcohol, which became a social problem in many communities), depleted the deer population and deranged the ritual relationship that traditionally existed between hunter and prey.

THE IMPERIAL WARS

Despite these challenges, the southeastern tribes demonstrated an extraordinary ability to survive, adjust, and adapt as Britain, France, Spain, and later the United States vied for control of North America. The geopolitical rivalries enabled the southeastern Indians to play the imperial powers, and the colonies, off against one another for their own political and economic interests. The Choctaws and Creeks, for example, played the French, Spanish, and English against one another to obtain gifts and better trade goods at cheaper prices. In the 1780s the Creeks, under Alexander McGillivray's leadership, forced the United States and Spain to compete for their trade, friendship, and military support. At the same time, southeastern communities were often divided by sympathies to different European powers. During the French and Indian War (1754–1760), both British and French authorities tried to recruit southeastern warriors to their side, which exacerbated existing factional strife. Some contingents of Creeks, Choctaws, and Cherokees fought with the French; other warriors among them allied with or offered aid to the British. In 1758 hostilities broke out between the Cherokees and English settlers in western Virginia. On three occasions in 1760–1761 British armies, supported by colonial militia and Chickasaw and Catawba warriors, invaded the Cherokee Nation and burned its towns and crops. Perhaps as many as 50 percent of the Cherokees perished from war, disease, and starvation during the conflict; in its terms of peace, the British required the Cherokees to surrender a large portion of its eastern territory.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) that ended the war required France to surrender its territory east of the Mississippi River. Although King George III attempted to pin the colonies east of the Appalachians with the Proclamation of 1763, it was impossible to keep white squatters and speculators out of Indian country. Settler intrusions continued to exasperate the southeastern tribes until they were forced to relocate beyond the Mississippi in the 1830s; neither the British nor the U.S. governments could stem the tide of westward settlement. When the American Revolution broke out in 1775, representatives from Britain and the rebelling colonies tried to form alliances with the tribes of the Southeast. The Cherokees and groups of Chickasaws, Creeks, and Choctaws fought on the side of the British during the war; the Catawbas, surrounded by colonists in the Carolinas, fought

with the Americans. The Cherokees suffered another devastating defeat in 1776 when militia from the southern colonies invaded their territory. The southeastern tribes paid for their British sympathies. The southern states seized tracts of land from the Cherokees and Creeks during the war as the penalty for supporting the British.

After the war the United States moved to make peace with the southeastern tribes. During the period of 1785 to1786, American negotiators signed separate treaties with the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws at Hopewell, South Carolina. Each agreement established specific borders between the tribe and the United States and provided the Indian council with jurisdiction over Americans venturing into its territory. These recognitions of tribal rights of title and sovereignty were balanced, or perhaps contradicted, by provisions which stated that the tribe was under the protection of the United States and was prohibited from conducting independent trade or diplomatic relations. Creeks under Alexander McGillivray, and the Chickamaugas, a dissident group of Cherokees led by the warriors Dragging Canoe and Bloody Fellow, refused to accept the Hopewell peace settlements and joined in raids to force American settlers out of the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys. Along with forming an alliance with Spain, McGillivray also attempted to construct a confederation of southeastern tribes that would challenge the United States's designs on the region. McGillivray's rapprochement with the United States in 1790 (and his death in 1793), the refusal of the Chickasaws to support the movement, and the Spanish withdrawal from the area under the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795) thwarted the dreams of a southeastern Indian alliance. The Chickamaugas and settlers continued to fight bitterly until 1794, when the Indians submitted to a treaty with the United States.

CIVILIZATION

During the presidential administration of George Washington, the United States began adopting legislation and using treaties, such as the Treaty of New York (1790) with the Creeks, to implement a "civilization" program for the Native American population. The federal government wanted Indians to adopt Anglo-American cultural habits, become farmers on their own individual plots, and assimilate into American society. This would free up Indian hunting grounds, according to the plan, and enable the United States to acquire and then transfer them to Americans. The federal government provided the Indians with farm implements, looms, and spinning wheels, appointed federal agents to instruct each tribe, and established model farms to demonstrate how to live as American yeomen. The tribes were also encouraged toward acculturation by a small class of political leaders and economic entrepreneurs who were the descendants of Indian women and English, Scots-Irish, or French traders. These men held clan and tribal membership through their mothers, spoke English and their Indian language, and moved adroitly in the white and Native American worlds. Some of them established farms and plantations growing cotton and other staple crops, acquired African American slaves, and integrated themselves into the American market economy. The more successful of this acculturated class—such as John Ross (1790–1868), a Cherokee; Levi Colbert (1759–1834), a Chickasaw; and Greenwood LeFlore (d. 1865), a Choctaw—diversified into tavern and ferry operations, built fine homes with expensive furnishings, sent their children to school in New England, and secured high office in tribal government.

Many southeastern Indians did not want to make the transformation required by the civilization program. Women did not want to abandon their place in the fields; men did not want to perform the agricultural work that traditionally had defined femininity. The civilization program created factions in communities between those who did and did not want to change, and the pressure to acculturate provoked nativist revolts among some of the tribes. In 1811 a number of Red Stick warriors from the Upper Creek towns responded to the call of Tecumseh and his brother, the prophet Tenskawatawa, for a pan-Indian rebellion against the United States. Civil war broke out between the Red Sticks, who wanted to eliminate the influence of Anglo-American culture, and other Creeks who sought a peaceful accommodation with the United States. In 1813 the rebellion drew in the United States when the Red Sticks massacred hundreds of Americans at Fort Mims, northeast of Mobile (in what became southwest Alabama). Andrew Jackson organized an army comprising militia forces and Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and accomodationist Creek warriors and marched into Creek territory. On 27 March 1814 Jackson's army annihilated the Red Sticks at Horseshoe Bend (in what was later eastern Alabama). After the battle, Jackson forced the Creeks to cede twenty-two million acres of their territory to the United States under the Treaty of Fort Jackson (August 1814). Many of the surviving Red Sticks fled into Florida and assimilated with the Seminoles, who were an amalgamation of the remnants of the Florida tribes that had been decimated by war and disease during the colonial era. In

1817 Jackson led another army into Spanish Florida to punish the Seminoles, who had been attacking American settlements on the Georgia border and providing refuge to runaway slaves. In 1819 the United States acquired Florida from Spain, and in 1823 it forced the defeated Seminoles to surrender their territory in northern Florida and move farther south into the interior of the peninsula.

REMOVAL

The civilization program did not produce the land cessions and political assimilation that its proponents had anticipated. After the War of 1812 Jackson and many southern political leaders began urging the federal government to relocate the tribes across the Mississippi River and open up all of the Southeast to American settlement. As the pressure for removal increased, the southeastern tribes became more determined to preserve their sovereign powers and land base. In an effort to present a unified front to the United States, the tribes gradually moved legal and political authority from the clans and local councils to new tribal or national institutions. The Cherokees, for instance, created a national police force to protect private property rights, formally abolished the practice of clan blood revenge, and adopted and codified laws to deal with various economic and social issues. The Choctaws in 1826 and the Cherokees in 1827 adopted written constitutions. The Cherokee constitution emulated the American model to some extent in that it created a republican government comprised of three branches: a two-house legislature; a national judiciary; and an executive (the principal chief) elected by the people. The Cherokees also created national social and cultural institutions. In 1821 a Cherokee named Sequoyah created a syllabary that allowed his people to communicate in writing in their own language. The syllabary, which Cherokees could learn quickly, enabled the Cherokee Nation to print books and religious materials for its people. In 1828 the nation began publishing a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, that included text in both Cherokee and English; its editor, Elias Boudinot, became an important voice in informing the Cherokees on the removal developments affecting their nation. By 1835 a majority of Cherokee households had at least one individual who could read the Cherokee language.

In 1819 Georgia, which in 1802 had signed away its western territory in exchange for a promise from the United States that it would extinguish the Indian title in the state, began urging the federal government to fulfill its promise and remove the Creeks and Cherokees from its boundaries. Tennessee, Ala-bama, and Mississippi quickly joined Georgia's removal campaign to clear the Southeast of Native Americans. The Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Cherokees all surrendered territory to placate the southern states. They also took measures to inhibit private sale of their lands: the Creek and Cherokee national councils adopted laws forbidding the sale of tribal territory upon penalty of death. In 1825 the Creek national council executed William McIntosh, a prominent headman, for signing the Treaty of Indian Springs (1825), which called for the removal of the Creeks and the cession of most of their homeland.

After the Cherokees announced the ratification of their constitution and declared themselves a sovereign nation in July 1827, the Georgia legislature extended the jurisdiction of the state over their territory. Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi soon extended state jurisdiction over the Native Americans within their borders. After Andrew Jackson was elected president in 1828, he told the tribes to submit to state jurisdiction or remove. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which gave Jackson authority to negotiate the removal of the eastern tribes across the Mississippi. Despite determined resistance from the Cherokees (who attempted to forestall removal in the federal judicial system) and the Seminoles (who fought a long and bloody engagement with the United States Army), between 1832 and 1843 the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles were relocated to the Indian Territory that the federal government established west of Arkansas.

See also **French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America*, *1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Carson, James Taylor. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Champagne, Duane. *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Gibson, Arrel M. *The Chickasaws.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Hudson, Charles. *The Southeastern Indians.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700–1835.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South.* New York: Free Press, 1981.

Tim Alan Garrison

Old Northwest

In the early decades of the eighteenth century, much of the Old Northwest (the area north and west of the Ohio River, encompassing the present-day states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and a portion of Minnesota) underwent an extensive indigenous repopulation. Driven to the far western reaches of the region (or, in the case of the Shawnees of southern Ohio, to the southeast) by the Iroquois during the Beaver Wars of the previous century, the surviving elements of the northwestern tribes returned to their traditional area homes in response to Iroquois peace initiatives in the early eighteenth century. These groups were joined in the region by eastern tribes fleeing white encroachment, disease, and ongoing Iroquois raids from the north and east.

Among the larger tribal groups inhabiting the Old Northwest by mid-century were the Ojibways, settled primarily around Lake Superior; the Ottawas, located in the straits region of present-day Michigan; the Potawatomis of southern Michigan; the remnants of the Huron nation (also known as Wyandots), settled around Detroit and northern Lake Erie; the Delawares (migrants from Pennsylvania) of south central and central Ohio; the Shawnees (also migrants from the east) of southern Ohio and Indiana; the Miamis, settled in northwestern Ohio and northern Indiana; the Illinois; and the Winnebagos of present-day Wisconsin. Most of the region's estimated 60,000 to 80,000 natives were of Algonquian stock (the main exceptions being the Iroquoian-speaking Hurons (or Wyandots) and the Siouan Winnebagos) and practiced, with varied emphasis, a mixed pattern of relatively settled horticulture combined with seasonal hunting and gathering.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The northwestern territory where these tribes settled rapidly became a highly contested borderland between rival European powers. As France and Great Britain maneuvered for control over the rich fur resources of the Ohio Country and the interior of the American continent, hostilities broke out in 1754 when Virginia militia, under the command of George Washington, failed in their attempt to dislodge the French from the headwaters of the Ohio River near present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Eager to strike back at those who had driven them from their eastern homes, many of the Ohio natives, along with the stridently pro-French tribes of the Great Lakes, joined the fray against the British and their American colonists, playing a critical role in the defeat of British forces under the command of General Edward Braddock in 1765, and staging ongoing raids throughout the Pennsylvania and Virginia backcountry. Although the war began well for the French and their northwestern native allies, defeats at Quebec (1759) and Montreal (1760) paved the way for British victory and the loss of France's mainland American colonial empire.

The natives' long-standing accommodationist strategy of pitting one European power against the other was no longer viable. As a result the British commander in chief in America, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, who was also motivated by personal disdain for the natives, drastically altered British Indian policy. He confined the fur trade to army posts; banned the sale of weapons, ammunition (necessary tools in the fur trade), and alcohol to the Indians; and ended the tradition of diplomatic gift giving (originally adopted in adherence to the native concept of reciprocity). Stunned by the unexpected French abandonment, the northwestern tribes bristled under Amherst's insulting and culturally demeaning policies. Additionally, a steady stream of westward-moving white settlers and the British occupation of abandoned French posts in the west fueled native fear and animosity. Inspired by the teachings of a Delaware prophet named Neolin, who preached renunciation of white culture and a return to traditional lifestyles, many northwestern Indians, such as the Ottawa chief Pontiac, embraced a more radical, oppositional philosophy and turned their backs on accommodation with whites. The resulting conflict, referred to as Pontiac's Rebellion or Pontiac's War (1763), failed in its primary objective of ridding the region of any British and American presence. Nonetheless, it did prompt an alteration of British policy culminating in the ouster of Amherst and his replacement by General Thomas Gage, the appointment of two regional (northern and southern) superintendents of Indian relations, and the creation of a demarcation line separating Indians and colonists designed to stop settler encroachment into the region. Moreover, the conflict, coming as it did on the heels of French withdrawal from the region and the collapse of the complex web of layered

Indian and European alliances, also delineated a clear racial fault line in the northwest between Indian and white.

The Northwestern Indians' hopes that the boundary line might hold and that native autonomy might become a reality, however, were rapidly dashed. In 1768, the Six Nation Iroquois, intent on preserving their New York homeland, ceded their tenuous claim to western lands south and east of the Ohio River in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Conspicuously absent from the negotiations were the tribes—the Cherokees and Shawnees—actually inhabiting the region. Equally problematic for the local tribes were the competing claims of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the disputed region. The intense intercolonial rivalry led to numerous attacks on local Indians and in 1774 to open warfare between Virginia, aggressively seeking to preempt Pennsylvania claims to western lands, and the Shawnees in Lord Dunmore's War. The ensuing Treaty of Camp Charlotte (1774) forced Shawnee recognition of Virginia's claim to Kentucky.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR AND THE NORTHWEST

As Lord Dunmore's War drew to its close, the imperial struggle between Great Britain and its American colonists reached a heightened level, spilling into open warfare in April 1775. Among the grievances cited by the Americans in making their case for independence was the ministry's concerted effort to deny white migration onto western lands and its alleged encouragement of Indian raiding along the frontier.

The Northwestern tribes initially approached the revolutionary crisis with a great deal of caution, with most attempting to remain neutral in the conflict. Sustained diplomatic and economic pressure, along with the recognition that the war was also a conflict for native land, however, persuaded many western tribes to side with the British and to wage their own war for freedom. Among the areas hardest hit by the conflict was Ohio. There American and British agents worked tirelessly to persuade the Delawares and Shawnees to take up arms. Despite assuming a neutral stance, the Delawares and Shawnees faced continued American depredations—the murder of the pro-American Delaware Chief White Eyes (1778), the massacre of pacifist Moravian Delawares at Gnadenhutten (1782), and the killing of the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk while under a flag of truce (1777). As a result, by war's end members of both tribes were actively engaged in the struggle against the Americans.

WAR FOR OHIO

As British and American diplomats conducted talks to end the war, the northwestern tribes found themselves in a familiar position—without representation. Indeed, the ensuing Treaty of Paris (1783) completely disregarded Indian interests and resulted in the unauthorized cession of their homelands by their wartime allies to a now independent United States. American officials quickly made it clear to the Northwestern tribes that they considered them conquered peoples and that they were to submit to American authority or perish. In light of the altered circumstances, elements of the western tribes met with American officials at Fort Stanwix (1784) in New York, Fort McIntosh (1785) in Pennsylvania, and Fort Finney (1786) in Ohio. Under great pressure, they recognized American sovereignty and ceded large tracts of land, including lands in the Ohio country, to cement the peace. The Confederation Congress followed up on the cessions with laws providing for the structured survey and sale of the newly acquired lands and, with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, by organizing the area as the Northwest Territory. White Americans swarmed into the region.

Large segments of the western native population, however, refused to recognize the cessions as legitimate and held fast to the idea of an Ohio River boundary between white and Indian. Encouraged by the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, the northwestern tribes forged a confederation that refused to accept treaties signed by individual tribes and pledged itself to resisting American settlement in Ohio. Violence was not long in coming. In 1790 and 1791 American armies (the first commanded by Josiah Harmar and the second by Arthur St. Clair) invaded Indian country intent on subduing the confederation. Both armies were decimated by confederation warriors led by the Miami Chief Little Turtle and the Shawnee Blue Jacket. In spite of their success, however, the confederation began to unravel as Brant recommended reaching a settlement with American authorities. While the western tribes debated the merits of continued resistance or compromise, the Americans raised a new army, placing it under the command of General "Mad" Anthony Wayne. Indian factionalism played into Wayne's hands; in 1794 his Legion marched into the heart of the northwest. Confronting a reduced Indian force on the Maumee River near present-day Toledo, Ohio, Wayne's army drove the natives from the field (the Indians were then denied refuge at a nearby British fort) and then proceeded to destroy native villages and crops in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The following year, Wayne extracted a promise of peace and vast cessions of land

from the natives in the Treaty of Greenville, thus opening the door to unimpeded access to most of Ohio.

TECUMSEH AND TENSKWATAWA

With peace at hand, American officials stepped up their effort to "civilize" the western tribes by converting them to Christianity, recasting traditional gender roles, and reorganizing native life around intensive agriculture. The rigorous pressure on the western tribes and the assault on traditional life helped to spawn one final effort, led by the Shawnee brothers Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh, to build a united native front in the northwest. Inspired by a visionary trance in 1805, Tenskwatawa (also known as the Shawnee Prophet) renounced his previous life of drunkenness and debauchery and began to preach a messianic message urging native peoples to abandon alcohol and to reject Christianity and all things white. Tenskwatawa's religious vision was spread by his brother Tecumseh, who added a plea for Indian unity in resisting white expansion. The combination was a potent one, and its success frightened American officials. In response, in 1811 the American army under General William Henry Harrison launched a preemptive attack on the prophet's settlement on Tippecanoe Creek, Indiana. The Americans' victory in the Battle of Tippecanoe dealt the prophet and Tecumseh's confederation efforts a blow. Tecumseh's subsequent death at the Battle of the Thames (1813) during the War of 1812 destroyed what was left of the movement.

With the resistance movement broken, American authorities redoubled their efforts to "civilize" the tribes, concentrating them onto small "reservations" of land and exploring the possibility of relocating the tribes to new lands west of the Mississippi River (lands acquired through the Louisiana Purchase of 1803). It was argued that the natives would be insulated there from the vices and pressures of white society and free to advance at their own pace. This policy, known as removal, became the key component of President Andrew Jackson's Indian policy in the early 1830s and eventually resulted in the forced relocation of most of the native peoples of the lower northwest (Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois) to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

See also **French and Indian War; Fur and Pelt Trade; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Thames, Battle of the; Tippecanoe, Battle of; Treaty of Paris.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Hinderaker, Eric, and Peter C. Mancall. *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

McConnell, Michael N. *A Country Between: The Upper Ohio Valley and Its Peoples, 1724–1774.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

O'Donnell, James H., III. *Ohio's First Peoples.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Martin J. Hershock

Old Southwest

The native peoples of the Old Southwest resided in an area that included western Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and parts of Florida and Louisiana. Between 1754 and 1829 they underwent profound changes.

In 1754 most Indians in the region lived by small-scale farming, hunting game, and fishing. They lived in villages with headmen who used powers of persuasion rather than coercion to get people to follow them. Private property was unknown, and criminal matters were avenged by the victim, or in the case of murder, the victim's kin. By 1829 the major tribes of the Old Southwest possessed formal governments with written constitutions; court systems; large-scale agriculture, including plantations and African American slaves; and powerful chiefs who governed by force of law backed by organized police forces. In many cases the wealthiest Native Americans possessed more goods and lived in better style than many of their European American neighbors. Despite their adoption of European technology and political practices, the United States failed to protect these people from local settlers and state officials who coveted the Indians' land and envied their successes. At the close of the era, the federal government under the Jackson administration (1829–1837) forcibly removed most of the Native Americans east of the Mississippi to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma, Kansas, and Nebraska. Despite those challenges, these victimized Indian peoples had created social institutions at the dawn of the nineteenth century that have allowed them to thrive into the twenty-first century.

Dog Dance. This picture of a "dog dance" performed by Indians in what is now Kansas is an 1823 engraving by Cephus G. Childs based on a sketch by the artist Samuel Seymour, who accompanied Major Stephen H. Long on an expedition to the American West in 1819. © CORBIS.

TRIBES OF THE REGION

The most prominent nations in the region were the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks, the Seminoles, and the Cherokees. In the first two decades of the 1800s, these Indians became known as the Five Civilized Nations because they took up commercial farming and other European ways. A number of smaller nations lived among the five: the Yamasees, Houmas, Chitimachas, Tunicas, Catawbas, and Yuchis. Some of these groups united with one of the Five Tribes for protection. The Shawnees also traveled through the region during the late eighteenth century, some of them settling among the Creeks. Though all of these peoples played a role in the history of the Old Southwest, the Five Civilized Tribes dominated it.

All of the five except the Cherokees spoke Muskogean languages. The Choctaw and Chickasaw cultures were so similar that both people told stories that they had descended from two brothers. The two, it was said, lost each other during a hunting trip; when they met up again, they had been apart so long that they no longer understood each other's speech. They decided to settle at some distance from the other

and from them came the Chickasaw and Choctaw people. The Creeks and many of the Seminoles spoke a similar language. Some Seminoles spoke Mikasuka, a distant relative of Creek. The Cherokees, on the other hand, spoke an Iroquoian language that developed during two thousand years of separation from their northern kinsmen.

The Choctaws lived along the upper reaches of the Tombigbee River in eastern Mississippi and western Alabama. To the north, in western Tennessee, lived the Chickasaws. The Creeks inhabited eastern Alabama and western Georgia. Florida was home for the Seminoles, many of whom had relatives among the Creeks. The Cherokees resided in the mountainous regions where the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee meet. Farmers, hunters, and traders from France, Spain, England, Scotland, and Germany also lived and worked in small settlements scattered throughout the region.

During the early part of the 1700s, most of the native people of the Old Southwest grew accustomed to the labor-saving tools and efficient firearms delivered by French and English traders who gradually tied Native Americans to the markets of the Atlantic

world. They paid for these weapons with deerskins. Tens of thousands of hides traveled along the roads and rivers for eventual shipment from New Orleans, Mobile, or Charles Town (later known as Charleston). By the middle of the eighteenth century, life in Indian country depended on a steady supply of European tools, cloth, and ammunition.

BRITISH DOMINANCE

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) had little initial impact on the region. The Choctaws, traditional allies of France, formed a barrier between the pro-British Cherokees and Creeks. The Chickasaws, badly weakened by a quarter century of warfare with Louisianans and Choctaws, could do little for their English-speaking patrons. As the war progressed, British traders and agents strengthened their ties with the Creeks. The English also made inroads with the Choctaws, starved of powder and textiles by the Royal Navy's blockade of the French. By the war's end, most of the Native American nations in the region considered themselves allies of King George.

Cessation of hostilities in Europe did not mean peace for the peoples of the inland regions of the Old Southwest. Trouble came from several sources. The British government stopped giving gifts to groups like the Cherokees. Officials from London declared that Native Americans were subjects of the king, not allies, and therefore ineligible for such donations. Another problem carried over from the early 1700s: tensions between the European Americans and Indians over land flared as settlers moved west. Moreover, the Indians had fewer European powers to play against each other. With the French gone, the Choctaws and Creeks could still turn to the Spanish for supplies and support when British demands became too burdensome. However, Spain no longer had the resources nor the inclination to offer a consistent alternative to the English. The Cherokees and Chickasaws, who lived inland far from Florida and Mexico, had even fewer options.

The Cherokees took arms in protest against these changes that began in the late 1750s and continued through the 1760s. As a consequence, they suffered terribly at the hands of the combined might of the British army and colonial militias. When the two sides made peace, the Cherokees lost much of their land east of the Appalachians. Some Cherokees, led by Dragging Canoe, bitterly resisted Euro-American expansion. He established a stronghold along the banks of the Chickamauga River and continued to fight the colonists, and later the Americans, into the

1790s. The Chickasaws lacked the strength to resist the shifting policies of Great Britain. The Choctaws and Creeks, however, managed to convince the British to amend their ways. In January 1762 the British appointed John Stuart as the royal superintendent for Indian affairs in the southern colonies. Rather than dealing with competing provincial governments, Native Americans would be able to parley with a single responsible individual.

However, Stuart's desire to regulate trade and mediate conflicts between the colonists and the Indians did not work. South Carolinians, Virginians, and others resented British protection of their recent enemies. This resentment played a role in the decision of Americans to revolt against Britain in the mid-1770s. White juries would not convict European Americans for crimes committed against Indians. Unlicensed traders brought liquor and shoddy merchandise into the backcountry and often cheated their customers.

LAND CESSIONS AND DEPENDENCY

The United States's victory in the War of Independence (1775–1783) had momentous consequences for Native Americans. The Treaty of Paris (1783) awarded control over all the land between the Mississippi and the Atlantic Ocean to the new nation. Indian nations experienced different outcomes from the Revolution. The Cherokees once again suffered terribly during this conflict. Virginia militiamen devastated Cherokee settlements in 1776 in retaliation for alleged Cherokee raids in the state's western mountains. Dragging Canoe and his Cherokee faction kept the United States at bay until the late 1780s. On the other hand, many other Cherokee leaders saw a fearsome enemy in the Americans and eventually ceded territory to the new Republic in the Treaty of Hopewell (1785) and in the Treaty of Holston (1791). The Creeks faced similar pressure after the war, as did the Choctaws. Fortunately for the latter two nations, they were far enough away from the Americans to avoid heavy involvement in the Revolution. Also, they had the option of trading with the Spanish in Pensacola and Mobile, where English merchants maintained well-stocked warehouses.

The Old Southwest took its final shape during the years around the ratification of the Constitution. The defining policy came in the form of the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act (1790). This legislation limited commercial contact with Native Americans to licensed traders who operated in official "factories," or stores. Many in the federal government hoped that by providing a flood of consumer goods

and tools, they would ensnare Native American leaders in debt. They then would have to sell their land to pay their creditors. Another provision of the law sent farm tools and teachers to Native American tribes in order that they assimilate into European American society. It also placed Indian agents in each of the major nations as representatives of the federal government. Though many of the agents engaged in graft, several of them worked hard to protect their charges from the settlers and state governments. One the most successful of these men was Benjamin Hawkins, agent for the Creek Nation from the 1780s to the 1810s, who helped the Creeks adapt to the pressures exerted by the expanding Republic.

During the years following the American Revolution, one Creek began the process of transformation without waiting for cues from the United States. Alexander McGillivray, the wealthy son of a Scottish merchant and a Creek woman, negotiated an alliance with Spain in 1784 for protection against the infant United States. After fighting several battles against the Americans throughout the 1780s, he traveled to New York, where in 1790 he signed a treaty with the United States. He then received an appointment as a brigadier general with a yearly salary of twelve hundred dollars a year. After returning home, he repudiated that treaty and in 1792 reinstated the old alliance with Spain, this time for a Spanish salary of two thousand dollars yearly.

McGillivray's career exemplified the changing nature of Native American leadership styles in the Old Southwest. The old model of a chief who relied upon his powers of persuasion gave way to men who controlled access to European manufactured goods and markets. This caused a major shift in the way Native Americans organized themselves. Private property became the norm in the region. Many men turned to farming, traditionally women's work, and animal husbandry to make a living. Others still harvested deerskins in the forests, but they often did so with tools and weapons purchased on credit from wealthy Indian headmen rather than European American merchants. As Indians acquired private property, they created institutions to protect it. They also recognized the need to organize themselves to meet the threats posed by their American neighbors. The skills introduced by Indian agents like Hawkins helped them develop an economic base upon which they built a political structure.

ACCOMMODATION, RESISTANCE, AND REMOVAL

In the first decades of the 1800s, the Cherokees created a court system and a mounted police force called the Cherokee Light Horse and in 1827 adopted a constitution modeled on the U.S. Constitution. Sequoyah facilitated the last innovation by creating the Cherokee syllabary (alphabet), completed by him in 1821 and still in use 185 years later. The Cherokees also saw the wisdom of cooperating with the United States. Chief John Ross (1790–1866) led Cherokee warriors against the Red Sticks, a Creek faction, during the Creek War (1813–1814), fighting alongside the forces of Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814).

Not all Native Americans in the Old Southwest wanted these changes. The Red Sticks, from the Upper Towns, located in northern Alabama and northwestern Georgia, rejected the adoption of Western culture and technology taking hold of the Lower Towns. The latter communities were on the coastal plain in southeastern Alabama and western Georgia. The Creek War started as a civil war between the two factions. The Red Sticks wished to return to the old spiritual practices and abandon the corrupting influences of alcohol and dependence on manufactured goods. They sought protection from traditional talismans and rituals. These hopes were soon dashed when the United States entered into the conflict to prevent Great Britain from gaining inroads into the region during the War of 1812.

The defeat of the Red Sticks spelled the end of armed resistance against the United States. The Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) forced the Creeks to cede a large portion of their tribal lands. Ironically, much of the territory belonged to the Lower Towns, which supported Jackson in his fight against the Red Sticks. Some survivors of the Creek War made their way into Spanish Florida to join with the Seminoles, a multiethnic group of Native American refugees of earlier conflicts, Creeks, and escaped African American slaves, where they held out for decades.

Throughout the 1820s, some of the Indians of the Old Southwest, particularly families with leadership roles, prospered as they continued to use more Euro-American technology. Many of the wealthier Native Americans acquired African American slaves whom they treated as a form of property. The headmen of the major tribes built plantations and began to raise cotton, others became successful merchants. Nonetheless, a good number of the Indian peoples remained poor, eking out a living on small backcountry farms. This situation changed during the War of 1812.

The conflict between the United States and Great Britain placed the Native Americans of the Old Southwest between two fires. Some of them sup-

ported the United States while others resisted. American troops from the East overran Creek country. Their commander, General Andrew Jackson, imposed harsh terms in the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) that deprived Creeks of more than half of their land. Jackson later invaded Florida and closed the British supply stations in Spanish Pensacola. Thus, the Indians of the region lost the ability to play the Americans against their Spanish and English rivals. This lack of foreign support eroded Native Americans' power to negotiate with Washington and the state governments.

Soon after the war, the Mississippi and Alabama Territories gained admission to the Union as states in 1817 and 1819, respectively. The new governments resented having Indian nations claiming sovereignty in their midst. Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi passed legislation outlawing Native American courts and political entities within their borders. Andrew Jackson's election in 1828 paved the way for the annihilation of Indian rights in the Old Southwest. The president pushed successfully for passage of the Indian Removal Act (1830), which called for the seizure of Native American lands in the East and the exile of the Indians west of the Mississippi.

See also **Creek War; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Brescia, William Jr. "Choctaw Oral Tradition Relating to Tribal Origin." In *The Choctaw Before Removal.* Edited by Carolyn Keller Reeves. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1985.

Carson, James Taylor. *Searching for the Bright Path: The Mississippi Choctaws from Prehistory to Removal.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Cox, Bruce Alden. "Natives and the Development of Mercantile Capitalism." In *The Political Economy of North American Indians.* Edited by John H. Moore. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993.

Cushman, Horatio Bardwell. *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians.* Greenville, Tex.: Headlight Printing House, 1899.

Galloway, Patricia K. "'So Many Little Republics': British Negotiations with the Choctaw Confederacy, 1765." *Ethnohistory* 41 (1994): 513–538.

———. *Choctaw Genesis, 1500–1700.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Hatley, Tom. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Ishii, Izumi. "Alcohol and Politics in the Cherokee Nation before Removal." *Ethnohistory* 50 (2003): 671–695.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. *Choctaws and Missionaries in Mississippi, 1818–1918.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

O'Brien, Greg. *Choctaws in a Revolutionary Age, 1750–1830.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002.

Piker, Joshua. "'White and Clean' and Contested: Creek Towns and Trading Paths in the Aftermath of the Seven Years' War." *Ethnohistory* 50 (2003): 315–347.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking, 2001.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733–1816.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Snapp, J. Russell. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Swanton, John Reed. *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley and Adjacent Coast of the Gulf of Mexico.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911.

———. *Religious Beliefs and Medicinal Practices of the Creek Indians.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1928.

———. *Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians.* Washington: N.p., 1928.

Usner, Daniel H., Jr. *American Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Social and Economic Histories.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

White, Richard. *The Roots of Dependency: Subsistence, Environment, and Social Change among the Choctaws, Pawnees, and Navajos.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Woods, Patricia Dillon. *French–Indian Relations on the Southern Frontier, 1699–1762.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research, 1980.

George Edward Milne

Plains

Since about A.D. 1000, the Indians of the Great Plains had been divided into two grand divisions: the nomadic, tipi-dwelling nomads who generally lived on the western short-grass Plains, and the village-dwelling horticulturists who occupied the eastern reaches of the region. Each group was well adapted to conditions in the semiarid plains environment, and the entire region was heavily populated, despite earlier claims that the area was inhospitable and

Young Omahaw, War Eagle, Little Missouri, and Pawnees. A portrait of several Pawnee leaders, painted by Charles Bird King in 1821. SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC/ART RESOURCE, NY.

sparsely inhabited before horses were introduced by the Spanish in the seventeenth century. The nomadic life had ancient roots, reaching deep into the prehistoric past, for Indians had been living on the plains and hunting bison for no less than twelve thousand years. The village way of life was more recent, having been introduced from eastern North America about A.D. 900.

The village farmers lived principally along the Missouri and its major tributaries and on the eastern reaches of tributaries of the Mississippi. They included, from south to north, the Caddoan-speaking tribes of Texas and Oklahoma, and the Osages, Otoes and Missouris, Wichitas, Pawnees, Iowas, Omahas, Poncas, Arikaras, and the Mandans and Hidatsas. In the north, most of these villagers lived in substantial earth-covered lodges in communities often surrounded by fortifying ditches and post palisades; in the south, more moderate weather permitted their homes to be less substantial (the Wichitas even lived in grass houses). They remained for most of the year near their villages, where the women grew their crops in the fertile river bottoms. Conversely, the nomads lived in skin tipis and, while they had home territories, ranged widely in search of the bison that was the mainstay of their diet. The most important of them were the many bands of Dakotas, or Sioux; the Cheyennes and Arapahos, Crows, and Assiniboines.

There was a brisk trade from prehistoric to historic times between the villagers and the nomads, the villagers trading corn and garden produce to the nomads in exchange for the products produced by these hunting peoples. Their trade routes often became those followed by early European fur traders. This trade did not prevent groups from raiding one another at other times, for young men could attain social and political prominence only if they had war honors

and were successful in raiding other groups for horses.

Even before 1750 diseases introduced by Europeans, principally smallpox, began drastically to reduce Indian populations, sometimes killing up to 95 percent of the affected population. Smallpox probably attacked tribes along the Missouri River in about 1750, but a major outbreak in 1781 was responsible for massive depopulation, as was a later one in 1837, which almost eliminated the Mandans and, according to Joshua Pilcher, left the entire northern Plains "one great grave yard." This depopulation made later American settlement a far simpler matter.

European penetration of the plains came from three directions: from the southwest by early Spanish explorers; from the north and east from the Canadian plains and Great Lakes by the French and English; and from the southeast, principally by Americans ascending the Missouri River. These alien traders brought a startling new technology, including edged iron tools and firearms, and a shift in Indian lifeways from one that stressed subsistence to another that focused on producing, at first, furs and, later, buffalo robes. These new elements, together with the introduction of horses, led to massive changes in their lifeways, ones that, for a time, brought them riches and an affluent way of life that led to today's stereotypic view of the American Indian: a tipi and a horse-mounted warrior wearing an eagle-feather headdress and carrying a spear or firearm.

Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye was the first visitor from the north to reach the Missouri River in 1738, but about the same time, traders from St. Louis or Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, began infiltrating the northern plains, and other French traders were reaching tribes deep in the southern plains. By the early nineteenth century American explorers began to follow the tracks left by the first traders, and initiated the process that led to American settlement and the often illegal confiscation of tribal lands. Lewis and Clark in 1804–1806, Zebulon Pike in 1805–1807, and Stephen H. Long in 1819–1820 brought the West to the attention of easterners. The trails that brought cattle from Texas north into Kansas and further followed, between 1840 and 1897. But it was the initiation of the Oregon and California Trails in 1834 and 1841, and the Santa Fe Trail in 1821, that brought trespassing immigrants and trade. Indian responses to them were largely the reason for the introduction of military posts along their routes.

See also **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Fur and Pelt Trade; Health and Disease; Livestock Production; West.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

DeMallie, Raymond J., ed. *Handbook of North American Indians.* Volume 13: *Plains.* William C. Sturtevant, general editor. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001.

Holder, Preston. *The Hoe and the Horse on the Plains: A Study of Cultural Development among North American Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970, 1991.

Joshua Pilcher to William Clark, February 27, 1838. Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Upper Missouri Agency, 1824–1881. Record Group 75, Microcopy No. 234, Roll No. 884. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

Wood, W. Raymond, ed. *Archaeology on the Great Plains.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998.

W. Raymond Wood

Far West

As Indians east of the Mississippi embroiled themselves in international wars, engaged in religious revitalization movements, and faced Indian removal, Indians west of the Mississippi were also experiencing profound changes in their way of life. Between 1750 and 1815, new opportunities brought substantial economic, social, and cultural changes to the Indians of California, the Great Plains, the Southwest, and the Pacific Northwest coast.

At some time in the past, the Cheyennes' Creator, Maheo, warned the Cheyenne people that adopting horses would result in great changes in their way of life. Indeed, all across the Plains during the eighteenth century, American Indians dealt with changes in material culture, social organization, and intertribal relations as a result of the adoption of the horse culture. Horses had arrived in North America with Hernán Cortés in 1519. Spanish soldiers and settlers then took horses to northern Mexico, where they eventually spread into the Southwest. Indian groups in northern Mexico, for instance, raided Spanish settlements and subsequently traded the horses they captured to Indians in New Mexico and Texas. A second mass migration of horses occurred in 1680, when Spanish soldiers and settlers fled New Mexico in the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt. From New Mexico, various Indians traded horses to Indians living on the northern Great Plains.

Horses made hunting bison more efficient and quicker and brought new material culture items such as saddles and bridles. For some, like the Chey-

A Traditional Dance. This image from circa 1806 by Wilhelm von Tilenau depicts a group of costumed Indians engaging in a traditional dance near the San José de Guadalupe Mission in California. © CORBIS.

ennes, Comanches, and Lakotas, the horse culture brought wealth and power—but not without costs. First, the drive to acquire horses put tribes in direct conflict with one another and increased the incidence of warfare on the Great Plains. The Lakotas embarked on an impressive expansion during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, moving from Minnesota to occupying parts of the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Colorado. In the process they dislodged the Mandans, Hidatsas, Arikaras, Omahas, and Pawnees. Second, the acquisition of horses precipitated social fissures. Horses became the prime indicator of wealth within Indian groups; the man with the most horses usually controlled an unequal portion of wealth. Plains Indians became stratified into, as the Kiowas called them, the fine (those with more than a hundred horses), the middling (those with around twenty horses), and the poor (those with few or no horses). These social changes also affected women's roles. When women harvested wild

food sources or practiced agriculture, they were the primary economic providers of their group. With the advent of the horse and buffalo economy, men became the primary providers (they hunted the buffalo), and women tended to become the processors of trade items (bison hides). Third, horses required vast acreage for grazing and thus threatened the ecology of the northern and southern Plains. Plains Indians tended to winter in river valleys, which were rich in timber and grasses. As a result of the long period of habitation as well as environmental changes on the Plains, these riverine valleys became denuded of trees and grasses. When Americans began to migrate across the Plains in the mid-nineteenth century, it only exacerbated an already worsening situation.

The horse and bison economy also put Plains Indians in contact with southwestern tribes. For instance, between 1740 and 1830 the Comanches held annual trade fairs in the panhandle of Oklahoma. These trade fairs became a rich and vibrant market-

place for bison hides, Pueblo pottery, European guns and horses, and human captives. The fairs were part of a larger regional economy in the Southwest that depended on the reciprocal raiding by Navajos and the Spanish for livestock and humans. Navajos frequently launched attacks on neighboring Spanish settlements, absconding with sheep and human captives; Spanish and Mexican militias would then attempt to recapture them, taking Navajo captives in the process. Thus Indians and the Spanish were part of a tightly woven, though sometimes hidden, web of kin and economic relations.

Farther west, Spanish officials established missions, military bases, and civilian communities in California to combat what they saw as a threat from Russian and English traders in the Pacific Northwest. Led by Father Junípero Serra in 1769, Franciscan friars established a string of twenty-one missions, intended to convert California Indians to Christianity, that stretched from San Diego to San Francisco. These institutions of religious conversion were completely dependent on Indian labor to harvest crops, tend cattle, and make artisanal objects. The missions had high mortality rates for Indians. In response to beatings by friars, Indians often ran away or participated in open revolt.

Russians, British, and Americans in the Pacific Northwest also affected Indian life. They established a trade in sea otter pelts from the Aleutian Islands to northern California; although Pacific Northwest Indians welcomed the new trade items and the potential allies, the trade came at great cost. Europeans and Americans brought epidemic diseases that affected indigenous populations, and unscrupulous traders exchanged alcohol for the pelts, leading to other social problems.

Native Americans of the far West confronted small bands of Europeans and Euro-Americans in search of both furs and souls. By the time Americans began to move west across the Mississippi, the region had already undergone a century of enormous change.

See also **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Fur and Pelt Trade; Livestock Production; Spanish Empire; West.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calloway, Colin G. *One Vast Winter Count: The Indian West Before Lewis and Clark.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Hämäläinen, Pekka. "The Rise and Fall of Plains Indian Horse Cultures." *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 833–862.

William J. Bauer, Jr.

American Indian Ethnography

Between 1750 and 1829 Americans attempted to explain the Indian cultures they encountered as well as to identify Indian origins. Eyewitness and secondary accounts of Indian life or the lives of whites among the Indians became popular reading, and collections of Indian artifacts fascinated the American public. Observers of Indian societies—ministers, missionaries, government officials, Indian captives, explorers, traders, travelers—wittingly or unwittingly practiced ethnography, or the study and systematic recording of a culture. These records of Indian manners and customs reflect the authors' judgments against the backdrop of government policy regarding the Indians.

The 1803 Louisiana Purchase ushered in an era of expansion, and land and its use increasingly became the focus of debate on American–Indian relations. Land was precious to both groups, but the Americans had the advantage of the printed word on their side. Their writings applied descriptive and pejorative terms to Indians such as "wild," "savage," "primitive," and "heathen," rendering more persuasive the land claims of "civilized" Americans. Even sympathetic collectors and writers employed these stereotypes. The idea that the Indians were expendable took root.

IDEAS ABOUT INDIAN ORIGINS

Throughout the period of Indian displacement and Indian wars, Americans pondered Indian origins. The Indian trader James Adair was likely the first to claim, based on his observation of taboos and eating habits, that the Indians were the Lost Tribe of Israel; others were to follow, such as Elias Boudinot, whose *Star of the West* (1816) portrayed Indians as strayed members of the Chosen People. The Scottish historian William Robertson thought Indians had migrated from Wales, calling them "exuberant Highlanders." Benjamin Smith Barton, in *New Views of the Origins of the Tribes and Nations of America* (1797), asserted that the Indians had originated in Persia and other parts of Asia.

ETHNOGRAPHIC CHRONICLES: POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMAGES

Prior to and during the French and Indian War (1756–1763), many positive images of Indians

Algonquin Child's Coat. This coat was part of a collection of American Indian drawings on hide that was gathered by M. Fayolle in 1786 and taken to France. Most of the collection consisted of garments worn by chiefs of the Arkansas, Dakota, and Northeastern regions. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

emerged in the writings of observers and in records of transactions between Americans and Indians. In his memoirs (1753) Samuel Hopkins, a Congregational pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts, attached great significance to the introduction of Christianity to the Indians, whom he felt were ready to accept "civilization." In 1763 the interpreter Conrad Weiser detailed the Onondaga language and customs and the successful negotiations to establish a trading post in their nation. As Benjamin Franklin's printing of Indian treaties between 1736 and 1762 revealed, American officials learned that Indian councils followed strict protocol and rituals, such as using the wampum belt to seal agreements and the passing of the calumet to signify friendship, when engaging in land negotiations. Though a land speculator himself, Franklin decried aggression against innocent and friendly Indians. In 1764 he denounced the twenty-two massacres in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, incited by revenge for Pontiac's War of 1763. In his writings, the Quaker reformer John Woolman praised Indians as containing the "inner light" or

knowledge of God. William Smith's *An Historical Account of the Expedition Against the Ohio Indians, in the Year 1764* portrayed Indians as patriotic, independent, and lovers of liberty.

Captivity narratives depicting Indian societies fueled negative images of Indians. Mary Rowlandson's *A Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, first published in 1682 and reprinted many times, attests to the widely accepted notion of Indian cruelty. Other narratives also portrayed Indian brutality, such as Peter Williamson's *French and Indian Cruelty* (1757); William Walton's *A Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Benjamin Gilbert and His Family* (1780); and Mary Kinnan's *A True Narrative of the Sufferings of Mary Kinnan* (1795). A somewhat milder version of Indian life was depicted in *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson* (1796), by Suzanne Willard (Johnson) Hastings, who lived for four years among the Abenakis.

In the early nineteenth century, narratives and narrative novels began to portray Indian culture and

people as having a sense of purpose. James E. Seaver recounted the praise of Indian people by Mary Jemison, who lived with the Delawares for seventy years, in his *Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824). John Dunn Hunter's *Memoir among the Indians of North America* (1824) commended his captors, the Osages and Kansas Indians, for their intelligence, religiosity, and communalism.

Travelers and traders recorded scrupulously detailed accounts. Bernard Romans, in *A Concise History of East and West Florida* (1775), described Indians as unnatural and grotesque, whereas others took great care to observe and record indigenous cultures accurately. John Bartram, in *Observations on the Inhabitants, Climate, Soil, Rivers, Productions, Animals* (1751), and his son, William Bartram, who wrote of his encounters with Indians of the Southeast in 1791, portrayed the Indians favorably. The trader James Adair, who lived with Cherokees and Chickasaws for forty years, wrote glowingly about Indian law, marriage, and religion in his *History of the American Indians* (1775). The Virginian Henry Timberlake, in his memoirs of 1765, characterized Cherokee culture as an improvement over British culture. The physician and reformer Benjamin Rush praised Indians for their wisdom in a 1789 essay on Indian medicine.

The expedition from 1804 to 1806 by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, commissioned by President Jefferson, and the publication in 1814 of Nicholas Biddle's history of the expedition, provided a wealth of information about Indians from the upper reaches of the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean. The expedition brought back Indian animal-skin maps, dress, and a host of other artifacts that Jefferson displayed in his Indian cabinet at Monticello. Encountering over fifty tribes, the explorers described Indians as simple savages, culturally inferior to whites and prone to stealing and sexual promiscuity.

THE "VANISHING" INDIAN

One result of the Indians' encounter with Americans was the depletion of their populations. War, alcohol abuse, and disease took their toll. Travelers, government officials, Enlightenment philosophers, and missionaries put forth a theory of the vanishing Indian alongside notions of the noble and ignoble savage. Thomas Jefferson, in *Notes on Virginia* (1781–1782), called Mingo Chief Logan a doomed but, in the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau's phrase, "noble savage." In his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crevecoeur attributed the violence of the frontier as much to white

settlers as to Indians, but other works, such as Hugh Henry Brackenridge's *Indian Atrocities* (1782), described the Indians as racially inferior to whites and of a wild and brutish nature. John Filson's *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (1784) juxtaposed the heroism of Daniel Boone against the undisciplined, indecorous Indians.

Many works attested to the social harms of alcohol abuse among the Indians, citing it as the Indians' path to disappearance. Among them are Franklin's *Autobiography* (1784), Benjamin Smith Barton's *Observation on Some Part of Natural History* (1787), and Daniel Gookin's *Historical Collection of the Indians of New England* (1792), in which the Puritan missionary portrayed Indians as barbarians, decimated by disease.

"WORTHINESS" OF THE INDIAN: PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE

The founding of the American Philosophical Society in 1743, with Franklin as the first president and Jefferson as a leading member, fostered the pursuit of knowledge in the areas of ethnology and philology. The Moravian missionary John Heckewelder, who became a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1797, chronicled his experiences among the Leni-Lenape Delawares in *History, Manners, and Customs of Indian Nations* (1819). His commendation of Indian life, except for their refusal to abandon their "heathenism," became the focus of debates over Indian worthiness.

The writers Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper considered the attributes of Indians in their fiction and nonfiction works. In his 1813 essay, "Traits of Indian Character," Irving criticized the rapacious frontiersmen for breaking treaties and undermining Indian character; he also praised Indians for what he saw as their natural "wildness" stemming from long contact with nature. Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) extolled the Indian for having conquered the wilderness and passing it on to the white man. In 1829 John Augustus Stone's popular play *Metamora, or The Last of the Wampanoags*, based on the life of Metacomet (called King Philip by the colonists), reinforced American fascination with the vanishing "noble savage."

INDIAN EXPENDABILITY AND REMOVAL

In 1820 President James Monroe commissioned Jedidiah Morse to tour among the Indians and ascertain the "actual state" of Indian affairs. In Morse's 1822 *Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, he pressed for immediate programs

of "civilization." Policymakers agreed that the Indians were expendable, but they had serious doubts as to whether the Indians would accept acculturation programs. By 1829 the notion that Indians should be made peripheral to American society had become dominant.

Favoring a policy of Indian removal, Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory and later secretary of war to Andrew Jackson, dismissed Heckewelder's Indian history and Hunter's captivity memoir as presenting Indians in too favorable a light; he found *The Last of the Mohicans* superficial and romantic. Responding to the removalists, William Apess, a Pequot, admonished whites for driving Indians from their ancestral domains in his autobiography *A Son of the Forest* (1829). Jeremiah Evarts published essays against Indian removal in 1830 under the pseudonym William Penn, invoking the teachings of Penn as they correlated to Evarts's own beliefs about America's obligations, both legal and moral, to indigenous peoples.

Intellectualizing Indian existence failed to stop the push for Indian removal. The audience for printed materials and collected artifacts of Indian life lived along the East Coast, far removed from the Indians of the interior and the frontiersmen who came in contact with them. By 1829 the frontier voice was a deciding factor in the formation of a policy of Indian removal. Displacement and dispossession followed, and much of the literature by then accepted Indian expendability as a reality.

See also **American Philosophical Society; Autobiography and Memoir; Fiction; Louisiana Purchase; Racial Theory.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians.* 1775. Edited by Kathryn E. Holland Braund. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Indian Treaties.* 1736–1762. Edited by Carl Van Doren and Julian Boyd. Philadelphia: Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1938.

———. *A Narrative of the Late Massacres, in Lancaster County, of a Number of Indians, Friends of this Province, by Persons Unknown.* Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1764.

Lepore, Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity.* New York: Knopf, 1998.

Liebersohn, Harry. *Aristocratic Encounters: European Travelers and North American Indians.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Nash, Gary B. "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind." In *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism.* Edited by Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972.

Rowlandson, Mary. *Narrative of the Captivity, Sufferings, and Removes of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.* Boston: Nathaniel Coverly; reprint, 1770.

Rush, Benjamin. "Inquiry into the Natural History of the Medicine among the Indians of North America, and a Comparative View of Their Diseases and Remedies with Those of Civilized Nations." In *Medical Inquiries and Observations.* 1789. New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Rowena McClinton

American Indian Policy, 1787–1830

The new American nation developed an Indian policy based on the premise that peace must be maintained. National leaders considered war too expensive, and they feared that harsh treatment of the Indians would blacken the nation's honor and reputation. By conciliation of the Indians through negotiation, liberal gifts and presents to the chiefs, guarantees of protection against white encroachment, and well-developed trade to provide for Indian wants, federal officials envisioned peace and prosperity for both the new Republic and the Indian tribes on the frontiers.

Peace, however, was an elusive goal, for white citizens on the frontier were avaricious for land; they had little respect for Indians and their culture, and it was difficult for the government to restrain them. Time and again, serious wars interrupted the peace, which nevertheless remained a constant goal. To meet the challenge of preserving peace while at the same time satisfying the demands of white citizens, the government, in the ethnocentric climate of the times, hoped that the Indians would ultimately accept the cultural patterns of the whites and thus be assimilated into mainstream American society. The Indian problem would disappear if the Indians disappeared, not by extermination but by amalgamation.

THE PLAN OF CIVILIZATION

The theoretical basis for this hope for assimilation was supplied by George Washington, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and Thomas Jefferson. These officials were men of the Enlightenment, and their views were widely shared. They saw the Indians as brothers moving inexorably from barbarism to civilization, and they were determined to encourage and support the journey. The main embodiment of the principle was a plan of civilization, begun in Washington's administration and carried on by Jefferson and his successors. Its outline was simple: give the

INDIAN PEACE MEDALS

An important element in federal Indian policy was the distribution of silver medals to Indian chiefs and warriors as a sign of friendship and allegiance. The United States inherited the practice from the British, French, and Spanish; and Indian chiefs expected to get such medals from their new Great Father.

During Washington's administration, officials presented large oval medals, individually engraved. Some small medals with scenes of civilized life were struck in England at Washington's direction to reward Indians for their acceptance of white ways. Then the government settled on a new form for the medals. Beginning with the Jefferson presidency, the U.S. Mint struck large round medals bearing on the obverse the bust of the president and on the reverse, amid clasped hands and crossed peacepipe and hatchet, a message proclaiming PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP.

Lewis and Clark presented such medals to Indian chiefs, and the medals were used widely by Indian agents and other American officials. They came at first in three sizes, in order to differentiate chiefs of varying importance. The medals were produced for succeeding administrations (except that of William Henry Harrison) until 1890. All those before 1850 used the peace and friendship reverse; later medals had reverses designed to promote culture change among the Indians.

As Thomas L. McKenney, head of the Indian Office, wrote to Secretary of War John H. Eaton on 21 December 1829: "Without medals, any plan of operations among the Indians, be it what it may, is essentially enfeebled. This comes of the high value which the Indians set upon these tokens of Friendship. They are, besides this indication of the Government Friendship, badges of power to them, and trophies of renown. They will not consent to part from this ancient *right*, as they esteem it; and according to the value they set upon medals is the importance to the Government in having them to bestow."

The medals are now of interest chiefly to museums and private collectors, who pay high prices for them. In the early Republic they were essential for successful dealings with the Indians.

Francis Paul Prucha

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Prucha, Francis Paul. *Indian Peace Medals in American History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000.

Indians cattle and sheep as private property; supply plows and other agricultural tools (with blacksmiths to keep them in shape); and provide cards, spinning wheels, and looms. Thus would the men be able to support their families by agriculture while the women practiced the arts of domestic manufacture. Once the Indians had adopted these methods of sustenance, they would make their hunting grounds available for white settlers because extensive territories would no longer be necessary for food and clothing. The government sent agents to work among the tribes with instructions to carry out this plan as their primary duty.

Indian policy, of course, did not develop in a vacuum, but was influenced by the circumstances of the day. The federal policy grew little by little to meet the exigencies of the times. One problem was land. The United States acknowledged the Indians' ownership of their lands, but it limited that right to occupation and use, without admitting a fee simple title, which would have allowed the Indians to dispose of their land at will. The federal government paid for lands that the Indians ceded rather than claiming them by right of conquest. And it insisted that the Indians could cede or sell land only to the government, which carefully guarded this right of preemption.

Another problem was trade, a primary contact point of the two races in much of the early national period. Goods had long been exchanged between the Indians and the whites, the former supplying furs and peltries, the latter supplying knives, kettles, guns, and other manufactured goods that had become necessities in Indian lives. Unless fraud and corruption could be eliminated from the trade, peace with the tribes was unlikely, and the plan of civilization could not be carried out.

TREATIES

The concerns that developed over the decades were met in the first instance by formal treaties between the federal government and the Indian nations. By 1789, when the new government under the Constitution began, nine treaties had already been signed

tribes; Congress appropriated money for gifts and annuities given in exchange for lands; and the signed treaties were sent to the president to be forwarded to the Senate for its approval or ratification, as the Constitution directed. Between 1787 and 1830, 142 treaties of peace and land cession were ratified. By 1830, except for the still-reserved lands of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole) and some lands in Michigan and Wisconsin, nearly all the territory east of the Mississippi had been freed of Indian title.

The treaties, of course, provided much more than peace and land cessions. They regulated trade, promoted civilization, made rules for the detention of hostages and for exchange of prisoners, established procedures for dealing with crimes in the Indian country so that Indians could be deterred from private retaliation, specified the boundaries between white settlements and the Indians, provided annuities and other payment for ceded lands, required passports for entering the Indian country, promised protection by the United States (which the Indians agreed to accept), obtained rights of way for passage through the Indian country, supported education among the tribes, and limited state jurisdiction over Indians. All this supported peace, defined political relations between the United States and the tribes, and promoted the plan of civilization.

TRADE AND INTERCOURSE ACTS

The treaties alone did not maintain the peace between the Indians and the white settlers, who invaded the Indian country and boldly squatted on lands that were protected by treaties. So, beginning on 22 July 1790, Congress, at Washington's bidding, passed a series of laws "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers." These Trade and Intercourse Acts were the key legislation for governing the relations between the whites and the Indians—mainly by establishing norms and sanctions to control the white citizens.

The first law was simple: it regulated traders by means of a licensing system, prohibited the purchase of Indian lands by any means other than federal treaties, and provided punishment for crimes against the Indians. Then, as conditions got worse, the legislation was expanded in 1793, 1796, and 1799, and a more comprehensive and permanent law was enacted on 30 March 1802. That law renewed trade regulations, described the boundary line marking the Indian country, specifically forbade invasion of the Indian lands by whites to settle or drive cattle, required passports for entry into the Indian country,

Jefferson Peace Medal. This silver medal, designed by John Reich, was struck by the U.S. Mint in 1801 in several different sizes. Lewis and Clark carried a supply of Jefferson peace medals on their expedition west from 1804 to 1806. The medals were presented to Indian leaders they met along the way. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

with the New York Indians and the southern nations. The Constitution authorized the federal government to regulate commerce with Indian tribes as well as among states and with foreign nations, but it did not specifically mention treaties with Indians. President Washington, however, decided that the forms used in treating with Indians be the same as those used with foreign nations. The use of treaties persisted, despite a somewhat shaky constitutional base. Commissioners were appointed to deal with the

prescribed punishment for crimes, attempted to eliminate horse stealing, authorized action "to promote civilization among the friendly Indian tribes," and appointed agents for that purpose.

Because failures of enforcement continued, the laws authorized the use of military force to restrain the white violators, and they strengthened the sanctions against the introduction of whiskey into the Indian country. An amendment of 29 April 1816, aimed at British traders from Canada, prohibited foreigners from engaging in the Indian trade, and a law of 25 May 1824 required private traders to carry on trade with the Indians only at specified sites. Congress finally collected this piecemeal legislation and codified it in the Trade and Intercourse Act of 10 June 1834, which endured for the rest of the century.

THE FACTORY SYSTEM

To ease if not eliminate problems in the Indian trade caused by profit-seeking white traders, many of whom were persons of low character, Congress, pushed by Washington, passed a second series of laws. This legislation, beginning on 18 April 1796, established government trading houses (called factories), which sought to eliminate unscrupulous traders by setting up trading posts owned and operated by the federal government. The intention was to treat the Indians fairly, restrain the use of liquor in the trade, and drive private traders out of the business by underselling them.

On 21 April 1806 Congress established an Office of Indian Trade with a superintendent of Indian trade to run the business. It was a noble experiment; the system grew from two factories among the Creeks and the Cherokees at the end of the eighteenth century to a nationwide system that eventually numbered twenty-two houses.

The factories were also a civilizing force. Thomas L. McKenney, superintendent of Indian trade from 1816 to 1822, was especially eager to encourage the Indians to accept white ways, and he turned his office into a center for promoting schools and missions among the tribes. Largely at his urging, Congress on 3 March 1819 established an Indian Civilization Fund by appropriating $10,000 annually to "instruct [the Indians] in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic." McKenney distributed the money to missionary societies, who added their own funds for Indian education.

Although the War of 1812 interrupted the work of the factories, the system survived and expanded. Then it was crushed by powerful private fur-trading interests, led by John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company. Influenced by these men, Congress on 6 May 1822 closed all the factories and turned the trade back to the private traders, although new legislation of the same date tightened the regulations. The government trading houses had fallen victim to the spirit of free enterprise.

THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT

The complexity of Indian policy after 1800 necessitated a growing bureaucracy to implement it, a corps of men collectively known as the Indian Department. At the top was the secretary of war, whose office was charged with the management of Indian affairs. To assist him in the field were superintendents of Indian affairs monitoring large areas in the West, whose office was often joined to that of territorial governor. Reporting to the superintendents were Indian agents and subagents, who were assigned to specific tribes or groups of tribes and who lived with the Indians. These men enforced the intercourse laws, negotiated treaties, and were ambassadors of the federal government to the Indians. They protected peaceful Indians as well as identified hostile ones. They knew the Indians, understood their needs, and were in general respected by the tribesmen.

The system of agents in the early years, however, was haphazard. Not until 1818 did Congress provide funds specifically for agents, and only on 30 June 1834 did a new law finally establish a well-organized Indian department.

Some semblance of an Indian office within the War Department was provided by McKenney while he was superintendent of Indian affairs. Then, on 11 March 1824, soon after the factory system collapsed, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, without specific congressional authorization, established in his department a Bureau of Indian Affairs. McKenney headed the bureau from 1824 to 1830. Correspondence with superintendents and agents passed through his office. He handled the payment of annuities and the distribution of the civilization fund, examined claims arising under the trade and intercourse acts, and took care of financial matters pertaining to Indian affairs. Not until 9 July 1832 did Congress create a commissioner of Indian affairs.

The agents in the field cooperated with the trading houses, which were often located near the agencies. They were in close contact also with the commanders of the army troops stationed at crucial spots along the frontiers. Although the military men were directed not to interfere with Indian policy decisions of the agents, and the agents did not command

the troops, in many cases the lines of responsibility were not clearly drawn. Frequent controversies arose between the two sets of officers, even though both reported to the secretary of war.

INDIAN REMOVAL

The plan of civilization did not work as rapidly as its promoters had envisioned—and certainly not as quickly as the expanding white population demanded. Even those Indians who had accepted white ways were not likely to be accepted enthusiastically in white society. Many observers feared that Indians along the southern, northern, and western borders of the new nation might aid foreign nations in schemes against the United States.

A new and radically different policy for preserving and civilizing the Indians gained acceptance little by little. It called for the exchange of lands in the East for lands in the West and the removal of eastern tribes to areas west of the Mississippi, a policy made feasible by the Louisiana Purchase of 30 April 1803. A small exchange of lands was accomplished with the Cherokees in 1817. Then President James Monroe took up the idea aggressively. In a special message to Congress on 27 January 1825, he advanced his arguments in favor of removal, including the establishment of a government in the West for the Indians.

Meanwhile Georgia continued to pursue its intention to free the state completely of Indians. It did not acknowledge the Cherokees' claims to sovereignty and began to extend state authority over the Indian lands within its boundaries.

The issue of the removal of the Cherokees (and of other tribes as well) took on new force when Andrew Jackson became president in 1829. He denied that the Indians were sovereign and independent nations and that they could claim "tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase." Either they must become subject to the state or move to the West, where no state or territorial claims existed. There, under the guidance and protection of the federal government and freed from contact with the worst sort of frontiersmen, the Indians could continue their advance toward civilization.

Following Jackson's first message to Congress (8 December 1829), in which he outlined his policy, removal bills were introduced. Bitter debate occurred in Congress and in the public press between those who accepted Jackson's proposal and religious-minded persons who feared that God would punish the na-

tion if it did not live up to its treaty obligations. The Jackson party won when Congress enacted a Removal Act on 28 May 1830, which authorized the president to exchange lands west of the Mississippi for Indian lands east of the river and provided funds for the removal. Under that stimulus, despite Supreme Court decisions (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, [1831] and *Worcester v. Georgia* [1832]) that supported the Indians' claims, the Cherokees and other southern tribes were forced to sign removal treaties. In the North removal continued piece by piece in numerous treaties that did not furnish the high drama of southern removal.

Federal officials in these early years had mixed motives. They heard the cries of the whites for Indian lands and acquired those lands through treaty after treaty. But at the same time they wanted to act humanely toward the Indians and to ease as much as possible the trauma of displacement. How well they succeeded has been a contested question among historians. Some see the government responding honestly to nearly insoluble problems; others charge Jefferson and similar leaders with hypocrisy and deceit in offering help to the Indians in their public pronouncements but robbing them of their lands and culture by their actual deeds.

See also **Land Policies.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Horsman, Reginald. *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1782–1812.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790–1834.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962.

———. *American Indian Treaties: The History of a Political Anomaly.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Prucha, Francis Paul, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy.* 3rd ed., documents 1–50. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Viola, Herman J. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy, 1816–1830.* Chicago: Sage Books, 1974.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Francis Paul Prucha

American Indian Relations, 1763–1815

Indian affairs between the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 and the end of the Napoleonic Wars in

1815 were marked by a stark contradiction. On the one hand, policymakers in London and Philadelphia wrote stirring defenses of Indian rights, especially the right of American Indians to keep possession of their lands in North America. Basic ideas about sovereignty and Indian rights were worked out during this period. On the other hand, the half century between the two grand wars was also the time when the loss of native lands far outstripped the total area of all the lands lost in the 150 years prior to 1763. From a relatively narrow coastal strip of thirteen colonies in 1754 hemmed in on three sides—by the French to the north, the Appalachians to the west, and the Spanish to the south—the English-speaking settlements burst out of their confinement and within four decades claimed sovereignty over North America to the Rocky Mountains. After 1763, American Indian tribes resorted to armed defense of their landholdings in a series of wars during and after the American War of Independence (1775–1783). They suffered serious defeats in the 1780s and 1790s, followed by crushing defeats to Indian nations in the Lower Mississippi Valley, the Ohio Valley, and the central Great Lakes region during the War of 1812 (1812–1815). After every defeat of Indian arms by the United States, and sometimes in between, the United States sought and gained major land cessions from the American Indian nations.

THE PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763

Having defeated the French in the French and Indian War (1754–1760)—the North American phase of the Seven Years' War—the British in 1760 arrogantly assumed that they had a monopoly of power and trade over the Indians of North America and therefore could command without negotiating. Pontiac's uprising in 1763, however, disabused the English of that notion. Instead, the British had to reinvent their king, George III, as the Great Father of all the peoples in his North American dominions. But just thirteen years after Pontiac's War, his own English subjects in the colonies revolted rather than continue to submit to his rule. In this regard, a student of history could consider Pontiac's uprising against George III as the first American Revolution and the uprising of 1776 as the second.

King George's royal proclamation of a settlement line in North America in October 1763—known as the Proclamation of 1763—is an important, if neglected, document in American history. The king of Great Britain said that his subjects all had their own homelands. His British subjects in North America had their homes in the thirteen colonies on lands east

"Horrible and Unparalleled Massacre!" Proponents of removal exploited the fears and racist inclinations of many frontier southerners and westerners who indicated that they would never afford Indians equal status. This illustration from around 1800 accompanied an editorial describing "merciless Savages . . . fatally engaged in the work of death on the frontiers." © CORBIS.

of the Appalachian Mountains; his French-speaking subjects had their homeland in the St. Lawrence Valley downstream from the Great Lakes; and his Indian subjects had their homelands in the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. In other words, King George divided up his North American sovereign claims into three ethnically based enclaves. In effect, the Proclamation of 1763 introduced the idea of a geographical place called "Indian Country," an im-

portant term in law not to be confused with the depiction in Hollywood western movies of Indian Country as outlaw or bandit lands. Indian Country was the king's designation of lands within Britain's sovereign North American claims where Indian occupancy of the land was not to be "molested or disturbed" by non-Indians. The king explicitly "reserved" Indian hunting lands for the use of Indians. The king demanded that his Indian children regard him as their Great Father, but he also promised them that they would be protected in their lands against trespassers, invaders, settlers, rum dealers, and other interlopers.

Since 1763, the term "Indian Country" has continued to mean the lands that Indian tribes occupy and hold without disturbance or trespassing from outsiders. The king's settlement line proclamation anticipated that the British could acquire lands from Indian Country but only by an agreement directly between a tribe and the king or his representative, most likely a royal governor. King George III said that this type of agreement shall be held at a "Meeting or Assembly," that is, at a treaty negotiation. The king's representative would approach a tribe. A meeting would be held. A mutual agreement would be reached. The Indians would sell their land directly to the king for whatever they could negotiate. After the king took title to his new lands, he could presumably sell those lands to his English "loving subjects," give them away, or keep them as a royal game park. But the Proclamation of 1763 made it illegal for individual Englishmen to buy lands directly from Indian Country.

Land cessions and resistance. Unfortunately for the American Indians living in an area that became part of Kentucky, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Virginia, many of the king's British subjects had moved west of the settlement line. Rather than try to expel the trespassers from Indian Country, the king's main representative for Indian affairs in North America, Sir William Johnson, worked for four years to obtain a treaty cession from the Indian tribes that would redraw the line between Indian Country and the king's thirteen English-speaking colonies. In the Treaty of Fort Stanwix of 1768, the Iroquois Confederacy negotiated a major land cession. They sold land that ran from the Upper Delaware Valley southwest through the Susquehanna, Ohio, and Wabash Valleys and then looped back up the Cumberland River Valley to the Cumberland Pass of the Appalachian Mountains. This cession confirmed the existing fact on the ground of a widespread European American population movement to the west of the Appalachian

Mountains. More significantly for the future, the Fort Stanwix land cession assumed the shape of a sword thrust deep into the center of Indian Country in the Ohio Valley that had the effect of separating the American Indian populations into northwest and southwest nations. To the northwest of the land cession, the Indian tribes held a line on the Ohio River containing the lands north and west of that river to the Great Lakes and to Upper Spanish Louisiana. To the southwest of the land cession, the Indian tribes held a line on the Cumberland River containing the lands south and west of that river to Spanish Florida and Lower Spanish Louisiana.

The Shawnee Indians did not accept the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, insisting that the Iroquois Indians who signed the treaty had no authority to cede to the crown the lands of the Shawnees in what would become Kentucky. In the years after 1768, Kentucky was the scene of bloody warfare between the Shawnees and English-speaking settlers. The Shawnees were eventually driven north out of Kentucky and across the Ohio River, but they fought into the 1790s to keep access to their old lands. Further south, in the Tennessee and Cumberland Valleys, the Cherokee Indians resisted English-speaking settlers crossing the mountains into Indian Country. Open warfare broke out between the Cherokees and the militias of Virginia and North Carolina in 1774. Many of the tribes that had fought the British crown in the Seven Years' War now sided with King George III in his war to suppress the rebellion in the thirteen colonies. Some Indian nations, such as the Mohicans and the Oneidas in the North and the Catawbas in the South, supported the American side in the Revolutionary War, but many more supported the crown.

THE REVOLUTION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The American Revolution did not erase the concept of an Indian Country with limited sovereignty within a larger sovereign power. Instead, the American Congress simply replaced the crown as that overall sovereign. The Proclamation of 1763 continued to be the basic model for American federal Indian policy. The United States forbade trespassers in Indian Country. It also enacted legislation to regulate trade there. And only the United States, through a treaty, could purchase land from a tribe. The first plan of government for the new United States was the Articles of Confederation, written in 1777 but not ratified until 1781. The Articles perpetuated the basic idea of the Proclamation of 1763, stating that "the United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . regulating the trade

and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States." In other words, only Congress, as the sovereign power of the United States upon independence from the crown, had the authority to deal with Indians who were in Indian Country, but not Indians residing in the states. The shift here was subtle but important. Congress would deal with Native Americans in the areas northwest and southwest of the line of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, and the separate states would have free rein to deal with Indians within their boundaries.

Revolution and Confederation. At the same time that the United States fought Great Britain for its independence, the new nation entered into active diplomacy with Indian nations. Most notably, the United States in 1778 signed a treaty with the Delaware Indians residing in the lands northwest of the Fort Stanwix line giving U.S. forces passage through Delaware lands to attack British posts in Indian Country. The United States promised material aid to the Delaware Indians, recognition of the Delawares' right to their Ohio Valley lands, and most intriguing, the possibility that at some future date, the Delaware Nation could lead an intertribal confederacy and join the United States as a state. Subsequent warfare between U.S. and Delaware forces made that promise a dead letter, but it was significant that the Congress was willing to contemplate a future federation with an intertribal group. The triumph in 1781 of U.S. forces fighting the British in the South caused the latter to seek a negotiated end to the War of American Independence. Negotiations lasted into 1783, with the U.S. diplomats rejecting any acknowledgment of special rights for the crown's former Indian subjects in the lands that the king acknowledged as the United States.

After independence the Congress, operating under the Articles of Confederation, further spelled out its Indian policy in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. Besides creating a system of government for the trans-Ohio region, the document set out a new Indian policy: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress."

The Constitution. The same year as Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, a different gathering of delegates met in Philadelphia to devise a new constitution. The document approved at the Constitutional Convention contained none of the lofty sentiments found in the Proclamation of 1763, the Articles of Confederation, and the Northwest Ordinance. Instead, the Constitution had only one direct and one oblique reference to the conduct of Indian affairs. The direct reference stated that Congress shall have the power to regulate trade with the Indian tribes. The indirect reference acknowledged that "Indians not taxed" were outside the American polity and presumably kept their own limited sovereignty within U.S. borders. The Constitution contemplated a continued relationship with American Indian tribes via negotiated and ratified treaties, like the half dozen concluded by the Articles of Confederation government in the 1780s to end wartime hostilities and gain land cessions from northwestern and southwestern tribes. Indeed, after the ratification of the Constitution and continuing until 1871, the United States negotiated and ratified more than three hundred treaties with Indian tribes. By the terms of the Constitution, these treaties were the "supreme law of the land" and continue in the twenty-first century as fundamental elements of American law.

DEFEAT OF INDIAN NATIONS

Beginning in the early 1790s, the United States engaged in a series of wars against the Indian nations of the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest. The goals of most of the military campaigns were to establish U.S. power and secure Indian recognition of a superior U.S. sovereignty over the lands in the Ohio and Tennessee Valleys, but each campaign in which the United States emerged victorious was accompanied by a treaty demand upon the Indian tribes to cede and relinquish more lands. In the cases where Indian arms prevailed over the U.S. military forces, the Americans regrouped and came back with greater force to prevail and impose their will. The three most significant examples of the ongoing warfare between the United States and the Indian tribes within U.S. borders as recognized under the Treaty of Paris (1783) were the Ohio campaigns of the 1790s, the Indiana campaigns of 1811–1813, and the Alabama campaigns of 1813–1814.

Battles of the 1790s. U.S. policy toward the lands northwest of the Ohio River in the mid–1780s ran ahead of U.S.-Indian diplomacy. On the one hand, the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 contemplated American settlement of the trans-Ohio region, and soon enough, settlers established communities at Marietta, Gallipolis, and Cincinnati. On the other, the United States had not yet made treaties with the Shawnees and Delawares ceding the lands on the north bank of the Ohio River and upstream on the big tributaries of the Ohio, such

as the Muskingum, the Scioto, and the Miami. To solidify its claim, the U.S. Army built forts at key points in the interior of Ohio and the American soldiers there prepared for war. The Americans pursued a strategy of destroying Indian villages in 1790 and 1791 on the Upper Maumee River in what became northwestern Ohio and on the Upper Wabash River in latter-day Indiana. U.S. forces overreached, however, in the fall of 1791, and more than one thousand soldiers were cornered in western Ohio, where they were decimated by an intertribal Indian force of Miami, Shawnee, and Delaware Indians during the battles of Harmar's Defeat (1790) and St. Clair's Defeat (1791). The complete destruction of General Arthur St. Clair's army seemed to presage a rollback of American power south all the way to the Ohio River, the line established in 1768 by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix that the Indians insisted was the true border between U.S. lands and Indian Country. In 1794 the U.S. government in Philadelphia decided to send another military expedition to reverse the St. Clair defeat. This force, led by General Anthony Wayne, engaged in a campaign to destroy the intertribal villages in the Maumee and Upper Wabash Valleys. At the Battle of Fallen Timbers (1794), fought upstream from where Toledo would later stand, the U.S. forces defeated the Indian soldiers. General Wayne then compelled the Indian leaders to sign the Treaty of Greenville in the summer of 1795. It established a new boundary line between the U.S. settlements in the southern half of Ohio and the now-reduced Indian Country to the north. Many of the Indian people who had lived in Ohio moved west to the Lower Wabash Valley of Indiana, north among the Ottawa and Potawatomi people in the lower peninsula of Michigan, or northeast into British North America among the intertribal groups on the north shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario.

Indian revitalization. In the years after the Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers, some remarkable intertribal movements for religious and political reform began. Some tribes embraced Protestant Christianity, notably the Mohicans, or Stockbridge Indians, whose leaders attempted to form new intertribal arrangements. Other religious leaders among the Indian nations rejected Christian missionaries and their teachings. Starting among the Seneca Indians of New York, Indian religious leaders preached a variety of messages emphasizing the importance of returning to old beliefs in order to reverse the imbalance of power with the Americans. The most inspiring of the new leaders were Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee prophet, and his brother Tecumseh a Shawnee warrior, who

built an intertribal community at Prophetstown on the Lower Wabash River in what became Indiana. The Shawnee leaders preached a message of intertribal resistance to the Americans and their ways, and in the years between 1805 and 1811, their views reached thousands of Indians from the Gulf of Mexico to Lake Winnipeg. In the year 1811, territorial militia under Major General William Henry Harrison attacked the intertribal settlement and ignited a general war with the Indians of the Northwest that soon became part of an international war with Great Britain.

War of 1812. While mainly remembered for the British burning of the American capital at Washington and for the victory of the Kentucky and Tennessee militiamen against British regulars at New Orleans, the War of 1812 in the Old Northwest and Old Southwest was fought mainly between American regulars and militia on one side and Indian nations with some British militia on the other. Two leaders on the American side emerged as effective generals against Indian forces: Major General Harrison in the Northwest and Major General Andrew Jackson in the Southwest. Under Harrison, American forces defeated Indian soldiers on the Lower Wabash. After an initial loss of the garrison at Detroit, American forces regrouped and took the war into the Indian villages of British North America between Detroit and Niagara. This campaign culminated in the decisive Battle of the Thames in 1813, in which the Americans routed a combined Indian and British force and killed Tecumseh. The power of the intertribal forces under Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa to resist American power in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan was broken forever.

The religious message of cultural revitalization and reform had perhaps its deepest resonance in the Southwest among the Muskogee (Creek) Indians of Alabama and Georgia. The villages of the Muskogee Nation divided in the year 1812 into two camps, one group supportive of revitalization and of opposition to the American settlers in the Old Southwest, and the other willing to coexist with the Americans. The insurgent group of Red Stick Muskogees began a civil war within the Muskogee Nation and soon enough militiamen from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama joined to make the intratribal fight a battle between nations. Led by General Jackson, the forces of the Tennessee militia in 1814 finally cornered and slaughtered the Muskogee soldiers at the Muskogee settlement of Tohopeka in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. After the fighting ended, Jackson imposed a draconian peace on the entire Muskogee Nation that included the cession of fourteen million acres of land

in Alabama, including fertile parts of the future Cotton Belt. In the next few years, Jackson imposed similar terms on the other Indian nations of the Old Southwest, thereby opening the way for the dramatic expansion of slave-based plantation agriculture in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. The allied, if fragmented, opposition of the intertribal groups inspired by the Shawnee prophet had one final chance to halt the spread of American settlement and power in the years from 1811 and 1814, and soon after their defeat, the United States turned to a policy of Indian removal from the Old Northwest and the Old Southwest into the lands of the new Louisiana Purchase (1803).

See also **Creek War; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Revolution: Military History; Thames, Battle of the; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Frederika J. Teute, eds. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Deloria, Vine, Jr., and David E. Wilkins. *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999.

Edmunds, R. David. *Tecumseh and the Quest for Indian Leadership.* Boston: Little Brown, 1984.

Frazier, Patrick. *The Mohicans of Stockbridge.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Merrell, James. *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Oberly, James W. *A Nation of Statesmen: The Political Culture of the Stockbridge-Munsee Mohicans, 1815–1972.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005.

Payne, Samuel B., Jr. "The Iroquois League, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 53 (1996): 605–620.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking, 2001.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Tanner, Helen Hornbeck et al., eds. *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

James W. Oberly

American Indian Relations, 1815–1829

The history of United States–Native American relations between 1815 and 1829 was marked by an ascension of United States military superiority over the Native American nations. It was also marked by the continuation of the federal government's programs to acculturate Native Americans and bring order to the Native American trade, as well as by the emergence of an American plan to relocate the eastern tribes west of the Mississippi River.

GENERAL POLICIES IN 1815

Before 1815 the United States adopted policies intended to stabilize its frontiers and provide for the peaceful expansion of the nation. The government recognized the Native American tribes as sovereign nations possessing legitimate title to their land, paid for cessions acquired in diplomatic treaties, and prohibited white settlement on Native American lands without tribal permission. Congress also instituted a "civilization program" to prepare Native Americans for assimilation into the American population. The government included articles to encourage acculturation in its treaties with the tribes, appropriated money to supply Native Americans with farming tools and implements, and posted agents among the tribes to instruct individual Native Americans in their use. The federal government continued the civilization program with uneven success in the period from 1815 to 1829. Of particular note in this era was an act in 1819 in which Congress began appropriating funds for the education of Native American children. Rather than establishing secular schools, however, the government simply channeled the money to Protestant churches and missionary societies. By 1830 over fifty schools had been established in or around the Native American nations.

WAR OF 1812

The civilization program was not as successful in achieving assimilation as its exponents had hoped.

Most white Americans, particularly those on the frontier, refused to accept acculturated Native Americans into their midst on equal terms, and many Native Americans simply did not want to make the transformation required by the program. In some nations, nativist prophets like White Path (Cherokee) and Tenskwatawa (Shawnee) urged their followers to repudiate Anglo-American culture and goods (particularly alcohol) and drive American settlers out of Native American territory. Many Native American communities divided into factions that either accepted or rejected the civilization model.

During the War of 1812 the United States eliminated two major Native American uprisings spawned by nativist prophets. In the Old Northwest, American forces under William Henry Harrison destroyed a pan–Native American confederation of tribes led by Tenskwatawa and his brother, the warrior chief Tecumseh. In 1814 troops under Andrew Jackson annihilated a group of nativist "Red Stick" Creek warriors at Horseshoe Bend on the Tallapoosa River. Jackson forced the Creeks to cede some twenty-three million acres to the United States in a treaty at Fort Jackson. American victories over the northwestern confederation and the Red Sticks established U.S. military hegemony over the Native American nations in the East.

In the Treaty of Ghent (1814) that ended the War of 1812, the United States promised Great Britain that it would make peace with Britain's Native American allies and restore their former "possessions, rights, and privileges." Within months the United States had concluded numerous treaties with the tribes from the Old Northwest at Portage des Sioux (near St. Louis) and Spring Wells (near Detroit). Rather than returning Native American territory, however, the United States immediately set out to acquire more.

Jackson became a pivotal figure in the American acquisition of tribal territory. As a U.S. treaty commissioner (1814–1820) he used harsh, if not unscrupulous, means to acquire major cessions from the southeastern tribes. He also played a controversial role in the United States's acquisition of western Florida. In 1818 Jackson, suspecting that the Spanish were encouraging Seminole attacks on white settlements in southern Georgia, led an army into Florida, attacked the Seminoles, and captured and executed two British traders. Spain surrendered control of Florida to the United States in the Adams-Onís, or Transcontinental, Treaty of 1819 that resolved the conflict; the Seminoles subsequently ceded much of their territory in the Treaty of Gadsden (1823).

REGULATING THE NATIVE AMERICAN TRADE

Until 1849 (when the Interior Department assumed responsibility), Native American relations, including the regulation of the Native American trade, fell under the jurisdiction of the War Department. The trade had always been a source of income, and trouble, for the United States and its colonial predecessors. The government continued trying to reduce the unrest provoked by unprincipled merchants in the years from 1815 to 1829. Congress required traders to obtain licenses and post bonds and provided punishments for those found guilty of corrupt dealing. These measures supplemented the public factory system (which provided trade goods to Native Americans at cost) that the government had established in 1795 to compete with private traders. As superintendent of Native American trade (1816–1822), Thomas L. McKenney urged the government to continue the factory system and use it to promote civilization, Christianity, and fair dealings with Native Americans. The factory system expanded throughout most of the Native American country until 1822, when John Jacob Astor, owner of the American Fur Company, and other prominent private merchants persuaded Congress to abandon the government's competing posts. McKenney lost his job as superintendent of trade in the process, but in 1824 Secretary of War John C. Calhoun created the Bureau of Indian Affairs to manage nonmilitary Native American matters and appointed McKenney its first commissioner. In 1832 Congress codified Calhoun's restructuring of Native American affairs.

To intimidate the tribes and prevent them from reestablishing trade and military ties with Great Britain and Spain, the United States built several forts at key river locations on the northwestern and southwestern frontiers after the War of 1812. In 1816 Congress began refusing trading licenses to noncitizens and authorized the president to arrest foreign traders and seize their goods. The federal government also tried, with little success, to eliminate crime and disorder among frontier and Native American communities. The fact that a particular crime could involve Native Americans and whites under state, federal, or Native American territory jurisdiction complicated prosecution. Much of the crime was caused by the widespread availability of alcohol in Native American and American towns. In the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1822, Congress authorized government agents to seize a trader's inventory if it included alcohol. In 1832 Congress prohibited the sale of "ardent spirits" in Native American country. This proscription was no more successful than the national prohibition declared nearly a century later,

for the government agents lacked the resources to rein in the private suppliers.

NATIVE AMERICAN REMOVAL

After the War of 1812 Jackson and Calhoun urged President James Monroe to abandon the federal government's policy of recognizing the land title and political sovereignty of the tribes. The United States, they argued, should treat Native Americans as subjects of the state in which they lived. Jackson and state political leaders in Georgia began calling for the federal government to remove the Native American tribes from the southern states. In 1803 Thomas Jefferson had proposed the idea of relocating eastern Native Americans to the Louisiana Territory where, he asserted, they would have time to acculturate free from the trespasses of white settlers. Although a few thousand Cherokees responded to Jefferson's entreaties and moved west in the years from 1808 to 1810, the vast majority of Native Americans preferred to remain in their ancestral homelands.

Georgia's removal argument was buttressed by an agreement concluded during Jefferson's administration. In the Compact of 1802, the state had surrendered its territory between the Chattahoochee and Mississippi Rivers to the United States. In exchange, the federal government had promised to extinguish the Native American title in Georgia as soon as it could be "peaceably obtained, and on reasonable terms." Georgia used this agreement to force the federal government to consider extinguishing the territorial rights of the Creeks and Cherokees who lived within the state's borders. President Monroe responded that the federal government was not bound by the Compact of 1802, and that while he favored the idea of removing the tribes to the West, he would not force any nation to relocate involuntarily.

The motivations of removal proponents were primarily economic and racial. The emerging profitability of cotton agriculture created a tremendous demand for land in the southern "Black Belt," a fertile crescent that stretched from western Georgia across central Alabama and Mississippi. The cotton boom enticed thousands of white settlers into and around Native American lands in the Southeast. In 1810, for example, 40,000 Americans lived in the Mississippi Territory; by 1830 the population of Mississippi and Alabama, the states formed out of that territory, had increased to almost 450,000. The Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws were very quickly surrounded by white Americans who wanted their land, and as soon as Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (1819) were admitted into the Union, their political leaders began calling for Native American residents to leave their states.

Removal proponents also exploited the fears and racist inclinations of many frontier southerners and westerners who indicated that they would never afford Native Americans equal status, regardless of how civilized they became. The situation of the Cherokees offered a clear example of this irony. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Cherokees developed a market economy, adopted a republican government, and built schools and churches throughout their nation. They devised their own written language, known as Sequoyah's syllabary, and used it in the publication of their own newspaper. Despite this movement toward the Anglo-American standard of civilization by the Cherokees, and by the other southeastern tribes as well, most white southerners refused even to entertain the idea that they might assimilate Native Americans in the future.

Toward implementation. Between 1817 and 1826 the Cherokees (1817 and 1819), Choctaws (1820), and Creeks (1826) signed cession treaties that included removal articles. The agreements offered Native Americans living on ceded territory the choice of removing to land offered in the West or remaining in the East, taking individual allotments of land, and living as subjects of the state. The treaties promised that the United States would protect the removed Native Americans from attacks and white settlement in their new lands, allow them to maintain their political autonomy, and continue to provide them with material and personnel to prepare them for their eventual assimilation. Similar provisions were included in the general removal treaties signed by the Native American nations in the 1830s. Some of these agreements, including the Cherokee treaty of 1817 (which was negotiated by Jackson), were signed by dissident factions in the face of opposition by the formal tribal government. In order to prevent future illegal cessions, the Cherokee national council enacted legislation formally establishing the land of the nation as property of the people in common and prohibited, upon penalty of death, the sale of tribal territory without its approval.

John Quincy Adams, who succeeded Monroe, held to the position that the Native Americans would have to consent to any removal proposal. The resistance of the Cherokees, and Adams's refusal to force them to remove, infuriated the Georgia government. In 1827 George Troup, governor of the state, had become so frustrated by the federal government's inaction that he threatened to use the state militia to re-

move the Cherokees and Creeks and promised a war if the federal government interfered. The Creeks tired of Georgia's unrelenting pressure and signed away their remaining territory in Georgia. The state then turned its attention to the Cherokees, who adamantly refused to concede. On 26 July 1827, the Cherokees adopted a constitutional government and declared their nation an independent, sovereign republic. In subsequent months they called over and over again for the federal government to intervene in the dispute and restrain Georgia's belligerence.

In 1828 the U.S. voters elected Andrew Jackson as president, and the administration of the national government passed into the hands of a man who had been promoting removal for almost a decade. In his first annual message, Jackson warned that the Native American tribes could either remove or fall under the jurisdiction of the state in which they lived. He also called on Congress to enact legislation to remove the eastern tribes. Georgia was emboldened by Jackson's election and, within weeks of his victory, its legislature had annexed the Cherokees' lands in the state. In 1829 Georgia extended its jurisdiction over the Cherokees and purported to abolish their national council, court system, and laws. Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee soon followed Georgia's lead and claimed jurisdiction over the Native Americans in their states. The discovery of gold in the Cherokee Nation in 1829 only exacerbated the desire of whites to move onto Native American land; the Georgia legislature unilaterally seized the strike locations, prohibited Cherokees from approaching them, and established a paramilitary force to harass the Native Americans. Soon thereafter Georgia sent surveyors into the Cherokee Nation, divided its territory into parcels, and distributed them to white state residents by lottery.

In 1830 Jackson's allies in Congress responded to his request and introduced a removal bill. Despite the determined efforts of Jeremiah Evarts, the secretary of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, who led public opposition to the bill in New England, and Theodore Frelinghuysen of New Jersey, who fought the bill in the Senate, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 passed by slim majorities in both houses. The bill, which Jackson signed into law on 28 May 1830, authorized the president to mark off territory in the West for Native American resettlement and negotiate removal treaties with the Native American nations. The law also authorized the president to reimburse Native Americans for improvements surrendered upon removal and to pay the costs of relocation and resettlement.

Native American response. With the passage of the removal bill, the Native American nations had four choices: submit to state jurisdiction, remove, litigate, or fight. In the 1830s different nations chose different courses. The Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and many tribes in the North reluctantly agreed to remove. The Cherokees, led by their principal chief, John Ross, challenged Georgia's extension laws in federal court. In *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) the U.S. Supreme Court declared the Cherokees a sovereign nation and Georgia's extension laws unconstitutional. Jackson, however, did not enforce the decision against the state. The Cherokee national council continued to refuse to sign a removal treaty, but in 1835 a dissident group signed the infamous treaty of New Echota, which called for the surrender of all Cherokee lands in the East and the removal of the nation to a territory in the West. In 1838 federal troops entered the Cherokee Nation, rounded up some sixteen thousand Cherokees, and forced them to march to the Indian Territory that Congress had established west of the Mississippi River (in what became Oklahoma). Military resistance failed as well. The Seminoles, Sacs, and Foxes fought bitter wars against the U.S. Army before they surrendered and were forced to remove. Thousands died in the removal migrations, mostly from starvation, malnutrition, exposure, and heartbreak. The Cherokees, for example, who came to refer to the removal as the Trail of Tears, lost over a quarter of their population in the exile; deaths ascribable to the removal crisis may have approached ten thousand among the Creeks.

Although most of the removal controversy centered around the Cherokees and the other southern nations, the Indian Removal Act also resulted in the relocation of most of the tribes in the North, including the Cayugas, Delawares, Kaskaskias, Kickapoos, Menominees, Miamis, Ojibwas, Oneidas, Ottawas, Peorias, Piankashaws, Potawatomis, Senecas, Shawnees, Tuscaroras, and Winnebagos. In 1843 the War Department estimated that it had removed almost ninety thousand Native Americans from their homes.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Jackson, Andrew; Transcontinental Treaty; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Garrison, Tim Alan. *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002.

Green, Michael D. *The Politics of Indian Removal: Creek Government and Society in Crisis.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Kappler, Charles J., ed. and comp. *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties.* 5 vols. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904–1941.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and His Indian Wars.* New York: Viking Press, 2001.

Viola, Herman J. *Thomas L. McKenney: Architect of America's Early Indian Policy*, *1816-1830.* Chicago: Sage Books, 1974.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Washburn, Wilcomb E., comp. *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History.* 4 vols. New York: Random House, 1973.

Tim Alan Garrison

American Indian Religions

The eras of the American Revolution and early Republic were turbulent times in Indian country. Waves of English and American settlers encroached on Indian lands, epidemic diseases winnowed indigenous populations, and the pangs of dependency—including the increase of the rum trade—gnawed at communities. Religion provided succor for many American Indians during these tumultuous times. Many found new hope and strength in religious revitalization movements that swept the Ohio Valley and Southeast. Others entered, voluntarily or involuntarily, Christian communities and encountered Christian missionaries who promised new hope. The American Revolution profoundly affected the religious experiences of American Indians.

American Indian religions were holistic. Ceremonies and worship connected people, nature, and animals. The ceremonies also emphasized harmony and efficacy. Religious practices ensured that hunters found game, that corn, beans, and squash grew plentifully, and that the universe remained in balance. When game disappeared, crops failed, or the universe was out of kilter, it suggested that the ceremonies had failed, been improperly practiced, or ignored, or a combination of all three factors. When such calamities befell the entire community, American Indians refashioned older ceremonies or adopted new ones. Thus American Indian religions were malleable and could incorporate other elements without losing strength. Contact with Europeans affected American Indian religious practice in diverse ways. For instance, some scholars trace the rise of the kachina ceremonies to the dispersal of the Anasazis because of drought and warfare. Kachinas bring rain, plenti-

ful crops, and cooperation among villages. In a controversial stance, the scholar Calvin Martin argues that hunters in southern Canada blamed the spread of European epidemic diseases such as smallpox on the beaver and other animals and subsequently waged war on the animals. All across North and South America, the arrival of Europeans disrupted the native world. New diseases, slaving expeditions, and the introduction of new items (such as alcohol, trade goods, and weapons) forced Indians to adjust their religious lives.

RELIGIOUS REVITALIZATION IN INDIAN COUNTRY

The succession of religious revivals that began in the 1730s in the colonies coincided with a period of intense religious revitalization among American Indians in the Northeast and Southeast. Native prophets such as Neolin, Handsome Lake, and Tenskwatawa preached a message of Indian unity, renewal, and rejection of Euro–Americans. Their messages combined Old and New World religious beliefs and spoke to the issues—disease, excessive alcohol consumption, and war—that affected Indian communities.

These religious movements resulted from the changes in Indian country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Disease and Iroquoian warfare had reduced many native populations, and, in response, surviving Algonquians, Hurons, and Winnebagos formed multitribal villages in the Ohio Valley and along the Great Lakes. These multiethnic villages served as centers of diplomacy, trade, and religious activity throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Witnessing the deleterious effects of disease and trade dependency, shamans called for a rejection of Europeans and their trade goods. In 1737 a prophet told his followers that God told the animals to leave the Susquehanna Valley because Indians had traded furs for alcohol. In 1751 a Delaware woman informed followers that God had made three separate peoples—blacks, whites, and Indians—and that all should have different religions. These prophets, and others like them, outlined the forms of religious expression during this period. First, they preached Indian guilt. That is, Indians were to blame for their current problems (trade dependency, overhunting, and alcohol), but Indian actions (forgoing alcohol, ending trade with Europeans, and giving up European trade items) could correct these issues. Second, they preached a pan-Indian message. All Indians, regardless of tribe, faced similar problems because of English encroachment, such as the pressure on their hunting lands and trade dependency. These

messages of unity and anti–Europeanism became more salient after the 1750s.

The aftermath of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) fueled the shamans' fire. After the British forced France to withdraw from its North American colonies, British settlers on Indian land in the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes prompted conflict between Indian and white settlers on the frontier. France's absence also left most Indians with only one trading partner—the British. Prices soared, the quality of goods declined, and British traders used rum liberally in their exchanges with Indians. These events laid the groundwork for a wave of religious expression. Sometime after France abandoned its colonies in North America, Neolin, a member of the Delaware tribe who lived at Tuscarawas Town, in present-day Ohio, received a visitor. This visitor told Neolin that before the Europeans arrived the Indians' path to heaven had been unimpeded. Now, whites blocked the Indians' path and irrevocably led them to hell. Neolin then began teaching the message of the Master of Life to the Delaware and others. He warned his followers of the dangers of alcohol and advocated that his followers surrender European goods. Neolin also suggested that American Indians were inherently different from Europeans, and thus all Indians should unite to combat English expansion. Neolin's message was accompanied by the use of the "Black Drink." Indians brewed this concoction, drank it, and then vomited so as to expel English influences from their bodies. Neolin also preached a message of warfare, predicting that Indians and Europeans would soon engage in battle. Neolin's message was extremely popular in the Ohio Valley and by the end of 1761 had reached all the Delaware villages in the region. By 1763 Neolin had followers among the Potawatomis in Michigan and Indiana.

Among Neolin's most influential followers was Pontiac, a member of the Ottawas. Pontiac told his followers that the Master of Life disliked the English but liked the French. Thus Indians should attack the English, force them to leave North America, and wait for the return of the French father. The ensuing conflict, Pontiac's War (1763–1766), fused religious and military messages to unite Indians in the Great Lakes. Indians across the region heeded Neolin's and Pontiac's call and lay siege to English forts. Some of these assaults were successful, but Pontiac himself failed to take Fort Detroit, a defeat with symbolic importance. Moreover, the demands of the hunt prevented Pontiac and others from keeping an army in the field year round. The brutal warfare on both sides (including General Jeffrey Amherst's use of blankets that had covered smallpox patients) ended the rebellion but not the importance of pan-Indian religious movements.

Thirty years later, similar social and economic conditions spawned another revival. After the American Revolution, Iroquois prestige and power declined. Between 1763 and 1776, the Iroquois acted as middlemen between the British government and the Indian nations in the Ohio Valley. However, the American ascension after the American Revolution stripped the Iroquois of influence and wealth. The Iroquois ceded large chunks of land to the United States (some of which actually belonged to Ohio Valley Indians) and lost their ability to act as political intermediaries and support their own economies. Subsequently, alcohol consumption in Iroquois country soared. In 1799 Handsome Lake, of the Senecas, lying on what seemed to be his deathbed, received a series of visions in which the Creator instructed him on how to revitalize Iroquoian communities. Handsome Lake's religious message fused American policy and religion with Iroquoian beliefs. First, he admonished the Iroquois to live at peace with the United States and each other. However, Handsome Lake protested any future Iroquoian land cessions to the United States. Second, he supported the United States' efforts to teach the Iroquois Euro–American modes of farming and education. Third, he denounced alcohol and sale of Iroquois land. Finally, Handsome Lake preached the return to older thanksgiving festivals. Handsome Lake spread this message throughout the Iroquois nation for the next fifteen years before passing away in an Onondaga town. This religion continues to have adherents among contemporary Iroquois.

Similar economic conditions plagued Ohio Valley Indians. After the American Revolution, Shawnees, Miamis, and other Indians reacted against American settlers on their homelands. Little Turtle (Miami) and Blue Jacket (Shawnee) resisted the United States, but Anthony Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers (21 August 1794) and the subsequent Treaty of Greenville (1795) forced them to surrender most of modern-day Ohio and Indiana. By 1800 Ohio Valley Indians found themselves deprived of lands on which to hunt and dependent on American traders for much of their livelihoods.

In the early nineteenth century, two members of the Shawnee tribe, the half-brothers Tecumseh (1768–1813) and Lelawithika (1768–1834), played a significant role in Indian relations with Americans. Chief Tecumseh attempted to rally Ohio Valley and Southeastern Indians to create a unified army to pre-

vent United States expansion. Joining the British side in the War of 1812, he helped them capture Detroit. Behind this military effort to block U.S. encroachment was the religious influence of Lelawithika. In 1805 Lelawithika had a vision in which he visited with the Master of Life, who told Lelawithika to return to earth and preach his message. Lelawithika changed his name to Tenskwatawa, meaning "open door," and told his followers to throw off European trade items (especially alcohol) and return to older ceremonial practices. Tenskwatawa helped Tecumseh advocate for Indian confederacy, and his message spread to the Shawnees, Ottawas, and Wyandots. In 1808 Tenskwatawa, known among his followers as the Prophet, established Prophetstown, a settlement in modern-day Indiana, to accommodate them.

In 1811 William Henry Harrison, governor of the Northwest Territories, marched on Prophetstown. Before Tecumseh left for the Southeast, he warned his brother not to engage Harrison's troops, but Tenskwatawa ignored his brother's advice. In Tecumseh's absence, Harrison's force defeated Tenskwatawa's at Tippecanoe in 1811, and Tenskwatawa abandoned Prophetstown. He was discredited in the eyes of his followers and never regained prestige. Tecumseh's efforts for a pan-Indian alliance also failed. The Southeastern Indians (Choctaws and Creeks) rejected Tecumseh's call for unity, and he returned to burned-down Prophetstown. Tenskwatawa fled with other Shawnees to the west, and Tecumseh was killed by Harrison's forces in 1813.

During this time, a movement influenced by Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh emerged among the Muscogees in the Southeast. Muscogee shamans called for a rejection of Euro-American trappings, including livestock and alcohol, and a renewal of older ceremonies, such as the Black Drink Ritual and the Green Corn Ceremony. In 1810 some shamans went north and visited Tenskwatawa. However, the efforts of the Muscogee shamans fractured Muscogee society. Some chose to follow American policy and adopted farming and Christianity. Others, known as the Red Sticks for the ceremonial red sticks they carried with them into battle, remained hostile to this way of life. The Red Sticks resisted until 1813–1814, when Andrew Jackson delivered a crushing defeat at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (27 March 1814). The surviving Red Sticks retreated to the Everglades of Florida and teamed with Seminoles to provide resistance to Jackson and Indian Removal in the 1830s.

INDIANS IN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES

During the period of pan-Indian revitalization movements, other Indians lived in Christian communities throughout North America. Some Indians came to the communities voluntarily; others were forced. In the Northeast, Christian missionaries established communities for American Indians. For instance, Moravian missionaries created small communities for their Indian converts. Yet this placed many American Indians in harm's way. In 1763 in Pennsylvania, residents of Paxton descended on Conestoga, the home of Christian Susquehannocks who had moved to the town and lived under the protection of the colonial government. With passions and fears inflamed by Pontiac's Rebellion, the so-called Paxton boys attacked and killed six Susquehannocks. The Christian Indians then fled to nearby Lancaster, but the mob followed them there, broke into the warehouse where the Susquehannocks were hiding, and butchered them. Indians who adopted Christianity were not immune to the violence of Indian-hating colonists.

A different story emerged in the Spanish territory of California. Spanish officials, fearing British and Russian incursions from the Pacific Northwest, began establishing a series of Franciscan missions in California. Father Junípero Serra established the first mission in modern-day San Diego in 1769, and by 1834 the string of missions reached Solano, just north of San Francisco. The missions were the focal point of Spain's efforts to defend its northern frontier, which also included *presidios* (military bases) and *pueblos* (civilian communities).

At the missions, Franciscans sought to transform native ways of life. Soon, Indians replaced wild foods gleaned from hunting, fishing, and gathering with domesticated plants and animals, especially corn and beef. Indians began living in Spanish-style houses and dressing in Spanish-style clothing. Franciscan priests also sought to transform Indian social relations. They required unmarried men and women to live in separate dormitories (often in filthy conditions). They also squelched behaviors that conflicted with Christian morality. At one mission, priests and soldiers discovered a *berdache*—a man who dressed like a woman—and made him sweep and work in the plaza in the nude. After this punishment, the *berdache* fled into the interior of California.

Religious instruction was an important part of the mission environment, as was religious conversion. Spanish officials gathered Indians in the immediate area of the mission and sometimes sent military expeditions inland to gather potential converts. Fran-

ciscans oriented all aspects of daily life in the mission toward conversion, such as signaling work and prayer times by ringing bells and performing baptisms. Some Franciscans wanted Indians to learn the tenets of Catholicism before baptism, whereas others placed little emphasis on religious knowledge as a prerequisite for baptism.

Yet because of California's isolation, economic factors often overwhelmed the efforts at conversion. Until 1834 most land routes from northern Mexico and New Mexico to California were considered too dangerous to traverse; civilian and military outposts had only sporadic connections with Mexico City and, by extension, Spain. Therefore missions, with their large Indian workforces, strove to be as self-sufficient as possible. Under the direction of the friars, Indians harvested grain, tended cattle herds, and developed artisanal skills, such as leather working and soap making. The missions also traded with *presidios* and, to a lesser extent, *pueblos.* These activities left little time for the friars' efforts to convert the Indians.

Because conversions were limited, the Indian religions remained strong and vibrant in the missions. The influx of Indians from the interior of California also helped to maintain traditional Indian religious ways. Shamans continued to administer to followers and heal the sick, and Indian dances persisted. California Indian religions also blended Christian and native traditions. Among the Luiseño, Cupeño, Kumeyaay, and Chumash tribes, a new religion called Chingichngish gained in popularity. This religious expression was named after a cultural hero, manifested as a new creator or a condor, who emerged among the groups. Chingichngish was probably a response to epidemic diseases as well as to mission Indians who fled the Franciscan communities and brought tenets of Christianity inland. Indian participants, however, were extremely secretive about their practices and hid their religion from the Franciscans.

For many California Indians, living in missions meant death. On average, Indians survived only twelve years of mission life. Between 1769 and 1834, California's Indian population declined by almost one-third. Yet, unlike Spanish mission efforts in New Mexico and Texas, a large population in the interior of California provided ready sources of new converts and workers. Spanish soldiers made frequent forays into the San Joaquin Valley to capture gentiles (unbaptized Indians) and bring them back to the mission.

Poor living conditions and an influx of gentiles fostered discontent among the Indian population. Priests and soldiers attempted a number of methods of social control. When Indians committed criminal offenses, priests flogged Indian converts or put them in stocks. When priests considered crimes too egregious, Spanish officials executed Indians. In response, California Indians participated in a variety of resistance strategies. Many Indians ran away from the missions, sometimes for a few days, sometimes permanently. Other California Indians participated in open rebellion. In 1824, members of the Chumash tribe near Santa Barbara rose up, attacked, and occupied Mission Santa Barbara and Mission La Purisima.

CHRISTIANS COME TO INDIANS

After the American Revolution, the architects of federal Indian policy debated what to do with the Indians living in the Ohio Valley and the Southeast. Anglo-Americans agreed on expanding onto Indian land; they disagreed on how to treat Indians living there. President George Washington, Secretary of War Henry Knox, and others decided the best way to ensure peaceful relations with Indians and open land for settlement was through the process of teaching Indians the rudiments of Euro-American farming, education, and religion. Toward this end, missionaries from a number of denominations, including Moravians and Presbyterians, descended on Indian communities in the Ohio Valley and Southeast. Some tribes, including the Cherokee, invited the missionaries.

The Cherokees had endured a tumultuous history since the Seven Years' War. Between 1760 and 1790, Cherokees had fought in all major conflicts and subsequently suffered from economic and political dislocation. In an effort to heal internal wounds and adapt to new circumstances, some Cherokees asked for Moravian and Presbyterian missionaries, primarily to teach school. Between 1811 and 1813, the influx of Christian missionaries and Euro-American ideas precipitated a Cherokee revival. Prophets attempted to direct and control social change. Some advocated expelling all Americans and American influences; others thought that the Cherokees should expel Americans but let their trade goods remain; and still others thought that the Cherokees should allow a few more Americans to enter their communities, but no more than were necessary. As with other contemporaneous religious movements—such as those of Tenskwatawa and the Red Sticks—the Cherokee religious revival blended Euro-American and Cherokee religious traditions. Some

messages spoke of God and Heaven while at the same time proposing to minimize the influence of American culture. Although the Cherokee religious revival paralleled Tenskwatawa's, they were not affiliated. Still, many Americans, including the missionaries living in Cherokee territory, feared this movement and wanted the Cherokees to demonstrate their loyalty. During the Red Stick War (1813–1814), five hundred Cherokees enlisted with Andrew Jackson's force and helped defeat the Red Stick Creeks at Horseshoe Bend.

Between 1750 and 1815, warfare, epidemic diseases, and trade dependency forced American Indians to make difficult adjustments. In new religious expressions, American Indians sought to mediate these changes. Some, such as Neolin, Handsome Lake, and Tenskwatawa, fused Christian and native religions to support a pan-Indian effort to block American westward expansion. Others, such as the Susquehannocks, California Indians, and Cherokees, experienced Christian missionary efforts. Franciscans, Moravians, and Presbyterians descended on their communities and attempted to change the Indians from the inside. Yet throughout this period Indian religious expressions remained strong and vibrant. Handsome Lake's religion, Chingichngish, and others blended Christianity and native beliefs to make sense of a new world. These types of religious expressions would continue into the twentieth century, with the Ghost Dance and the Native American Church.

See also **Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Moravians; Pontiac's War; Presbyterians; Revivals and Revivalism; Tippecanoe, Battle of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Deloria, Vine. *God Is Red: A Native View of Religion.* New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1973; reprint, New York: Fulcrum Publishing, 2003.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Jackson, Robert, and Edward Castillo. *Indians, Franciscans, and Spanish Colonization: The Impact of the Mission System on California Indians.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

Martin, Calvin. *The Keepers of the Game: Indian–Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

Martin, Joel. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

McLoughlin, William. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984.

Salisbury, Neal. "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans." *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (1996): 435–458.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca.* New York: Vintage, 1972.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

William J. Bauer, Jr.

American Indian Removal

The process of pushing indigenous tribes westward long predated Andrew Jackson and his oft-maligned Indian Removal Act. Every time since 1607 that native peoples had their land seized or purchased by the European invaders of North America, they had to find new habitations and hunting grounds. By 1776 they had been pushed well away from the Atlantic coast, and the new United States authorities soon determined to reduce the tribes' remaining landholdings through a process of negotiation and purchase conducted, after 1789, by the federal government. By 1820 this process had successfully extinguished the Indian title throughout most of the North, compelling most indigenous peoples to migrate farther west or north into Canada or restricting those that remained to reservations of very limited size. In the South, native tribes signed over thirty land-cession treaties between 1789 and 1820, but the situation there proved more complex and contentious.

Since 1789 the federal government had always been willing to envisage native people remaining as residents in the eastern states if they would accept "civilized" standards. Those standards required behaving as individuals rather than as members of tribes and becoming farmers rather than hunters— which would mean that Indians needed less land. This policy, backed by congressional appropriations after 1802, had its greatest successes among the most agricultural, settled, politically sophisticated, and numerous tribes—the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole—but, ironically, the "civilization" program made them ever more determined to retain their ancestral lands. In 1820 these "civilized" tribes still held the title to fifty million acres in the South, including large tracts of Georgia and Alabama and more than half of Mississippi, and their rights were recognized by existing treaties with the United States.

American Indian Removal

- Land ceded before 1784
- Land ceded 1784–1819
- → Routes of removal
- ⋯ Indian Territory boundary

THE REMOVAL POLICY, 1817–1825

The policy of persuading Indians to exchange their lands in the East for specific permanent grants of federal land across the Mississippi was first proposed by President Thomas Jefferson in 1803 but was not officially adopted until the presidency of James Monroe. His administration continued the "civilization" policy, but insisted that any tribe that refused to surrender tribal independence and adopt individual landownership must be encouraged to emigrate westward. The lands they would receive were not barren wilderness but desirable farming areas on the fringes of the prairies. In 1817 the first treaty was signed by which a tribe was explicitly offered federal land west of the Mississippi if it would agree to emigrate, and in 1818 some six thousand Cherokees moved west at the War Department's expense, as did some Choctaws in 1820.

However, the policy of buying up the Indians' lands piecemeal broke down in 1822 when the Cherokees and Creeks declared their determination not to remove, made land sales punishable by death, and even began to question the authority of the state they lived in. Any temptation to give up tribal authority and assimilate as individuals was in any case eliminated when the southern states refused to grant

citizenship rights to those Indians who wished to remain as individual landowners. By 1824 the parties had come to an impasse: the speed of white encroachment on Indian lands made conflict likely, while the survival of tribal authority could not be fitted within the federal system without undermining state rights. On 24 January 1825 Monroe announced the first comprehensive removal plan, designed to move all the tribes—except those Indians who chose to remain as individuals—beyond the damaging influence of white men to lands across the Mississippi that would never be encroached on. The Senate approved the plan, but it failed in the House, many of whose members objected to a plan that seemed designed to encourage the internal expansion of the slave economy.

POLITICS OF REMOVAL, 1824–1830

By now the issue had begun to affect presidential politics. In the 1824 election most southwestern states overwhelmingly backed Andrew Jackson because of his leadership in crushing hostile Creeks in 1813–1814 and 1818 and securing huge land cessions. The successful candidate, John Quincy Adams, accepted the removal policy, but insisted that emigration must be voluntary and treaty rights respected. Georgia pointed out that in 1802 it had surrendered its claims in Alabama in return for a federal promise to extinguish the title of Indian tribes in Georgia as soon as practicable; in 1826, finally losing patience, Georgia began to survey lands not yet legally ceded by the Creeks. In January 1827 Adams's Secretary of War, James Barbour, threatened to use the army to uphold existing treaties, and Governor George M. Troup retorted that Georgia would repel all armed invaders. The Cherokees compounded this contest of constitutional authorities when they adopted their own constitution in July 1827, in effect creating a state within a state. Even the Adams administration recognized that removal would dissolve this impasse and prevent the possible destruction of the Georgia Indians. In the late 1820s Congress debated an Indian removal bill, but its proponents divided as to whether the new Indian lands should be established as a formal territory, with a locally elected legislature. The impasse helped make Jackson overwhelmingly popular in Georgia and the southwestern states, where local whites coveted the Indians' lands and feared their possible support for rebellious slaves.

When Jackson came to power, he threw all his influence behind securing a removal act. As passed on 28 May 1830, the act authorized the assigning of federal lands across the Mississippi to the tribes "forever" in return for their lands in the East, and provid-

ed a half-million dollars to pay for the improvements Indians had made to their lands as well as the costs of transport and subsistence for the first year in the West. Treaties for removal were still supposed to be negotiated freely and removal to be entirely voluntary, but in practice Jackson refused to protect the Indians against the governments of the states they lived in, and various southern states passed laws extending their laws over the tribes. Decisions of the Supreme Court striking down such measures could not be enforced, and most tribes quickly accepted the inevitable. By 1836 almost all the tribes east of the Mississippi, including most northern tribes, had agreed to remove to lands assigned to them west of the ninety-fifth meridian. Of the more reluctant, the Florida Seminoles fought on, retreating ever deeper into the Everglades, while about four thousand Cherokees died when forcibly moved west in 1838-1839 on what became known as the Trail of Tears. This tragedy was compounded by the fact that the lands across the Mississippi promised "forever" would in time be themselves lost, as white settlers moved west seeking land.

See also **Expansion; Florida; Georgia; Jackson, Andrew; Land Policies; Monroe, James.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cotterill, R. S. *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes before Removal.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

Horsman, Reginald. *Expansion and American Indian Policy, 1783–1812.* East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Sheehan, Bernard W. *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian.* Chapel Hill: University Press of North Carolina, 1973.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *The Long, Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1993.

Donald J. Ratcliffe

American Indian Resistance to White Expansion

North American Indians had been accustomed to dealing with Europeans long before the United States came into existence. For two centuries Indians traded, intermarried, allied with, and fought against the various groups of newcomers. The people of the United States, however, represented something new in their seemingly limitless appetite for Indian land. For many native people, a long struggle to contain this aggressively expansionist nation consumed the eras of the Revolution and new Republic.

A WAR FOR INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

Many Indians fought in the Revolution, most of them on the side of the British. In joining they acted less out of loyalty to the king than from an awareness that American settlers threatened their land and freedom. Some Cherokees, for example, saw the Revolution as an opportunity to punish squatters and regain territory lost to Virginia and the Carolinas over the previous decade. Against the advice of older leaders, Cherokee warriors began raiding backcountry settlements soon after the start of the conflict. In the Ohio Valley, Delaware and Shawnee leaders at first tried to keep their people neutral. Americans, however, treated both tribes as enemies, and soon Delaware and Shawnee warriors accepted British offers of alliance. For the Iroquois Six Nations, the Revolution became a civil war. The Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas joined the British, whereas the Oneidas and Tuscaroras sided with the Americans.

The Revolution brought terrible destruction to Indian country. In the South, Americans responded to Cherokee raiding with punitive expeditions that burned crops and villages and drove whole communities into flight. In the North, Britain's Iroquois allies suffered similar forays, including John Sullivan's infamous 1779 raid, in which Americans burned some forty Iroquois towns. Yet for all of the damage, the fighting was inconclusive. When invading armies left, native people often returned, and in 1783 Indians still controlled most of the interior. The Treaty of Paris, signed that year, ended the Revolutionary War and granted the United States all territory east of the Mississippi, but from an Indian perspective this was a fraud. The British had no right to give away these tribal homelands. Americans claimed the interior, but Indians possessed it. In those circumstances, conflict was bound to be renewed.

INDIAN UNITY AGAINST THE NEW REPUBLIC

Soon after the Revolution ended, the United States began pressuring tribes for land cessions. Believing they were dealing with conquered peoples, American treaty commissioners tried to dictate new territorial borders. They worked to gain possession of Indian country piece by piece, signing agreements with single tribes and, if that failed, with particular factions or individuals. American citizens, meanwhile, pushed westward, with settlers and land speculators ignoring any and all boundaries. In response, northern Indian leaders attempted to unite their peoples in common defense. The Mohawk Joseph Brant, the Shawnee leader Blue Jacket, and others built a multitribal alliance, rejecting the earlier treaties and in-

sisting that future land cessions be made only with the tribes' unanimous consent. In 1786 they informed Congress that they wanted the Ohio River to be a firm boundary between the new Republic and the Indian nations. That arrangement, they suggested, would be fair to everyone and would promote peaceful coexistence. If the Americans continued to demand land beyond the Ohio, however, the united tribes would fight for their homes.

Confederation was not a new strategy. Before the Revolution, Indians had attempted similar alliances, the most famous being the movement named for the Ottawa leader Pontiac. In 1763 this coalition of Great Lakes and Ohio Valley tribes attempted to rid the Northwest of the British. Indians seized seven military posts and killed some 2,500 soldiers and settlers before disease and the British army broke the "rebellion." The confederacy of the 1780s reflected what was, by then, a well-established political tradition.

The Indians' effort to contain American expansion led to war, and for a time the confederacy had the better of the fighting. On two occasions multitribal forces led by Blue Jacket and the Miamis' Little Turtle defeated invading American armies—in 1790 near modern-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, and the next year in northwestern Ohio. In the wake of those victories, however, the confederacy began to splinter, as some leaders (among them Joseph Brant) advocated negotiation over continued war. In 1794 General Anthony Wayne led a third invasion, besting an outnumbered Indian force at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in northwest Ohio. That defeat broke what was left of the Indian alliance, and in 1795, in the Treaty of Greenville, tribal representatives assented to large new land cessions in return for American promises that their remaining territory would be secure.

PROPHECY AND RESISTANCE

While white farmers sought to take Indians' land, other Americans pursued their minds and souls. Missionaries, teachers, and government agents worked to "civilize" native peoples, urging them to change their economies and abandon their religions and languages. The men and women involved in this effort assumed that when confronted by a "superior" society, Indians would be destroyed if they did not join the new order. They also anticipated that as Native Americans discarded their old ways they would become willing to part with much of their land. The eradication of Indian cultures, they believed, would promote the growth of the Republic while rescuing native people from annihilation.

Few Indians accepted the logic of the civilization campaign. They adopted specific elements of Euro-American cultures that they found attractive, but they seldom sought the kind of wholesale transformation desired by agents and missionaries. Some Indians, meanwhile, responded to cultural pressure by actively rejecting white ways. This resistance often took religious form. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, prophets appeared in many tribes, holy men who taught that the acceptance of Euro-American culture had weakened the Indians and angered the Creator. Indians needed to purify themselves, casting away at least some foreign practices and ideas, if they were to restore order to their lives and communities. Together, the prophets represented an ongoing Indian effort to regain spiritual power and autonomy in a world unbalanced by colonization.

Although some prophets opposed warfare, others played crucial roles in maintaining the armed defense of Indian land. Pontiac's movement, for example, drew inspiration from the Delaware prophet Neolin. Something similar occurred in the early nineteenth century with the last, and most famous, effort to create an Indian confederacy. Like other holy men before him, the Shawnee Prophet, Tenskwatawa, taught that Indians must reject Euro-American religion, goods, and economic practices if they were to regain the favor of the Creator. This message, which he began preaching in 1805, won him followers from a variety of northwestern tribes. Tenskwatawa's brother, Tecumseh, shaped that religious revival into a new movement for Indian unity. Like the previous generation of leaders, he urged an end to land cessions and criticized chiefs who continued to sign American treaties. He traveled throughout the interior, inviting tribes to join together to restrain the United States.

As in the 1790s, the effort to create an Indian confederacy ended in war. In 1811 an army led by William Henry Harrison marched against Prophetstown, Tenskwatawa's village, while Tecumseh was away. In the Battle of Tippecanoe, the prophet's followers ambushed the Americans as they camped near the village; but Harrison's troops drove the attackers back, forcing the Indians to abandon Prophetstown. The following year, the Indians' conflict with the United States merged with the War of 1812. Tecumseh allied with the British, hoping to use the war to end American expansion. The Indians enjoyed some military success, but when the fighting closed the United States retained possession of the Northwest. Tecumseh himself was killed in 1813 at

the Battle of the Thames in southeast Ontario. With his death, and in the absence of a British victory, the last movement to create an eastern Indian alliance unraveled.

DIFFERENT STRATEGIES

In the South several tribes adopted a different path. As Tecumseh worked to form a confederacy, Cherokees began building a centralized political system for their tribe. This was partly a response to American land hunger. Tribal leaders hoped that a strong national government would prevent individuals and faction leaders from negotiating their own treaties. It also reflected the Cherokees' accommodation to Euro-American culture. By the 1810s and 1820s, many Cherokees had adopted at least some of their white neighbors' ways, in particular economic activities such as raising livestock and spinning cloth. A segment of the tribe, meanwhile, undertook a more thorough change, entering the market economy as owners of businesses and plantations and seeking Euro-American education for their children. This latter group led the move toward political centralization, although often with the agreement of more traditional Cherokees. The culmination of the trend came with the framing of the 1827 Cherokee Constitution, which created a government modeled on that of the United States and declared that government to be the only authority capable of selling Cherokee land. Creeks likewise began centralization, particularly after the Creek War of 1813–1814. The national council took control of tribal law, drafting and enforcing national statutes. Politics, however, remained far more decentralized than among the Cherokees, and the Creeks did not adopt a national constitution until the 1860s.

By the 1820s the Cherokees had become one of the most important targets of the removal policy, the United States' campaign to persuade the major eastern tribes to trade their lands for new homes west of the Mississippi. The state of Georgia demanded, with increasing fervor, that the federal government end Indian possession of land within its borders, citing an 1802 agreement in which the federal government had promised to do just that. Federal officials urged the Cherokees to cooperate, offering them new lands and pledges of future security, and some did choose to migrate. By the 1820s, however, those who remained were determined to preserve their homes, and the United States faced the choice of either reneging on its promise to Georgia or violating its treaties with the Cherokees in order to force the tribe out.

The balance in this standoff tipped in Georgia's favor with the presidential election of 1828. Andrew Jackson was a longtime advocate of the removal policy, and Georgia's leaders took his victory as an invitation to force their claim to Cherokee land. Soon after the election, the state legislature passed an act to absorb tribal territory into existing Georgia counties. It then extended state law over the Cherokees and established a process to parcel out the tribal lands to Georgia citizens. The Cherokees responded by asking the federal government to protect the tribe, as promised in the treaties. The new president, however, refused to act.

Some in the South expected violence, but the Cherokees chose different methods of resistance. Led by Principal Chief John Ross, they lobbied Congress, seeking allies among Jackson's political opponents. They conducted what modern Americans would call public relations campaigns, appealing in particular to opinion in the North. They received aid in these efforts from reformers and philanthropists, including missionaries with ties to the tribe. Using the Cherokees' reputation as "civilized Indians," Ross and his allies argued that the Cherokees had done everything Americans ever asked and wanted only to be left unmolested to continue their progress. When the Jackson administration ignored their appeals, they sought to compel federal action through the Supreme Court, a strategy that resulted in two of the most important cases in Native American legal history: *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). In the second of these cases, Chief Justice John Marshall affirmed the Cherokees' right to self-government and acknowledged that, under the treaties, the federal government had a duty to protect the tribe from Georgia and its citizens.

The Cherokees won the day in court, and they gained a great many sympathetic allies. They did not, however, defeat Georgia and Jackson. The president ignored the Supreme Court's decision, and his lieutenants continued to press the Cherokees for a removal treaty. In this increasingly desperate situation, some Cherokees broke with the tribal government and began to advocate emigration. In 1835, arguing that the battle had been lost, this "Treaty Party" negotiated and signed a removal agreement. The Cherokee government continued to resist, leaders insisting (correctly) that the Treaty Party did not represent the tribal majority. In 1838, however, federal troops began to implement the agreement, gathering Cherokees together for the long journey west. By the time the last group arrived in Indian Territory (today, eastern Oklahoma) in early 1839, at least

four thousand Cherokees had died either in camps prior to departure or while traveling the "Trail of Tears."

In the end, the Cherokees, like Tecumseh's confederacy, failed to keep Americans at bay. In the twentieth century, however, it would be the Cherokees' methods that would help Native Americans regain some of their property and autonomy. Political organizing, public relations, and the law would be the weapons of the new warriors.

See also **Expansion; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Jackson, Andrew; Marshall, John; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Prophecy; Thames, Battle of the; Tippecanoe, Battle of; Treaty of Paris.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Calloway, Colin G. *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Champagne, Duane. *Social Order and Political Change: Constitutional Governments among the Cherokee, the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Creek.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1992.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity*, 1745–1815. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

———. *War under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, and the British Empire.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Edmunds, R. David. *The Shawnee Prophet.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokee Renascence in the New Republic.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Perdue, Theda. *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change*, 1700–1835. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998.

Perdue, Theda, and Michael D. Green, eds. *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents.* Boston: Bedford Books, 1995.

Sugden, John. *Tecumseh: A Life.* New York: Holt, 1998.

Andrew Denson

American Indians as Symbols/Icons

On the evening of 16 December 1773, 150 American patriots dressed as Mohawk Indians ran through the streets of Boston and down to the wharves, where they spent the next three hours dumping tea into Boston Harbor to protest the Tea Act. The meaning of this dramatic act of defiance, which became a touchstone for the Revolution and a powerful symbol of burgeoning American nationalism, cannot be understood fully without considering the richly layered history of the Indian as icon in American history.

When the Sons of Liberty chose to disguise themselves as Mohawks for the Boston Tea Party, they called into play a wide range of meanings associated with the figure of the Indian. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, European iconography commonly represented America as an Indian Queen. Such imagery suggested the wealth and availability of the New World along with hints of savagery (usually represented by club or bow and arrows) that indicated both the Indians' need for civilization and their formidable strength to resist.

American colonists adapted existing iconography to a variety of new purposes. The seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, for example, features an Indian woman who pleads, "Come Over and Help Us." The Diplomatic Medal designed for President George Washington in 1790 represents the new nation with the figure of an Indian woman seated on bales and barrels signifying American natural resources transformed into items of commerce. The cornucopia she offers to Mercury (god of commerce) reinforces the effort to link the national destiny to the rich potential of the land, and to associate both with the figure of the Indian.

During the years of the Revolution, the Indian Princess was often used by English and American political cartoonists to represent the American cause. Political artists emphasized the Princess's relationship to Mother Britannia, the vulnerability of the daughter, and the Indian's commitment to liberty. Paul Revere's 1774 engraving (copied from a British cartoon) shows America victimized by parliament as Britannia looks away in shame. Other cartoons foreground the Indian's savage strength and love of liberty as representative of American resistance. For example, "Liberty Triumphant" (1774) features an Indian Princess with arrow drawn, leading the attack against England as she cries, "Aid me, my sons, and prevent my being Fetter'd." A follower reaffirms, "Lead on to Liberty or Death."

After the Revolution the symbolic uses of the Indian became more complex. The continuing popularity of Indian captivity narratives reinforced a vision of the Indian as ferocious savage. During the Whiskey Rebellion, backwoods settlers of Pennsylvania dressed as Indians staged violent protests against the 1791 excise tax on whiskey while more peaceful

The Widow of an Indian Chief (1789). The noble and vanishing Indian, as seen in this engraving by John Raphael Smith after Joseph Wright, became a dominant trope in representations of Native Americans. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

groups published their demands in an "Indian Treaty" printed in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* in 1794. During the same period, fraternal organizations such as Tammany societies or the Order of Red Men provided citizens of the new nation a means to forge communal bonds and to assume new roles as they experimented with the values and meanings that would distinguish a new, distinctively American identity.

The Indian continued to be associated with the potential of the new nation, as is evident in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). To refute the theory of the eighteenth-century French scientist Count de Buffon, who argued that the American environment produced degeneration in all organisms including man, Jefferson offered a picture of the Indian as noble savage representing an earlier but not inferior manifestation of human development. As an illustration of the Indian's superior ora-

torical skills, Jefferson printed Chief Logan's famous speech, which concludes, "Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

The conjunction of noble and vanishing Indian embodied by Logan was to become a dominant theme in representations of the Indian during the nineteenth century. From Washington Irving's "Traits of Indian Character" (1814) to James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) to the legal and political rhetoric shaping American Indian policy, the disappearance of the noble Indian was lamented even as it was embraced as an inevitable and natural process. In countless novels, plays, and speeches mourning "the last of the tribe," Americans imagined themselves as heirs to the noble American qualities embodied by the doomed and vanishing Indian.

The figure of Pocahontas provided a particularly appealing version of the noble Indian, whose nobility is best evidenced by her willingness to sacrifice herself to the cause of "civilization." In the original story introduced by Captain John Smith in *A General History of Virginia* (1624), Pocahontas risks her own life to save Smith, then serves as protectress of the colony by warning of impending attack and providing food in times of scarcity. During the years following the Revolution, this image of Pocahontas as patron saint of the fledgling nation became the basis for a powerful nationalistic myth of origins. John Davis was one of the first to popularize the myth in *The First Settlers of Virginia, an Historical Novel* (1805). Numerous poets, playwrights, and artists followed his lead, thereby contributing to the elevation of Pocahontas to national hero.

The artwork installed in the Capitol during the early nineteenth century illustrates the role of the Indian as national symbol. Above each of the four doors of the Capitol rotunda is a relief sculpture depicting the role of Indians in American history. Two of the four scenes picture peaceful interactions—*William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (Nicholas Gevelot, 1827) and the *Landing of the Pilgrims* (Enrico Causici, 1825)—while *The Preservation of Captain John Smith by Pocahontas* (Antonio Capellano, 1825) focuses on the moment when violence is interrupted by the Indian's intercession for peace. The fourth sculpture offers a very different vision of the Indian's role in national history. In the *Conflict of Daniel Boone and the Indians* (Enrico Causici, 1826–1827), Indian and white man are locked in battle, each resting a foot on a dead (or dying) Indian. Together the sculptures make clear that the confrontation with the Indian—whether imagined as noble or savage, compliant or resistant—constitutes the symbolic ground upon which the identity of the new American nation was forged.

See also **Art and American Nationhood; Nature, Attitudes Toward; Whiskey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present.* New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Fleming, E. McClung. "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765–1783." *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965): 65–81.

Lubbers, Klaus. *Born for the Shade: Stereotypes of the Native American in United States Literature and the Visual Arts, 1776–1984.* Amsterdam and Atlanta, Ga.: Ropodi Press, 1994.

Scheckel, Susan. *The Insistence of the Indian: Race and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century American Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998.

Susan Scheckel

American Indian Slaveholding

American Indians forced other humans to labor in at least three distinct forms in the colonial and antebellum eras. First, Eastern Woodlands societies and other Native American cultures customarily practiced "mourning war"—combat initiated to avenge or replace lost kin. When a war party took captives, the prisoners could be tortured to death to alleviate the sadness of those who had lost relatives in battle, adopted to replace a dead family member, or held by a family in an ambiguous position between death and adoption as a form of servant. Eastern Woodlands peoples did not hold these individuals as capital investments. Instead, the captives assisted their "owners" with subsistence and domestic chores and were treated as a distinct class of people beyond the protection of a clan. In the Pacific Northwest, the Tlingkits, Modocs, Chinooks, and other peoples of the region captured and purchased slaves from rival tribes. Native Americans in the region were motivated by the desire to enhance their position in the community and occasionally gave their slaves to others to demonstrate their wealth. Some peoples in the Pacific Northwest practiced the ritual murder of slaves; when a chief died, his slaves were executed and buried with the corpse.

American Indians participated in a second form of forced labor when Europeans arrived in North America. Spanish conquistadors and French and English colonists captured Native Americans and forced them to carry burdens and work in their mines, missions, and fields. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, merchants working out of the English colonies of Virginia and Carolina developed a vigorous slave trade in Indian war captives. They supplied Indian allies such as the Westos and Chickasaws with manufactured trade goods, including guns and ammunition, in exchange for native prisoners who were sold into slavery on plantations in the Southeast, New England, and the Caribbean. In 1708 a Carolina census reported that 1,400 of the 4,300 slaves in the colony were American Indians. The Tuscarora (1711–1713) and Yamasee uprisings (1715) were partly motivated by English traders who kidnapped their kin and sold them into slavery.

In the third form of forced labor, Native Americans purchased or captured African American slaves

and put them to work in their homes, fields, and businesses. In the eighteenth century slaves captured in Africa gradually replaced Indians and English indentured servants as the primary source of agricultural labor in the southern colonies. American laws stigmatized African slaves as inheritable and alienable (transferable) property, a status that had not applied to the customary form of Indian servitude. In the late 1780s the United States established a "civilization program" to teach Native Americans to live and work like Anglo-Americans. Federal Indian agents offered slaveholding white planters as the model of civilization to the Indian nations in the Southeast; and in the nineteenth century a number of Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws developed farms and procured African American slaves to perform the agricultural work that had customarily been performed by women. Indian slave owners also used their bonded servants to work on their ferries and in their taverns and manufacturing enterprises.

Although most Native Americans could not afford, or did not want to acquire slaves (most scholars agree that less than 10 percent of Southeastern Indians owned slaves), a small class of bicultural Indians enthusiastically embraced the form of slave agriculture promoted by the federal agents. Men such as Greenwood LeFlore (Choctaw), Levi Colbert (Chickasaw), Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh (Creek), and the Vann, Ross, and Ridge families (Cherokee), bought and sold African American slaves, developed large plantations, and built palatial homes that rivaled those of the wealthiest white planters. By the 1820s the planter class had acquired tremendous influence in their nations; slavery thus became a divisive political and social issue among Southeastern Indian societies. Although the planter class, as a general rule, believed that their nations needed to embrace Anglo-American cultural mores, they opposed political integration into the United States and wanted their tribes to remain sovereign nations with the right to determine the future of slavery.

In the 1820s the Southeastern Indian governments began to adopt laws circumscribing the rights of African Americans held in bondage. The Cherokee national government, for instance, prohibited blacks from marrying Indians or whites, forbade them from participating in political activities, and made it illegal for them to deal in liquor or own property. Most historians agree that the Indian slave codes were not as draconian as those of the southern states; and at least one scholar, Theda Perdue, has argued

that slaves of Indians lived more comfortably and were treated less harshly than those serving under white owners. Whereas white masters and the southern state governments refused to allow slaves to learn to read and write, she points out, many African American slaves living in the Indian nations received educational instruction.

African Americans did not always live in bondage with Southeastern Indians. In Florida the Seminole Indians welcomed runaway slaves from nearby Alabama and Georgia into their communities. In the First Seminole War (1817–1818), the United States invaded the Spanish territory to recapture slaves who had fled to the Seminoles and to punish the Indians for attacks on American settlements. Black and Indian Seminoles fought side by side to defend their liberty and territory from American forces.

In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which provided the president with the authority to negotiate treaties that resulted in the relocation of the eastern tribes. By 1843 the federal government had removed all of the major Southeastern tribes to an "Indian Territory" it established west of Arkansas. When they immigrated, Indian slaveholders took their bondspeople with them and put them to work establishing farms and plantations in the Indian Territory. Southeastern Indians in the territory continued to possess slaves until the end of the American Civil War, when the United States required their nations to abolish slavery and accept the freedpeople as tribal citizens.

See also **Slavery.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Littlefield, Daniel F., Jr. *Africans and Creeks: From the Colonial Period to the Civil War.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Perdue, Theda. *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Tim Alan Garrison

British Policies

Between 1754 and 1829, British policies toward native North Americans sought three key objectives: recruitment and supply of native military allies; regulation of trade and diplomacy; and protection of native peoples' territorial integrity through negotiat-

ed settlement boundary lines. Although these policies played a crucial role in the British victory over France in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), they rapidly fell into disfavor among the settler population of British North America after 1763. By 1776, colonists' discontent with imperial oversight of Indian affairs constituted a significant grievance against Great Britain. In the aftermath of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the ongoing influence of the British Indian Department in Canada with native peoples in the United States was viewed by many Americans as a threat to the survival of the Republic itself. Only after the Treaty of Ghent (1814) ended the War of 1812 (1812–1815) did the British cease to pursue alliances with Native Americans as a means of checking American expansionism.

LATE COLONIAL YEARS

The Albany Congress of 1754 witnessed the first call by imperial reformers for centralizing control of Indian affairs in British North America. General Edward Braddock commissioned William Johnson as his agent to the Six Nations (Iroquois) in 1755, and in 1756 the crown established northern and southern superintendencies for the colonies. South Carolina merchant Edmond Atkin became the first superintendent of the Southern Department; William Johnson headed the Northern Department. Leaving Indian affairs primarily in the hands of locally constituted bodies in individual colonies marked a dramatic change from past practice. After 1755, the crown sought to rationalize and extend its control over Indian policymaking, employing the superintendents to integrate Native Americans into a multinational North American empire in which all constituent peoples were at once protected by and subordinated to the crown.

During the Seven Years' War, the administrative reforms in British Indian policy had minimal impact on military affairs. Neither Johnson nor Atkin proved successful in imposing their authority over the Iroquois or the Cherokees (the two largest British–allied Indian nations). As in prior colonial conflicts, native warriors dictated the extent of their participation in British military campaigns notwithstanding threats, cajoling, and lavish outlays of cash, arms, and supplies from the superintendents. The critical turn for British Indian policy came at the Treaty of Easton in October 1758, when Pennsylvania officials conceded a settlement boundary line (at the Allegheny Mountains) to hostile western Algonquian nations then allied to France. This promise, which became fundamental to subsequent British In-

dian policy, encouraged native peoples to withdraw military support from France. The lack of Indian allies to pursue offensive frontier raiding forced the French into a defensive posture, which contributed to the British conquest of Canada in 1760.

The expansion of British territorial jurisdiction in North America after the Seven Years' War created conflicting needs to forge diplomatic and economic ties to many native peoples previously connected to France and Spain on the one hand, and to economize Indian Department expenditures on the other. Provision for a settlement boundary line in the British Crown's Proclamation of 1763 was intended to protect native peoples' territorial integrity from settler encroachment, but it also antagonized many squatters and colonial land speculators with claims to lands beyond the boundary. The British military presence in the trans–Appalachian West proved incapable of stemming the postwar movement of settlers into Indian territory, forcing Johnson and John Stuart (who replaced Atkin in 1762) to continually revise the northern and southern boundary lines through treaty negotiations with influential tribal groups between 1763 and 1773. In 1764 Johnson proposed a comprehensive "Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs," which advocated confining all Indian trade to licensed merchants at military posts operating from a fixed price schedule and official renewal of the diplomatic custom of regular distributions of military supplies and material goods (or "presents") to allied native nations. However, the British Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 eliminated the colonial revenues needed to fund Johnson's plan. Parliament took further steps toward the deregulation of Indian affairs in 1768, restoring control over the Indian trade to individual colonies and relocating the bulk of the military establishment from the scattered interior posts to cities on the colonial seaboard to deter civilian unrest.

Mounting colonial protests against crown efforts after 1768 to raise revenues to fund the costs of frontier defense compounded problems of Indian policy. In the vacuum of imperial authority in the West, settlers and speculators continued to encroach on Native American lands; employed questionable techniques to clear native title in lieu of treaties; and murdered Indians, who often responded in kind. Even in moments of crisis, settlers, not Indians, enjoyed the support of crown officials. For example, in 1774 Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, opposed the efforts of the Shawnees to retain hunting grounds east of the Ohio River. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775, British officials sought

to enlist Native American assistance in suppressing the colonists' rebellion. This led an outraged Thomas Jefferson to decry King George III's intended use of "merciless Indian savages" in the Declaration of Independence in 1776.

FROM 1776 THROUGH 1815

During the Revolutionary War, the British enjoyed far more success recruiting Native American allies than did the Continental Congress. An experienced diplomatic corps, a steady flow of arms and ammunition, and continued promises to protect native lands earned the British the allegiance of an estimated thirteen thousand native warriors over the course of the conflict. Yet despite these impressive numbers, British generals hesitated to make full use of allied native warriors in the early years of the conflict, fearing that any overt appearance of support for "atrocities" inflicted by Indians might hinder efforts to reintegrate the rebellious colonists into the empire. For their part, Indians allied to Great Britain during the Revolutionary War placed their own objectives first, fighting a proxy war against settler expansion with British supplies. The significance of the eventual American victory in the Revolutionary War extended beyond the failure of the British to secure territorial protections for their native allies in the Treaty of Paris (1783). Americans used the fact that Indians had chosen the wrong side and lost as justification for punitive treatment of them in the aftermath of the conflict.

After 1783 the British provided material support for allied Native Americans (including arms and ammunition) in the trans-Appalachian region in order to preserve their territory as a buffer zone against the expansion-oriented United States. Operating from Great Lakes posts such as Detroit and Michilimackinac, retained by the crown in violation of the Treaty of Paris (on the grounds of illegal American confiscations of Loyalist property), British Indian agents sustained highly effective Native American resistance to settler encroachment for a decade after 1783 along a frontier stretching from modern Ohio to Florida. However, the refusal of the British garrison at Fort Miami (near modern Toledo, Ohio) to provide refuge to allied Indians retreating from American general Anthony Wayne's army sealed their defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on 20 August 1794. The ratification of Jay's Treaty with Great Britain by the United States in 1795 prompted the British evacuation of the Great Lakes posts, creating further distance between erstwhile native allies and the material support of the British Crown.

British fear of an American invasion of Upper Canada (modern Ontario) in the aftermath of the Chesapeake affair of June 1807 motivated imperial officials to renew ties to the native peoples bordering on the province. The reappearance of the British as a potentially viable military partner, however, offered substantial encouragement to native leaders such as Tecumseh, who employed promises of British assistance in his efforts to recruit a pan-Indian army to oppose American settler expansion. Native Americans played crucial roles as British allies during the War of 1812, but the American naval victory on Lake Erie in September 1813 prompted the British to withdraw from Fort Malden (modern Amherstburg, Ontario) and other advanced Great Lakes posts. Allied Native Americans, who remembered 1783 and 1794, expressed bitter opposition to this decision, since they recognized it as another British abandonment of their territorial interests. The Treaty of Ghent of 1814 ended the war by restoring the 1811 *status quo ante bellum.* Although the United States did not implement this provision, never again would the British pursue offensive alliances with Native Americans against the United States.

AFTER 1815

Although the newly elected President Andrew Jackson worried in 1829 about the British "stirring up" of soon-to-be-removed southeastern Indian nations in the United States, official British Indian policy had long since shed its aggressive component. During the post–1815 rapprochement between Britain and the United States, British Indian Department officials made clear in a series of public Indian councils that they would no longer assist or turn a blind eye to native hostilities against the United States. For six decades after 1754, Native Americans allied with Great Britain in hopes of securing their interests against an aggressively expansionist settler population. After 1783, however, power dynamics in North America east of the Mississippi River led the British to treat native peoples as expendable inferiors in international diplomacy with the United States. Increasingly after 1783, Britain looked to North America for markets and raw materials, not for Indian allies or the furs they traded. Although the image of perfidious British Indian agents inciting "savages" to terrorize innocent frontier inhabitants persisted in the American mind-set, British Indian policy after 1815 closely resembled that of the United States insofar as it attempted to change those belonging to independent Native American nations into Christian citizen-farmers occupying bounded spaces.

See also **Fallen Timbers, Battle of; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Ghent, Treaty of; Jay's Treaty; Treaty of Paris; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Robert S. *His Majesty's Indian Allies: British Indian Policy in the Defence of Canada, 1774–1815.* Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992.

Calloway, Colin G. *Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783–1815.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Hall, Anthony J. *The American Empire and the Fourth World.* Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Snapp, J. Russell. *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996.

Sosin, Jack M. *Whitehall and the Wilderness: The Middle West in British Colonial Policy, 1760–1775.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961.

University of the State of New York. Division of Archives and History. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson.* 14 vols. Albany: University of the State of New York, 1921–1965.

Jon Parmenter

AMERICANIZATION   For the different groups engaged in the struggle to gain political and economic control of the misnomered "New World," "Americanization" meant radically different things. In exchange for western manufactured goods, whiskey, and horses, Native Americans were decimated by disease, warfare, and cultural subordination. African slaves faced an equally harsh transformation, from their passage across the Atlantic to being under the total legal control of another human being. Nevertheless, the slaves quickly reestablished elements of their prior culture (most enduringly through music) despite their degraded status, while the Native Americans maintained a remarkable degree of cultural difference. The numerous European regional, ethnic, religious, and national groups also brought their own beliefs and customs; there were 150 different ethno-religious groups by 1750. All these peoples immediately commingled. While some slaves worked on isolated rural plantations, many thousands worked with whites and Native Americans at the numerous ironworks or in the small but growing towns that eventually became bustling urban centers. Thus, from the moment of initial contact, Americanization was a perpetually changing, interactive process with global ramifications.

Within the colonies, the English established the cultural baseline by being the first group to settle in large numbers during the seventeenth century. In *Albion's Seed* (1989) David Hackett Fischer describes four waves of English immigrants who brought radically different cultural assumptions with them from different parts of their home country: the Puritans arrived between 1629 and 1640; the elitist Cavaliers and their indentured servants between 1642 and 1675; the Quakers between 1675 and 1725; and the Scots-Irish from 1718 to 1775. A huge surge of immigrants from London and Scotland started in the 1750s, a migration that could only be stopped by the American Revolution. Throughout the colonies, the new subcultures were diverse, but primarily English, ranging from the Yankee, the Yorker, the Quaker, and the Cavalier to the Scots Irish. In *The Shaping of America* (1986, 1993), D. W. Meinig concluded that the colonies were more culturally English than either Ireland or Scotland on the eve of the American Revolution.

AN EMERGING AMERICAN IDENTITY

Yet as Frederick Jackson Turner pointed out in his famous series of essays on the effects of the frontier on American culture, the combination of wide-open spaces and continual warfare with the indigenous population gradually changed Englishmen into optimistic, aggressive Americans whose rugged individualism assumed a middle-class conception of equality (at least for all white males). As the colonists progressed westward to their small towns and tiny plots of land, they became increasingly "American." Although an elite bound by family relations and wealth ran each colony, hereditary aristocracy could not thrive within a political system that guaranteed the franchise to many more of its citizens than did England. Because England never had a grand, hierarchical design for its colonies, the colonists flourished with little political guidance while paying few taxes.

Having come from many different backgrounds, the colonists never merged themselves into a religious majority and thus gradually became more tolerant of different religious beliefs (even though widespread wariness of Catholicism lingered for many more decades). Two surges of evangelical Christianity—the Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century and the Second Awakening at the turn of the century—transformed the American religious experience into what two scholars called a "free market religious economy." Just as the average American could choose where to live and what to buy, he or she did not have to conform to the more

staid, hierarchical versions of Christianity embodied in the Congregational, Episcopal, or Presbyterian churches. Rather, anyone could start or join a church that emphasized a personal and passionate relationship with Christ and God that focused on the perpetual battle against sin and corruption. In addition, all religious groups were prone to schisms. While such self-righteousness can cleanse people of self-destructive behavior, energize them to embrace life, and provide them with necessary fellowship, it also helps breed the "paranoid style" of American politics. At least until the slavery issue splintered the country, the churches self-consciously ameliorated such tendencies by creating national religions and interdenominational institutions. Once again, "Americanization" consisted of a complex, evolving blending of diversity, uniformity, and individual choice.

As with all other English norms and institutions, the colonists retained whatever parts of the English common law they felt were necessary and discarded, modified, or supplemented the rest.

Colonial wariness of external authority provided necessary fodder for the American Revolution. The colonists shifted from seeing themselves as a crucial part of the British Empire to being a separate and superior people uncorrupted by European decadence and class strife. Americanization turned from a subtle, sociological force to a self-conscious, political proposition. In 1765, Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina told the fellow delegates who had gathered from nine different colonies in response to the Stamp Act: "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on the continent; but all of us Americans." Patrick Henry echoed these sentiments nine years later when the country considered armed revolution: "The distinctions between Virginians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more, I am not a Virginian, but an American."

The Constitution (1787) provided something of a grand imperial design by creating a republican empire that could spread across the continent. For some leaders, a unified America was paramount. Alexander Hamilton saw states as little more than fictions, Chief Justice John Marshall consistently invoked "the People" to justify his controversial opinions that expanded federal power at the expense of the states, and George Washington warned against regional factionalism in his Farewell Address (1796). But the Constitution also left much political power to the states and to the individual; its federal structure explicitly incorporated the dual loyalties of numerous Americans. Many southerners and New Englanders remained more committed to their region and their state than to the new nation. At the Constitutional Convention, some southern leaders threatened not to join secession lest the new federal power interfere with their slave economy. A group of Yankee Federalists met at the Hartford Convention during the winter of 1814–1815 to protest the continuing war against the British. A minority of the delegates, successfully opposed by Alexander Hamilton, considered secession. This provincialism all but destroyed the Federalist Party, which suffered severe defeats in the 1816 election. But the ensuing debate in 1820 over which new states should be free or slave, a debate that the Missouri Compromise temporarily quelled, unmasked the issue that would fundamentally threaten American nationalism and identity.

EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY
By the time Alexis de Tocqueville visited America in 1831, the nation had become glaringly different from England. Americans had remained uniquely free of external political authority but were under great social pressure to conform to the mores of equality, democracy, and the restless pursuit of wealth. Thus, every honest profession was honorable. There was a "general equality of condition" which revealed that American democracy had economic and cultural as well as political connotations. Law and religion remained important adhesives, but American character was being formed in the many clubs and groups that provided energy and direction to the civil as well as the political culture. Even the lawyers, who served as something of an aristocratic buffer against the excesses of democracy, knew that public opinion was more powerful than the law. This bustling openness created a form of pluralism— relentlessly increased by the influx of immigrants coming from more distant regions of the world than earlier—that made Americans wary of grand philosophy, abstract political ideals, and religious fanaticism. Of course, the consensus to pursue wealth had its costs: fraudulent speculation; geographical expansion at the expense of Native Americans and rival European powers; widespread sexual subordination; the slave economy; brutal working conditions for wage earners; and environmental degradation. But Americanization was never a timid force. From the days of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, Americans envisioned an era when their country would achieve moral and political preeminence. Such optimism sometimes seems cruelly naive, but it provides energy and hope—preconditions to success in the struggle between different political cultures.

See also **African Survivals; Character; Constitutional Convention; Expansion; Frontier; Hartford Convention; Immigration and Immigrants; Politics: Political Culture.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution.* New York: Random House, 1986.

Finke, Roger and Rodney Stark. *The Churching of America 1776–1900: Winners and Losers in our Religious Economy.* New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.

Fisher, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vols. 1 and 2. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986, 1993.

McDougall, Walter A. *Freedom Just around the Corner: A New American History*, *1585–1828.* New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

Sweet, William W. *The Story of Religion in America.* Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1983.

Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America.* Edited by Phillips Bradley. New York: Knopf, 1945.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Holt, 1920.

James G. Wilson

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

When John Adams wrote that Philadelphia was "the pineal gland of the republic," he may well have had the American Philosophical Society in mind. The APS, the nation's first learned society, began as a self-consciously colonial enterprise in 1743. It evolved into a place where scientific acumen met political power and where Enlightenment ideals of rational thought exerted influence over the body politic.

A suggestion from the botanist John Bartram that the colonies needed a place for men of curiosity to meet and exchange ideas triggered Benjamin Franklin to form the APS. In his prospectus for the Society, Franklin declared that the colonies had at last reached a level of maturity sufficient to support a leisured, thinking class. As a would-be savant still early in his own maturation, he announced an ambitious Enlightened mission of "promoting useful knowledge." Aspiring artisans, mechanics, and merchants, rather than gentlemen, supplied most of the "virtuosi or ingenious men" who comprised the Society in the colonial era, but its few ardent members soon discovered that too many of their peers were in fact too leisured to bother with serious learning. Within a few years, as Franklin later recalled, the Society went dormant.

The concept of a learned society, however, continued to appeal to Philadelphians interested in social advance or personal prestige, and even after Franklin left for a diplomatic assignment in Britain, others took up the project. By the mid-1760s there were two organizations in the city, aligned loosely with the major political factions, both claiming to be successors to Franklin's initiative. Energized by proto-nationalist sentiments, the emphatically named American Society appointed the absent Franklin to its presidency (without his knowledge) in 1768, while the more conservative, revived American Philosophical Society boasted members who had actually belonged to its namesake. After a brief but intense contest, the two set aside their differences and merged in January 1769, joined shortly by the Medical Society. In Europe, Franklin abetted the fledgling organization, using his rising reputation in learned circles to forge intellectual ties to the metropole and beyond. The reputation of the Society was further enhanced with the appearance in 1771 of its *Transactions*, the first scholarly journal printed in North America.

During the Revolution the Society shed most of its Loyalist and pacifist members. The APS reemerged in 1780 and dramatically recast itself in a republican mold. Over a two-year span, a pantheon of Revolutionary heroes were inducted into membership, including George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Paine, and Friedrich von Steuben (a general and advisor to Washington), some of whom barely fit the bill as savants. In France, Franklin did his part to reinvigorate the Society, electing a host of major and minor savants (and one woman, Princess Ekaterina Dashkova [1743–1810] of Russia). When he finally returned to Philadelphia in 1785, he completed the bonding of the Society to the republican state by arranging for the new permanent home of the APS to be built on the State House Yard, adjacent to the nation's capitol and Supreme Court. At the crossroads of early national political power, aligned with republican principles and sharing membership liberally with the new government, the APS acted effectively as a national library, academy of sciences, and patent office.

Science came to be fully in service to the state under Thomas Jefferson, who was simultaneously third president of the APS (1797–1814) and the United States. During his tenure, APS members vigorously advocated the improvement of domestic

manufactures, publicized and passed judgments on technological innovations, and debated political economy, and the Society offered "premiums" (prizes) to stimulate improvements in navigation, streetlights, stoves, public education, and the preservation of peach trees from rot. The Society also served as a center for discussion of national exploration and expansion. In 1793 Jefferson drew upon the APS to organize a transcontinental scientific expedition under the botanist André Michaux, and ten years later he dusted off these plans as a framework for Lewis and Clark, preserving the records of that expedition in Philosophical Hall. Finally, between 1794 and 1811 the Society was indelibly associated with its tenant, the Philadelphia Museum, the most popular venue in the early Republic. The museum, under the leadership of the portrait artist Charles Willson Peale, presented a unique blend of science, entertainment, and American self-image to a receptive public.

After the federal government relocated to Washington in 1800 and gradually assumed a more active role in promoting industry and internal improvements, the APS lost much of its advisory role. The Society remains an active scholarly organization, however, and still pursues its mission of promoting useful knowledge.

See also **Academic and Professional Societies.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bell, Whitfield J. *Patriot-Improvers: Biographical Sketches of Members of the American Philosophical Society.* 2 vols. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1997–1999.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Robert S. Cox

AMERICANS IN EUROPE   Before the advent of the first regular transatlantic passenger service between New York and Liverpool in 1818, relatively few Americans had the means and opportunity to travel to Europe. Yet their experiences played an important role in fostering the notion of a distinct American national identity, as the New World continued to be defined against—and therefore in terms of—the Old World.

For eighteenth-century Americans, Europe meant essentially England and France. Before the Revolution, Anglo-Americans looked to Britain for markets, consumer goods, cultural standards, political ideas, and self-definition. The colonies and the mother country also had strong religious ties. Because of the lack of an American bishop, Anglicans who wanted to be ordained as deacons or priests were required to travel to England. American Quakers kept in close contact with Friends in Britain. Improved postal services and seagoing traffic in the second half of the eighteenth century also linked evangelical activity on both sides of the Atlantic by spreading news of conversions, establishing models for revivals, and facilitating the transnational workings of itinerant preachers.

After merchants and sailors, the sons of the colonial elite accounted for the largest number of Americans visiting Europe. An English university education or professional training was a rite of passage, especially in the South. Until the late eighteenth century, aspiring doctors and lawyers lacked educational opportunities in the colonies and had no choice but to go abroad. The uncontested center for legal studies was the Inns of Court in London, but for medical training most American students preferred Edinburgh, supplementing their courses with visits to London hospitals and medical facilities on the Continent. In addition to meeting students from all over Europe and the British Empire, Americans formed enduring bonds with ambitious young men from the other colonies.

The young elite men (women very rarely crossed the Atlantic, let alone on their own) often extended their formal education to include a "grand tour" of Europe for the purpose of self-improvement. Following the itinerary prescribed in guidebooks, tourists began with an extensive sojourn in Britain, then moved on to sightseeing in France and Italy with brief excursions through Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands. Grand tours included visits to historical monuments and battlegrounds, museums and cathedrals, as well as spas and bordellos.

Education and travel in Europe were meant to enable young Americans to shed provincial habits and mindsets, yet the experience often made them only more painfully aware of their country's lack of sophistication. This gnawing sense of inferiority manifested itself both in admissions of the colonies' backwardness and in brash declarations about the wholesome simplicity, purity, and equality of American society. Some came to regard the identity and

interest of the colonies as different from those of the mother country.

In the midst of the colonial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, the works of Italian-educated, London-based American painters John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) and Benjamin West (1738–1820) combined Old World artistic traditions and standards with distinctly New World subjects and approaches. Both artists influenced younger American painters, such as Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), and John Trumbull (1756–1843), who went abroad to study with them after Revolution.

During the War of Independence, around 7,000 Anglo-American Loyalists from across class lines took refuge in England. Some prominent Loyalists tried to lobby the British government to intensify the war effort in the colonies, but the refugees mainly served as objects for English war propaganda. After the war, few expatriates regained the social status they had enjoyed in America and were unwelcome reminders to their host country of an embarrassing loss. The war also brought to London hundreds of African American refugees who had liberated themselves or had been freed by the British army. As many were destitute and reduced to begging in the streets, the British government sponsored their resettlement to Sierra Leone on the west coast of Africa in 1787.

Britain continued to be a source of technological innovation for the early Republic. In the late 1780s and early 1790s, American merchants and Treasury officials attempted to obtain workable models of new British cotton spinning machines and to (illegally) recruit mechanics and mill managers. Some textile workers contacted prominent Americans in Europe, like Benjamin Franklin, to sound out their prospects before they were willing to emigrate and engage in industrial espionage. In the late 1820s American engineers traveled to Britain to gain firsthand knowledge of the emerging railroad technology, and the most successful early railroads in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey closely copied British models.

But as Britain lost its place as the preeminent trading partner and cultural role model, Americans began to look to France, both for help on the battlefield and in defining an American identity. As the envoy to Paris between 1776 and 1785, Franklin came to personify the new nation in the European imagination. Rather than hiding his provincial origins, Franklin shrewdly catered to the preconceptions of the French nobility who liked to think of Americans as noble savages. He was equally adept at advancing his own status as a transatlantic celebrity and promoting an image of his country as a land of virtuous and studious farmers, universal prosperity, and religious toleration.

Other American emissaries, notably John Adams, remained torn between fascination with the grandeur and refinement of European court societies and scorn for their decadence and immorality. Many post-Revolutionary travelers expressed the hope that the yet-to-be-modeled American national character would find a midpoint between the gravity and formality of English manners and the ease and elegance of the French. In the first decades after Independence, the United States sent envoys to only a few European capitals other than London and Paris: the Hague, to negotiate loans and trade agreements; Madrid and Lisbon, because of Spain's and Portugal's continued presence in the New World; and, for a short time, Berlin and Petersburg.

Between his arrival in France in 1784 and the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the next American minister to France, Thomas Jefferson, tried to educate European intellectuals about the New World while constantly keeping his eyes open for animals, plants, machines, and buildings that could be usefully transported to America. He also served as host and mentor to many young Americans traveling in Europe, but warned them to avoid the temptations of Paris.

Many French reformers looked to the United States as setting the precedent for a successful revolution. In 1789 American residents of Paris, including Jefferson, actively participated in the debates about a new French constitution. Some, like Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), who was to become Jefferson's successor as minister to France in 1792, and Jefferson's former secretary William Short (1759–1848), were convinced that the French people were not yet ready to follow in American footsteps and argued for a constitutional monarchy. Others, like Joel Barlow (1754–1812) and Thomas Paine (1737–1809), saw France as showing America the way by trying to establish a republic on a more democratic basis.

When the French republic and Britain went to war in 1793, the United States declared its neutrality. Nonetheless, American merchants tried to profit from the European conflict, even as both belligerents seized their ships. The crisis in Franco-American relations caused by the United States' refusal to side with France, the continued seizure of American vessels, and the XYZ affair (1797–1798) all rendered the situ-

ation of Americans in France increasingly precarious. Owing to their language and dress, Americans were often mistaken for Englishmen and faced insults, threats, and even arrests for espionage. Many American supporters of the French Revolution, disillusioned by Napoleon Bonaparte's rise to power in 1799, returned home.

The ill-fated attempts at economic coercion designed to obtain French and British recognition of America's neutrality, especially President Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807, caused a further decline in the number of Americans traveling to Europe, which continued with the outbreak of war between the United States and England in 1812 and the economic depression in 1819. Meanwhile, the proliferation of colleges and professional schools in the United States and the new emphasis on a distinctly republican education reduced the necessity for studying abroad. But, beginning in the 1820s, improved transportation by transatlantic steamboats brought unprecedented numbers of American tourists to Europe.

At the same time, American authors living abroad also spurred popular interest in Europe. Washington Irving (1783–1859) inspired his readers to imagine a trip to Europe as a romantic return to the past and the origins of their own culture. The Old World was now less associated with tyranny and immorality than with venerable traditions and the latest fashions in art, music, and literature. James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), who spent ten years in Paris, expressed a belief in American republican ideals combined with an appreciation of the cultural and intellectual achievements of European aristocracies that made American society appear shallow and materialistic by comparison.

See also **Embargo; War of 1812; XYZ Affair.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, William Howard. *The Paris Years of Thomas Jefferson.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

Andrews, Stuart. *The Rediscovery of America: Transatlantic Crosscurrents in an Age of Revolution.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *Americans Abroad: Two Centuries of European Travel.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964.

Sachse, William L. *The Colonial American in Britain.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956.

Philipp Ziesche

ANGLICANS AND EPISCOPALIANS The Church of England was a product of the dynastic ambitions of Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547), who divorced it from the international Roman Catholic Church and confiscated much of its property, and the Protestant Reformation, which affected religious beliefs and practices in many fundamental ways. Because England's rulers and citizens were never entirely of one mind about these things, they never restored religious unity. In spite of intermittent and sometimes severe persecution, Roman Catholics and dissenting Protestants remained in the realm. Meanwhile, the Church of England developed as a compromise between these extremes, resembling Rome in its hierarchical government and uniform services while resembling the Protestant churches in its articles of belief and its use of vernacular language. Deprived of most of its income-producing property by King Henry and required by law and custom to perform various social services, the Church of England, like the monarchy itself, was relatively poor. Gifts, endowments, and local taxes were its main supports, yet after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliament held more power over it than did the crown, its nominal head.

ANGLICANS BEFORE 1750

Anglicans—members of the Church of England—established Virginia, the first permanent British colony in the Americas. Once the colony became self-supporting and prosperous, the church grew apace with population, though never quite catching up. One problem was the supply of ministers. By 1750 a few private schools operated by ministers and the College of William and Mary offered respectable education, but Virginia had no Anglican bishop, nor was there any in North America, to ordain ministers. Anglican parishes either imported their ministers or sent young men on a dangerous and expensive trip to England for ordination. Meanwhile, the Church of England made the bishop of London responsible for oversight of its far-flung colonial parishes. Though no bishop ever actually visited them, beginning around 1690 London sent ministers with the special office of commissary, with powers to appoint and remove ministers and generally see to the health of colonial churches. In most respects the Anglican churches of Virginia were governed by their vestries, self-perpetuating committees made up of leading men in their parishes. They had power to collect taxes for the support of ministers and church property and for the care of orphans, widows, and others unable to support themselves.

Meanwhile, the Church of England managed, under varying circumstances, to gain a foothold in all the other colonies, most successfully in Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and surprisingly, Connecticut. The Puritan saints of Massachusetts, mostly with ill humor, were forced to accept an Anglican church in Boston under their new royal charter granted by William III in 1691. But it was Connecticut that proved to be the seedbed for both colonial Anglicanism with an American face and for the "High Church" party of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, officially organized between 1785 and 1789 (later simply the Episcopal Church). In 1723 the Reverend Timothy Cutler, president of Yale University, declared that he and several of his disciples were convinced that the Congregational establishment was fundamentally defective in constitution and belief; therefore, they would henceforth seek full communion with the Church of England. Cutler resigned his position at Yale, went to England, received ordination, and returned with a modest income guaranteed by England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG). So did young Samuel Johnson (1696–1772), who would sustain Anglicanism in Connecticut, train several young men for the ministry, and in the 1750s serve as first president of King's College (later Columbia University) in New York City.

The SPG and a related organization, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), were organized around 1700 by the Reverend Thomas Bray (1656–1730) and associates, who were deeply concerned by the spiritual wastelands they perceived in the rapidly growing British colonies of North America and the Caribbean. Bray's concerns extended to the temporal and eternal condition of African slaves and Indians in those colonies; the seeds of British antislavery were planted by his organization. Bray also encouraged the belief that changes in environment could change behavior, and so besides working for the conversion of prisoners, he floated the idea of transporting felons to the colonies instead of executing them. Bray's friend, General James Oglethorpe, undertook—with indifferent success—to implement this idea in founding the colony of Georgia (1733). The greatest success of the SPG before American independence was the sending of more than three hundred capable ministers to the colonies.

ANGLICANS, EVANGELICALS, AND GREAT AWAKENINGS

The religious revivals that swept like tidal waves through the English colonies in the eighteenth century affected all of the Protestant denominations, in-

cluding the Anglicans. The brothers John (1703–1791) and Charles (1707–1788) Wesley preached for a few months to small and indifferent congregations in Georgia. They were then practicing the devout and cerebral Anglicanism they had learned at Oxford. Both soon converted to evangelical activity—in John's case after close friendship and study with German Pietists, especially the Moravian Brethren. Their chief field of work was England, though their movement soon spread to North America. From the 1740s until just after the American Revolution, the Methodists were a society within the Church of England; indeed, Charles Wesley remained firmly in the church, and John, with a gift for making his own rules, continued to think himself a member until his death. Another Anglican minister, George Whitefield (1714–1770), found North America a most fertile field for saving souls. His revivalist preaching tours in the middle colonies in 1739 and New England in 1740 drew tens of thousands in packed church buildings and open fields. It was difficult to be neutral regarding Whitefield; denominations and particular congregations divided over him, especially among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists, but also among Baptists, Lutherans, and his fellow Anglicans.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Church of England unintentionally played a significant if limited part in creating the imperial crisis that culminated in war and the independence of the United States. Thomas Secker, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1758, had learned much about the state of his church overseas in his previous job as bishop of London. Though always concerned to avoid conflict, he received sympathetically the growing number of petitions from America requesting the seating of a bishop in North America. Merely discussing the question raised suspicions among colonial Patriots, who took alarm at the growing number and power of royal officials—governors, customs inspectors, Indian agents, and soldiers—settled among them. Furthermore, the archbishop planted an Anglican seminary in eastern Massachusetts to prepare young men for the Anglican ministry. While this was a far more peaceful act than the stationing of redcoats in Boston Harbor, it was still perceived as a threat by the descendants of the Puritan pioneers.

As the state of British–colonial relations grew more alarming in 1773 and 1774, a few Anglican ministers preached loyalty to the crown and engaged in the paper wars of pamphlets and letters to newspapers. Two of the most famous (or notorious) were

the Reverend Jonathan Boucher of Maryland and the Reverend Samuel Seabury of Westchester County, New York, a native of Connecticut and disciple of Samuel Johnson. Some Anglican ministers supported the Patriot side, especially in the southern colonies, and many prominent Anglican laymen took leading roles in the Revolution, including John Jay of New York and George Washington of Virginia. Once the Revolutionary War began, outspoken partisans of the crown either fled to areas under British control, such as New York City, returned to England, or sought refuge in loyal British colonies, such as Nova Scotia. A large middling group succeeded in remaining neutral.

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES

For obvious reasons, the Anglican Church suffered greatly from American independence. Membership in the Church of England seemed disloyal prima facie. Even worse, the SPG could continue to support its missionaries only by reassigning them to colonies that remained in the British Empire or by helping them find parishes in England. Virginia and Maryland, having the largest numbers of ministers before the war, also lost the largest numbers, in part because those states disestablished the Anglicans and proceeded, with most of the other states, to eliminate established churches entirely. Henceforth all denominations would be voluntary societies. With all public support withdrawn, ministers who wished to remain in Maryland and Virginia required new, voluntary support. From the 1780s onward Anglicans, reconstituting themselves as Episcopalians, also struggled to keep their ministers and laypersons from converting to the Methodists, who began organizing themselves as a distinct American denomination under Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. Only Connecticut and Massachusetts continued to support state churches, but this hardly helped the Episcopalians, their establishments being Congregational. The Episcopalians accordingly made common cause with Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, Universalists, and other dissenters to disestablish the Congregationalists. Connecticut did so in 1818, Massachusetts in 1833.

The substantial remnant of the former Church of England in the United States continued to worship using the Anglican Book of Common Prayer—as revised in 1662, with prayers for the king tactfully removed—under ministers who had been ordained in England prior to the Revolutionary War. A few were radical enough to propose creating their own bishops, officers who were required to ordain ministers,

govern regional associations (dioceses), and confirm communicants. But the overwhelming majority believed so devoutly in the apostolic succession—an unbroken sequence of consecrations of bishops and ordinations of ministers from the original apostles down through history—that they insisted on having bishops created in the traditional and orthodox manner in which the consecration of a bishop had to be accomplished by three existing bishops. First to seek elevation to this rank was the former Tory Samuel Seabury, living once more in Connecticut; reconciled to American independence; and through his long and cordial association with the SPG and his unquestioned strength of faith and intellect, an ideal candidate. Yet the archbishop of Canterbury, while seeming sympathetic, in fact gave Seabury a humiliating runaround. After enduring over a year of delay and indecision, Seabury tried another option. The alternative was ordination by Anglican bishops of Scotland, who represented a succession founded by the Stuarts, hence known as nonjuring and still suspected of secretly wishing for a Stuart restoration. These were not the bishops most Americans would have chosen. But Seabury found them preoccupied with religious matters only, not political matters, and so, after considerable negotiation—they were especially concerned about the wording of the Holy Communion service—three Scottish bishops consecrated the first American bishop in November 1784. Seabury became bishop of Connecticut, was recognized as such throughout New England, and upon returning home ordained a number of new ministers.

But most Episcopalians lived south of New England and, under the expert leadership of the Reverend William White of Pennsylvania, they dominated the Episcopal conventions in Philadelphia in 1785 and 1786. By this time the English bishops had decided to cooperate with the Americans, had approved their proposed Book of Common Prayer, and had consecrated three new bishops: White; Samuel Provoost of New York; and James Madison of Virginia, the president of the College of William and Mary and a cousin of the fourth president of the United States. In 1789 another General Convention met in Philadelphia, with Bishop Seabury and New England delegates fully participating. The organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church, USA, was now complete. Episcopal authority was guaranteed by the preservation of the apostolic succession: only bishops could create new bishops and ordain ministers. But laymen continued to control the temporal affairs of their congregations and sent lay delegates to their diocesan meetings as well as to the triennial

Saint John's Episcopal Church. This church, known as the "Church of the Presidents," stands opposite the White House on the north side of Lafayette Square in Washington, D.C. It was established in 1815 during James Madison's second administration to serve as a church for occupants of the White House and their families. © ROYALTY-FREE/CORBIS.

General Convention. There, authority was divided into two houses, the first consisting of ministers and laymen, the second of bishops alone. The 1789 Book of Common Prayer remained in force with only minor changes until the wholesale revisions of the 1960s.

ANOTHER GREAT AWAKENING AND EXPANSION
Little additional creative effort came from the leaders who stood by the former Church of England, preserving and then transforming it into a denomination in the United States.

New leaders came forward after 1800, however, both to expand the Episcopal Church in the eastern states and to spread it across the rapidly growing West. Richard Channing Moore followed James Madison as bishop of Virginia in 1812 (consecrated in 1814) and was far more active in promoting the growth of the church in his state and beyond. He in turn was followed by a zealous minister, William

Meade, who in his earlier years had promoted the abolition of slavery and served as an agent of the American Colonization Society. John Henry Hopkins (1792–1868), an immigrant from Ireland, served as an active layman and church musician in Pittsburgh and then as a minister in that city. In 1832 he became the bishop of Vermont and in 1865 was chosen presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church, serving to his death in 1868. Perhaps the most remarkable of all was Philander Chase. Born to a family of Congregationalists in New Hampshire, he converted to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the USA through reading the Book of Common Prayer. Bishop Provoost ordained him minister in 1799; after organizing the diocese of Ohio, he was consecrated bishop in 1819. Along the way he had led churches in upstate New York; Hartford, Connecticut; and New Orleans. In Ohio, Illinois, and Michigan he was in effect a missionary-itinerant. He founded Kenyon College in Ohio and Jubilee College in Illinois.

John Henry Hobart (1775–1830), born in Philadelphia and educated at Princeton, made his mark in the city and state of New York. As minister, assistant bishop, and finally bishop of New York, he wrote, edited, published, preached, traveled, opened missions, and greatly expanded the size and strength of his church. When the General Convention began considering creating a national seminary, Hobart at first stood with those who preferred diocesan seminaries, permitting each bishop to supervise the training of his future clergy. But when the General Theological Seminary opened in New York in 1817 and then moved to New Haven, Hobart succeeded in bringing it back, newly endowed, and administered in such a way that the bishop of New York could, in practice, be in charge. Reopening in New York City in 1822, the seminary has been there ever since. In 1826 it moved to its permanent location, a prime acreage donated by the Reverend Clement C. Moore, professor of Old Testament Studies, and, incidentally, the author of "A Visit from St. Nick," better known by its first five words, "'Twas the Night before Christmas."

HIGH CHURCH, LOW CHURCH
From the time of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603) to the twenty-first century, the Church of England and, since 1789, the Protestant Episcopal Church, USA, have included low-church groups with strong Puritan beliefs and practices that emphasize the sovereignty of God, salvation by faith rather than works, the necessity of a spiritual experience of conversion, and a tendency to minimize the efficacy of sacraments. Equally perennial (and in some respects

enjoying the upper hand in the late twentieth century) has been the High Church party, insisting on the primacy of the sacraments—especially infant baptism, confirmation, and frequent (preferably every week) Holy Communion—in God's scheme of salvation. Because only ordained ministers and consecrated bishops can perform the rites of the church, the authority of these self-perpetuating apostles must obviously be paramount. Therefore, High Churchmen were traditionally reluctant to concede authority and spiritual responsibilities to laypersons.

Throughout this essay the term *minister* has been used rather than *priest* only because that was the usage customary in colonial and early national America. But "priest" is far more appropriate for the High Churchmen of the era, such as Samuel Johnson, Samuel Seabury, and John Henry Hobart. Since the Oxford movement in England and the United States began in the 1830s, the High Church party has tended toward neomedievalism, represented by Gothic architecture, elaborate vestments, monastic orders, sung services, burning incense, and other ancient Christian practices. America's High Churchmen before 1830 had much less concern with such things, though they were likely to be somewhat particular about ceremonies and architecture. They were just as likely to be hostile to Roman Catholicism as to the low-church party. In the era of the Second Great Awakening (c.1800–1846), High Churchmen were often energetic and revivalistic (always observing proper decorum) like Bishop Hobart, and low churchmen were typically dedicated to preserving the essentials of episcopacy in church government and the Book of Common Prayer in worship.

See also **Loyalists; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Albright, Raymond W. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Butler, Diana Hochstedt. *Standing against the Whirlwind: Evangelical Episcopalians in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Ellis, Joseph J. *The New England Mind in Transition: Samuel Johnson of Connecticut, 1696–1772.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Rhoden, Nancy L. *Revolutionary Anglicanism: The Colonial Church of England Clergy during the American Revolution.* New York: New York University Press, 1999.

Steiner, Bruce E. *Samuel Seabury, 1729–1796: A Study in the High Church Tradition.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1971.

Robert McColley

ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION The Annapolis Convention of 1786 began as an ad-hoc gathering of the states to resolve differences regarding trade and commerce. Such efforts had not succeeded in Congress because of disagreements within that body and chronic absenteeism.

The Articles of Confederation, ratified in 1781 as the first official government of the United States, tightly restricted the power of Congress. The limitations and voting requirements made any legislation, enforcement, or revision of the Articles difficult, as a small number of states (five of thirteen) could block important legislation, and just one could block amendments. Problems with the system of government—strong, individual states and a weak central government—became clear quickly, especially in matters of trade and finance. Some state leaders called for a trade conference, without the involvement of Congress, in hopes they could ease these difficulties. In January 1786 Virginia's governor, Patrick Henry, invited each state to a convention set for the first Monday the following September in Annapolis, Maryland.

Only five states attended the Annapolis Convention, represented by twelve delegates. John Dickinson, George Read, and Richard Bassett represented Delaware. New Jersey sent Abraham Clark, William Churchill Houston, and James Schureman. Alexander Hamilton and Egbert Benson arrived from New York, and one delegate, Tench Coxe, represented Pennsylvania. James Madison, Edmund Randolph, and St. George Tucker of Virginia completed the assemblage. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Rhode Island appointed delegates who either did not make the trip or arrived after the convention had adjourned. The four remaining states—Connecticut, Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina—did not even appoint delegates.

The convention officially began on 11 September and lasted four days. The delegates first elected John Dickinson as the chair of the convention, then read their instructions from their respective state legislatures. They quickly agreed that with so few states represented, and with such differing instructions, a new convention should be called. The group unani-

mously appointed Delegates Benson, Clarke, Coxe, Read, and Randolph to draft a report to submit to the states and Congress. On 13 September the committee presented its report, drafted by Hamilton, to the larger group. It called for a new convention in Philadelphia, beginning the second Monday of May 1787, to address not just matters of trade, but "the general System of the federal government" as well. On 14 September the delegates approved the report and adjourned.

Congress took up the Annapolis recommendation on 11 October 1786, appointing a committee to consider the report. After intense debate, the committee recommended on 21 February that Congress endorse the proposed Philadelphia Convention, which it did with little further controversy. Seven states had appointed delegates to the Philadelphia Convention even before Congress's approval. The remaining states, except Rhode Island, had appointed delegates by May 1787.

Scholars of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 generally recognize the Annapolis Convention as an important step toward the new constitution. Yet they usually portray it as a failure. Because so few states attended, the convention could accomplish none of its objectives, making a new convention necessary. The Annapolis Convention is also seen as proof of the failure of the Articles of Confederation; some historians have addressed it in regional terms, asserting that regional divisions in Congress necessitated outside efforts such as the Annapolis Convention. Others, however see the 1786 conference as a turning point in the minds of leaders such as James Madison toward support for a new central government. Additionally, the Annapolis Convention was a turning point for the country, as it was the first conference to meet, whereas previous efforts had come to nothing, to consider constitutional reform. Further, it established a model for the Philadelphia Convention. Previously, the question had often arisen of how to revise the Articles, as just one state could repeatedly block reform attempts in Congress. Rather than a failure, the Annapolis Convention showed the potential for an extra-congressional assembly, and thus enabled the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Hamilton, Alexander.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banning, Lance. *The Sacred Fire of Liberty: James Madison and the Founding of the Federal Republic.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Davis, Joseph L. *Sectionalism in American Politics, 1774–1787.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977.

Hamilton, Alexander. "Annapolis Convention. Address of the Annapolis Convention." In *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton.* Edited by Harold C. Syrett, vol. 3, pp. 686–689. New York: Columbia University Press, 1962.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789.* New York: Harper & Row, 1987.

Cheryl R. Collins

ANTI-CATHOLICISM   Anti-Catholic prejudices were carried from Reformation England to the New World, taking root in the colonies where actually very few Catholics lived. Anti-Catholicism helped transplanted Britons retain some tenuous cultural connection to a distant mother country in a strange and often hostile world. Because of their diverse origins, purposes, composition, and location, virtually the only trait these colonies shared was their traditional hatred and fear of Catholicism. In the absence of any organic unity, or any other organizing ideology like nationalism, Catholicism helped to define for most colonials what was "other" or "foreign."

Although the most virulent anti-Catholicism would have been found in Massachusetts and in the Chesapeake colonies, nearly all British colonies imposed restrictions on Catholic settlement, landholding, political participation, and religious liberty. Only in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania were Catholics safe from persecution; but even in tolerant Pennsylvania, Catholics were not allowed to hold public office.

In all of the colonies, regardless of the official position of the government, hatred of Catholicism was contained in everyday popular expressions, folktales, songs, and popular amusements. However, outbursts of real anti-Catholic persecution could, at any time, be generated in time of war or revolution.

In the long period of wars between England and Catholic France and Spain (1689–1763), anti-Catholic action was strongest in those colonies most exposed to potential attack. In the newly founded frontier province of Georgia, Catholics were not allowed to enter the colony. Even in Virginia, with less vulnerability to attack, all Catholics were disarmed during the French and Indian War, and they were not allowed to own horses. The Carolinas prohibited Catholics from holding any public office, and North Carolina forbade the employment of Catholics as guardians after 1755. Only political disunity in

Maryland prevented much overt anti-Catholic legislation in Virginia before 1755; but, in that year, Maryland began double-taxation of Catholics.

No actual anti-Catholic legislation was passed in Pennsylvania until the outbreak of the French and Indian War, when prejudicial laws flowed from the formerly tolerant Quaker legislature. All Catholics were disarmed, forbidden from serving in the militia, double-taxed, and prohibited from settling in the western part of the colony most vulnerable to French attack. Even in formerly tolerant Connecticut, Catholics were denied any protection of their religion after 1743. New Hampshire instituted an oath of allegiance in 1752 requiring Catholics to renounce their allegiance to the pope.

Fear of a Catholic invasion died out with the defeat of France and Spain in 1763. The American colonies had other, more pressing, issues to divert their attention from anti-Catholicism. Resistance to new British regulations and taxes filled the space once occupied by fear of a Catholic foreign enemy. When this resistance movement began to develop momentum, however, anti-Catholicism provided demagogues with a handy tool for arousing popular sentiment.

The Quebec Act of 1774, designed to treat fairly the French Catholics now in the British Empire, stirred up a flurry of anti-Catholic outbursts. Preachers and politicians claimed that Great Britain was actually threatening Protestant religious liberty in the colonies by establishing Catholicism on their western frontier. And for those interested in destroying any residual loyalty to the British Crown, labeling George III as an ally or a puppet of the pope aided the cause considerably. Contemporaries testified later that the anti-Catholicism caused by the Quebec Act was a major unifying element in the American Revolution.

The Quebec Act led to a short revival in the colonies of the English celebration of Guy Fawkes Day, renamed Pope Day in the colonies, on 5 November each year. Involving the lower-class practice of burning an effigy of the pope, the celebration quickly spread from its home in New England to all the colonies in 1774. As far south as South Carolina, the pope was burned in a bonfire of English tea. When such celebrations threatened to destroy the unity among the recruits in the Continental Army, George Washington condemned the practice. Throughout the colonies after 1775, Pope Day foundered because of the desire to attract Catholic Canadians to the Revolutionary cause.

Attempts to use anti-Catholicism in the war against Great Britain also faced impediments once it became apparent that a French alliance was in the best interests of the Revolution. Even so, some states disarmed Catholics as they had during the French and Indian War, and many an anti-Catholic commentator expounded on the sinister presence of Catholic Irish soldiers in the British Army. Assistance from Catholic France after the Alliance of 1778 was always looked on by some with suspicion. The Alliance also gave Loyalists an opportunity to pillory the Patriots with the seeming incompatibility between Catholic hierarchy and British freedom.

Of the constitutions drawn up by the Revolutionary states, only those in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia accorded Catholics full equality with other Christians. For a hundred years after 1776, New Hampshire upheld its seventeenth-century test oath, its funding for only Protestant teachers, and its requirement that all members of the state government be Protestants. Similarly, in its 1779 constitution, Congregational Massachusetts supported only Protestant institutions and teachers and required all officeholders to take an oath rejecting any loyalty to foreign ecclesiastical powers. These restrictions were not removed until 1833. Congregationalism remained the established church in Connecticut as well until 1818.

In New York, John Jay strove unsuccessfully to have the constitution of 1777 prohibit Catholics from holding land or participating in state politics until they had abjured their beliefs in Catholic teachings and their loyalty to the pope. Yet the milder form ratified still refused naturalization to anyone holding "foreign" religious allegiance. This prohibition was removed in 1806. Although New Jersey proclaimed religious freedom in its 1776 constitution, Catholics were forbidden until 1844 from holding political office.

In 1776 North Carolina restricted officeholding to Protestants, as did South Carolina in its 1778 constitution. These restrictions were lifted in the latter in 1790 and in the former in 1835. Georgia kept its pre-independence anti-Catholic statutes on the books until 1798.

Even the new Constitution of the United States was attacked by North Carolina because it did not contain the anti-Catholic test oath to which so many Americans were accustomed. The tolerant spirit of the Constitution, however, was infectious, as is evidenced by the removal of anti-Catholic laws in the states after 1790.

Given such a dispensation, American Catholic clergymen were quite wary of doing anything to resurrect the old fears of their religion. An appearance of foreign attachment had to be avoided at all costs. For that reason, they petitioned for, and obtained, the appointment of an American, John Carroll of Maryland, as the first Catholic bishop in the United States in 1789. He and his successors were at pains to defuse Protestant hostility by reinforcing the idea of Catholics as loyal Americans and not the puppets of a "foreign" leader.

The type of anti-Catholicism that emerged with the formation of the Federalist Party was more political than anything else. That party formed around an antipathy for the French during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, and by their understanding that renewed immigration from Ireland largely benefited their opponents, the Democratic Republicans. The fact that the French and the Irish were Catholics was important but incidental. Nevertheless, it could be used to political advantage to justify persecution of political rivals under the Alien and Sedition Acts in the 1790s. Irish Catholic, Mathew Lyon, was the first person prosecuted under John Adams's Sedition Act, but Adams had no qualms about appointing British Catholic William Kilty to the highest judicial post in the District of Columbia.

After the Democratic victory in 1800, anti-Catholic sentiments once again went underground except among Federalist holdouts in New England. Renewed immigration of Catholics from Ireland in the 1820s, however, increased Protestant fears that their beliefs and institutions were again in jeopardy. An attempt by the American Catholic hierarchy to calm Protestant fears by calling the First Provincial Council of Catholicity in America in 1829 actually backfired. Certain decrees of the council, like those warning against non-Catholic interpretations of the Bible, calling for the creation of separate Catholic schools, and urging baptism of Protestant children if there was a chance they could be raised Catholic, all stirred up ancient fears of a powerful, aggressive Catholicism. In a divided society experiencing unprecedented geographic growth and socioeconomic change, the monolith of Catholicism was very frightening.

The trusteeism controversy in several Catholic churches only served to catalyze these fears for the next thirty years. At issue here was whether or not lay trustees, who often had been instrumental in purchasing land and funding the construction of Catholic church buildings, should also have the right to select their religious ministers. To the trustees, and to most Protestant Americans, such a power seemed most in keeping with American customs. When, however, the Catholic bishop of Philadelphia, in a long, ugly confrontation that lasted from 1820 to 1830, was able to defeat the trustees, and when the state legislature refused to intervene, it seemed to many that foreign authoritarianism had triumphed.

Anti-Catholic responses to this threat merged with the growing reform mania in the United States. Immigration restriction became popular, as did appeals to rediscover the true Protestant Bible. Thirty religious newspapers with a definite anti-Catholic agenda were founded by 1827, warning Americans of the evils of the Catholic Church. These and other examples of anti-Catholic propaganda were so troubling that formerly diffident Catholic church leaders felt compelled to respond to attacks in speeches, public debates with Protestant clergy, and apologetic publications of their own. Bishop John England of Charleston was an especially aggressive leader, founding the *United States Catholic Miscellany* in 1822. Reverend John Hughes of Philadelphia, later to become the bishop of New York when anti-Catholicism had progressed from mere words to brickbats and guns, established a Catholic Tract Society in 1827 to defend the beliefs of Catholics. In the end, Catholic attempts to explain themselves fell on deaf ears, and probably only added fuel to a fire that was about to engulf America in the nativist and Know-Nothing era.

See also **Catholicism and Catholics; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Tests for Officeholding; Theology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Billington, Ray Allen. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800–1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism.* New York: Rinehart, 1952.

Curry, Thomas J. *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Lee, Francis Graham, ed. *All Imaginable Liberty: The Religious Liberty Clauses of the First Amendment.* Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1995.

Smith, Elwyn A. *Religious Liberty in the United States: The Development of Church-State Thought since the Revolutionary Era.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.

Joseph J. Casino

ANTI-FEDERALISTS The anti-Federalists voiced objections to the proposed Constitution in 1787–1788. This diverse group was concerned about the amount of power the Constitution would grant the national government, apprehensive about representation at the national level, and disturbed over the lack of safeguards for citizens' rights. Anti-Federalists were a significant presence in most states. In several of them, supporters of the Constitution (who took the name "Federalists" and probably pinned the negative-sounding label on their opponents) agreed to recommend amendments to secure support from mild anti-Federalists. This concession facilitated ratification, but it also created the expectation that the Constitution would be changed to address certain of its opponents' concerns. After ratification, the anti-Federalists worked within the Constitution's bounds. They expected Federalists to do so as well, holding them to their ratification fight pledge that the Constitution granted the national government only specifically listed powers.

THE CONSTITUTION'S ALLEGED DEFICIENCIES

The Constitution was made public in September 1787 and faced opposition almost immediately. Controversy exists over the primary motivation of the anti-Federalists. Some think they opposed the Constitution primarily for economic reasons. Others argue that they wanted to protect their own political power. Still others find that they were influenced mainly by political theory. Despite questions about their motivations, anti-Federalists clearly expressed their objections as a set of broadly applicable political views.

Phrases in the Constitution led anti-Federalists to believe that the power of the national government would, in theory, be virtually unlimited. Article I, section 8 listed the powers of Congress. At the end of that list was a clause that allowed Congress "to make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing Powers." Anti-Federalists frequently argued that this phrase would allow the national government to formulate any law it wished, including ones that would be harmful and unrepresentative. Additionally, the Constitution contained a "supremacy clause" in Article VI that recognized the national government as the final arbiter of its disputes with the states. This clause led anti-Federalists to conclude that states and their citizens would be at the mercy of the national government.

Anti-Federalists considered extensive national power problematic for a number of reasons. They complained that the national government could tax them without constraint, that it could build an expensive and dangerous army, and that it could even take away the rights that Americans expected government to protect. The most problematic omission in the Constitution, especially in the view of moderate anti-Federalists, was the lack of a bill of rights. Not protecting freedom of the press or due process rights for the criminally accused made many anti-Federalists suspicious of Federalist motives. Most did not think that a new national government would act tyrannically immediately. However, they argued it was best to write safeguards against tyrannical action into a constitution at the outset rather than rely on the good nature of politicians not to enact tyrannical measures.

Most anti-Federalists felt they could not rely on national representatives as much as they could on state representatives. Officials elected at the state level were closer to the people they served. They frequently returned home to face their constituents and they served short terms. This regular contact helped ensure that state legislators would follow constituent wishes. Furthermore, state legislators were much more likely to be representative of the populace. They tended to be middle-class farmers and local businessmen, like most voters. The national Congress would not be made up of such individuals. The Constitution itself dictated that every member of the House would have more than thirty thousand constituents. Most senators would represent many more than thirty thousand. Anti-Federalists reasoned that only the wealthy and prominent would be sufficiently well-known to get elected, giving Congress an upper-class bias. The distance between most states and the national capital meant that national representatives would only infrequently mingle with their constituents. Long terms, particularly in the Senate, meant that constituents would exert less control over what representatives did. At the very least, anti-Federalists called for a significant expansion of the House of Representatives to remedy these problems. The more aggressive anti-Federalists argued that the national government could never accurately represent citizens.

Anti-Federalist objections to the Constitution were based on well-known political theory. Republican thinkers, particularly the English Whig opposition of the 1730s and 1740s, had argued that popular governments were almost inevitably short-lived. Great vigilance was necessary to prevent the concentration of power, which would destroy popular government and result in tyranny. Anti-Federalists jus-

The Looking Glass for 1787: A House Divided against Itself Cannot Stand. This satirical engraving, produced in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1787 by Amos Doolittle, depicts the state of Connecticut as a wagon sinking under the weight of debt and paper money, as Federalists and anti-Federalists engage in arguments. Doolittle favors the Federalists. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

tified their opposition as necessary to save popular government. They also argued, citing John Locke (1632–1704) as their inspiration, that the powers of government needed to be strictly separated. Federalists had unnecessarily written shared powers into the Constitution, including those over appointments and treaties. Many anti-Federalists felt that the Senate and president could conspire to control the new government.

Finally, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), by Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), had convinced many that a republic could not exist in a large nation. Montesquieu argued that popular government required a common culture. The states were relatively homogeneous and therefore could be viable republics. The nation, with its many different ethnicities, religions, and economic interests, would be unlikely to produce a broad array of policies that its diverse citizenry would support. Therefore, anti-Federalists reasoned that states should retain significant powers. Many argued that the nation should simply be a confederation of sovereign states.

LEADERS AND ADHERENTS

Some of the nation's best-known political leaders were among those who opposed the Constitution. Famed orator Patrick Henry led the anti-Federalists in Virginia, joined by the author of the Virginia declaration of rights, George Mason, who had attended the Constitutional Convention but refused to sign the document. Governor George Clinton organized opposition to the Constitution in New York. The Massachusetts Patriot leader Elbridge Gerry, a future vice president, also objected to the Constitution after

participating in the Constitutional Convention. Samuel Adams, the organizer of the Revolution in Massachusetts, initially expressed his opposition to the Constitution (although he ultimately voted for ratification after his constituents instructed him of their support for it and the Massachusetts convention recommended amendments). Many other anti-Federalists were prominent politicians of their day. Other critics of the Constitution became famous after ratification. The future president James Monroe opposed ratification, as did John Quincy Adams, a young law student in 1787–1788.

While many prominent anti-Federalists expressed their opposition to the Constitution openly, most who wrote against the document employed pseudonyms. There was a long tradition of doing so, because arguments rather than personalities were supposed to sway the public. The best-known anti-Federalists wrote series of letters under pseudonyms like "Brutus," "Cato," "Centinel," and "Federal Farmer." Each represented a different perspective. Centinel was among the harshest of anti-Federalists, calling the Federalists "conspirators" and believing that it was the framers' design to take away the people's right to govern themselves. Federal Farmer was one of the milder and more learned opponents of the Constitution. He felt the new national government would benefit the nation if rights were safeguarded and the House of Representatives was expanded to become a "true picture" of the people. Most anti-Federalist views fell somewhere in between these extremes. The majority believed that the national government should be granted more power than it had under the first American constitution, the Articles of Confederation, though not nearly as much as the new Constitution allowed. Most frequently, anti-Federalists recognized that the national government required a stable source of revenue and the ability to regulate interstate commerce, neither of which it had under the Articles of Confederation.

Far more anti-Federalists lived inland than on the coasts. The reason for this was simple. Commercial interests favored the Constitution and they predominated in more highly developed coastal areas. It was understood that the national government would eliminate trade barriers between the states, spurring commerce and benefiting the coastal economy where goods were more easily transported. Additionally, the national government would repay its long-standing debt, helping to restore health to the nation's ailing commercial economy. These matters were not of great concern to those who did not live near the coast or major rivers. Most of them were small farmers with few goods to sell on the open market. The Constitution's commercial benefits were unlikely to benefit them much.

The states' different economic interests help to explain why anti-Federalist strength in them varied significantly. For instance, many imported goods came into New York City's harbor. Under the Articles of Confederation, the state of New York could charge a tariff on these goods, many of which would eventually wind up in New Jersey or Connecticut. New York State could finance its government at the expense of those neighboring states. Under the new Constitution that practice would not be allowed. New Yorkers thus had an incentive to oppose ratification while those in New Jersey and Connecticut almost uniformly supported the Constitution.

Economic interests, however, were not the sole reason for one's position on the Constitution. The most fervently anti-Federalist state, Rhode Island, was also the most coastal. The citizens of Rhode Island displayed a notorious independent streak and opposed ratification in order to guard their state's own decision-making power. Some prominent individuals who lived on the coast opposed the Constitution too, including Elbridge Gerry, one of the nation's wealthiest merchants.

Many citizens concerned about slavery were anti-Federalists. Southerners expressed fears that under the Constitution the eight northern states would gang up on the five southern states, passing legislation which would harm their slave-based economies. Many northerners lamented that the nation would have to recognize and protect something so contrary to universal rights.

RATIFICATION DEBATE DYNAMICS

Several practical matters complicated the anti-Federalists' quest to alter or defeat the Constitution. The call to form a convention came from the Federalists. They were interested in making radical changes to the structure of the national government and were highly motivated to attend the Philadelphia Convention. Anti-Federalists wanted less far-reaching changes and thus were less motivated to attend the Constitutional Convention. Two of its attendees were the nation's most respected political leaders, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, both of whom clearly favored the Constitution. Washington and Franklin were heroes of the Revolution. Most citizens trusted their judgment.

The great majority of the nation's ninety newspapers published during 1787–1788 were printed near the coast. These papers naturally reflected the

prevailing interest of their local areas, which were predominantly Federalist. About eighty of these newspapers were firmly Federalist in orientation, while only about a half dozen were firmly anti-Federalist. This dynamic hindered dissemination of the anti-Federalists' message, while it facilitated the spread of Federalist views.

Federalists also skillfully controlled the ratification process. They wrote into the Constitution the provision requiring just a two-thirds majority of the states (nine of the thirteen) to ratify and set up the new government. Had they abided by the rules of the Articles of Confederation, all thirteen states would have had to agree to the change. Anti-Federalists protested the more lax requirement but could do little about it. Five states—Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut—ratified the Constitution quickly by wide margins. In stark contrast to the other four states, Pennsylvania's ratification proved to be highly divisive because of heavy-handed Federalist tactics. Anti-Federalists and Federalists clashed physically in Carlisle on 25 and 26 December 1787. A petition asking the state legislature to void the state's ratification circulated in western Pennsylvania and eventually netted six thousand signatures, a huge number for the time.

Ratification was not a foregone conclusion in any other state, with the exception of Maryland. To obtain ratification in the tightly contested states, Federalists changed their tactics. Beginning with Massachusetts in February 1788, Federalists agreed to recommend amendments in exchange for support from the mildest anti-Federalists. By late June 1788 ten states had ratified, including Massachusetts and Virginia, the two most populous states. Without the approval of these two states the Constitution could hardly have succeeded.

The Constitution was not immediately implemented. During the months between ratification and implementation, politicians in the holdout states of New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island came to understand that it was in their state's interest not to be left out of the nation. These states ratified the Constitution, though it took North Carolina two ratification conventions to do so. North Carolina's Outer Banks made commercial navigation difficult. Its economy was primarily agrarian and its populace firmly anti-Federalist. Even so, the second state ratification convention approved the constitution in until November 1789. Rhode Island held out until May 1790, well after the new government began operations in April 1789.

With only a few exceptions, anti-Federalists agreed to abide by the ratified Constitution. Their reasoning was that good citizens are obligated to support all laws. If anti-Federalists did not accept the ratified Constitution, then anybody who fundamentally disagreed with a law could refuse to follow it. To the anti-Federalists, not accepting ratification was a prescription for anarchy, and that was something they would not tolerate. At the same time, many anti-Federalists did call for a second constitutional convention to consider the recommended amendments. The New York ratifying convention had called for such a meeting and Virginia's legislature, with a majority of anti-Federalists in it, did so as well, indicating that the anti-Federalists continued to think of the new framework of government as inadequate.

Accepting the Constitution's legality, however, carried a political price. To many citizens it appeared as if anti-Federalist leaders were conveniently willing to accept what they had vehemently disputed in order to retain their political influence. The careers of several prominent anti-Federalists ended as a result, and as a whole the group suffered electorally into the mid-1790s.

LEGACY

Though the Constitution was ratified, the anti-Federalists did not leave the fight empty-handed. They expected that the recommended amendments would be seriously considered even though the push for a second convention failed to have an impact. Yet few anti-Federalists were elected to the new Congress. With massive Federalist majorities in both the House and the Senate, they had little hope that Congress would deal with the amendments in good faith. Some pressed Congress to consider the amendments immediately while others sought delay, hoping for a better opportunity to get them approved.

While many Federalists in Congress were content to ignore the promise of amendments, James Madison was not. He felt amendments that safeguarded rights would shore up support for the new government. He also wanted to prevent changes that would alter the new government's structure. Accordingly, Madison wrote amendments and used his considerable influence to push them through the First Congress. Ten amendments were ultimately ratified by the states, becoming the Bill of Rights. Most former anti-Federalists were pleased that rights were expressly secured. However, those who doubted that a national government could be representative were still deeply disturbed by the new regime

and expressed frustration that the amendments were inadequate.

Former anti–Federalists tended to dislike Federalist policies. They complained that the Federalists were going back on their word that the Constitution granted only clearly enumerated powers to the national government. That argument had been voiced forcefully by the Pennsylvania Federalist James Wilson during the ratification debate and that idea was seemingly set into the Constitution by the Tenth Amendment, which stated that "powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it [the Constitution] to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." On many issues, particularly in the controversy over establishing a national bank, former anti–Federalists accused Federalists of exceeding their rightful authority. Some who had been Federalists, like James Madison, agreed. Madison's group allied with the anti–Federalists and organized as a political party, with Thomas Jefferson as its leader.

This alliance proved durable. In the election of 1800, these Jeffersonian or Democratic Republicans captured majorities in the House and the Senate, and Jefferson won the presidency. Many of the former anti–Federalists continued to be a vital part of the Democratic Republican Party into the nineteenth century. They had been on the losing side in the ratification debate, but they also felt vindicated by their having preserved state power and, with it, the federal nature of the American government.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Madison, James.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banning, Lance. "Republican Ideology and the Triumph of the Constitution, 1789–1793." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 31 (1974): 167–188.

Cornell, Saul. "The Changing Historical Fortunes of the Anti-Federalists." *Northwestern University Law Review* 84 (1989): 39–73.

———. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalists and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Duncan, Christopher M. *The Anti-Federalists and Early American Political Thought.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995.

Finkelman, Paul. "Turning Losers into Winners: What Can We Learn, If Anything, from the Antifederalists?" *Texas Law Review* 79 (2001): 849–894.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 19 vols. plus microfiche supplements. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Kenyon, Cecelia. "Men of Little Faith: The Anti-Federalists on the Nature of Representative Government." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 12 (1955): 3–43.

Lienesch, Michael. "In Defense of the Anti-federalists." *History of Political Thought*, 4 (1983): 65–87.

Siemers, David J. *The Antifederalists: Men of Great Faith and Forbearance.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003.

———. *Ratifying the Republic: Antifederalists and Federalists in Constitutional Time.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002.

Storing, Herbert. *The Complete Anti-Federalist.* 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

David J. Siemers

ANTI-MASONS   The rapid growth of Freemasonry after the Revolution prompted a series of hostile—and often paranoid—reactions. In 1798 and 1799 a brief excitement arose when Jedidiah Morse suggested that the fierce political opposition to the Federalist regime resulted from a conspiracy by the notorious Bavarian Illuminati, who were trying to use the Masons to bring about a revolution like that in France. Other brief, localized outbursts of hostility occurred in Pennsylvania among German dissenting sects in 1812 and 1819 and among Presbyterian clergymen in 1821, but not until after 1826 did a great Anti-Masonic crusade spread through the nation, spawning a political party that competed powerfully in several northern states in the early 1830s.

Freemasonry had secured a highly respected position as a benevolent movement transcending social divisions, providing moral training for good citizens, and expressing the best values of republican virtue. But after 1815 some people came to see it as an exclusive mutual-aid society for its members, providing a hidden network of contact, recommendation, and credit for businessmen and politicians. According to some local newspapers, Masons held half of all public offices while numbering only one-tenth of the white adult male population. More significantly, Speculative Freemasonry became an affront to all those caught up in the evangelical revival of the day, especially Methodists and Baptists; they increasingly identified Masonry with the freethinking of the Enlightenment and condemned it as an attempt to create a secular moral authority based on heathen rituals, rationalism, and Deism.

These antagonisms came to a head after an infamous incident in September 1826. A stonemason named William Morgan of Batavia, New York, decided to publish an exposé of Masonic secrets. Impris-

oned on a petty charge of debt, he was suddenly released when the debt was paid for him and then abducted as he left jail. Common report claimed that he had been shackled with chains and thrown into the Niagara River. The subsequent hue and cry found its inquiries obstructed, and the trials of those suspected dragged on for five years, to little effect. Opponents blamed the law's delays on the strategic governmental and judicial positions held by Masons belonging to the higher orders who had secretly sworn to defend fellow Masons regardless of their offences, "treason and murder not excepted."

Convinced that Freemasonry was an evil institution capable of subverting the Republic, an aroused public opinion put pressure on Masons to recant, ministers to leave the order, and lodges to cease meeting. The crusade entered politics in New York in 1827, when Anti-Masons decided to prevent the election of Masons to township office. In 1828 they ran a ticket in the state elections, though in the presidential election they backed John Quincy Adams because of his openly Anti-Masonic sympathies. Subsequently, Anti-Masonic parties also took their evangelical and egalitarian appeals into the state and local elections of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New England. The political party never won the electoral support of all Anti-Masonic sympathizers, because many "moral Anti-Masons" felt that it was improper to vote for or against candidates on the basis of their private beliefs and social affiliations. However, the party effectively appealed to the socially discontented, though the voting returns reveal that it did not stimulate unprecedented levels of voter turnout, as is sometimes claimed. The Anti-Masons won control of many county governments; elected governors in Vermont in the years from 1831 to 1834 and Pennsylvania in 1835; gained significant influence in the legislatures of Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island; and elected over twenty congressmen.

In September 1830 the Anti-Masons held the first-ever national political-party convention, and at the second, in September 1831, they nominated former attorney general William Wirt as their presidential candidate. Wirt carried Vermont, but in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio the Anti-Masons preferred to support "unpledged" tickets that would vote in the electoral college for whichever candidate stood the best chance of beating Andrew Jackson. This experience demonstrated that Anti-Masonry had no program relevant to national politics, and when Jackson seemed to imperil the Republic and its prosperity by removing the government's deposits from the national bank in 1833, most political Anti-

Masons swiftly moved over to support the new Whig Party, though the Anti-Mason Party lingered on in Pennsylvania until 1839.

The ending of Anti-Masonry was facilitated by a deliberate policy among Whig leaders of persuading Masonic lodges to surrender their civil charters, while three states passed potentially destructive statutes prohibiting extrajudicial oaths. These measures reinforced the pressure that public opinion had brought against the order, even in states (such as Alabama) where an Anti-Masonic political party never appeared. Between 1826 and 1840, the number of members and of active lodges declined by two-thirds and more in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and New York. Across the nation, membership may have declined from one hundred thousand in 1826 to forty thousand a decade later. When Freemasonry revived after 1850, it did so as a less secretive, less esoteric, more fraternal institution than before 1826.

See also **Freemasons; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bullock, Steven C. *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Goodman, Paul. *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826–1836.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. "Antimasonry and Partisanship in Greater New England, 1826–1836." *Journal of the Early Republic* 15, no. 2 (1995): 199–239.

Vaughn, William Preston. *The Antimasonic Party in the United States.* Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1983.

Donald J. Ratcliffe

ANTISLAVERY   Opposition to slavery in British North America began in the late seventeenth century but was limited mostly to a minority of Quakers and a few Puritans until the quarter century before the Revolution. In 1754 the Quaker activist John Woolman published *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, which soon stimulated a renewed hostility to slavery among Quakers. In 1758 the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia took an official position against slaveholding, and by the time of the Revolution, most Quakers had begun to free their slaves. In 1770 Quaker leaders working with Anthony Benezet opened the African Free School in Philadelphia. Benezet published *Short Account of That Part of Africa In-*

habited by the Negroes (1762), which challenged common assumptions about the racial inferiority of blacks. His *Some Historical Account of Guinea* (1772) exposed the horrors of the African slave trade and stimulated opposition to the trade in England and America. Meanwhile, throughout the country Baptists, Mennonites, and Methodists preached against slavery. Initially, John Wesley would not even allow slave owners to join his church. Some individual Anglicans and Presbyterians also took stands against slavery, although those denominations did not oppose slavery at this time.

REVOLUTIONARY ERA GAINS

On the eve of the Revolution, slavery was found in all thirteen colonies and antislavery was limited mostly to the religiously motivated. The Revolution stimulated opposition to slavery from a variety of sources. Slaves, especially in New England, used Revolutionary rhetoric to challenge their own servitude, and many masters accepted these arguments and allowed their male slaves to enlist in the state militias and the Continental line in return for their freedom. By the end of the war, slavery was severely weakened in New England and Pennsylvania and under assault in New York and to a lesser extent in New Jersey. Even in the South some masters freed their slaves to serve in the army or because the masters could no longer in good faith own slaves. After the war private manumission in the South, stimulated by Revolutionary ideology or religious fervor, brought liberty to tens of thousands of slaves. In Virginia, for example, the free black population went from about two thousand in 1780 to over thirty thousand by 1810. Similarly, in Maryland the free black population went from under ten thousand in 1790 to just under forty thousand by 1820. The slave population, meanwhile, remained virtually stagnant in this period. There was also a spurt of manumissions in the Carolinas. By the War of 1812, however, the manumission rates were declining everywhere in the South except Maryland and Delaware.

In 1780, before the war was even over, Pennsylvania passed the nation's first gradual abolition act. The legislature noted the "abhorrence of that condition, to which the arms and tyranny of Great-Britain were exerted to reduce us," and declared that having been delivered from British tyranny,

> we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others, which hath been extended to us, and release from that state of thraldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from

which we have now every prospect of being delivered.

Similarly, Massachusetts ended slavery through its Constitution of 1780. By the end of 1784, all of the New England states had either ended slavery outright or passed gradual abolition statutes to end bondage over time. Later on, New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) passed similar laws. Meanwhile, abolition societies sprang up throughout the North and the Upper South. Most focused on helping free blacks, abolishing the African slave trade, and ending slavery in their own states. These early antislavery advocates did not focus on ending slavery in other states, as abolitionists of the antebellum period would.

NATIONAL-LEVEL VICTORIES

At the national level, opponents of slavery achieved two victories in the early national period. In 1787 the Congress under the Articles of Confederation banned slavery from the Northwest Territories. This ban was the result of lobbying by New England investors who wanted to purchase land in the area north of the Ohio River but did not want slavery there. The Northwest Ordinance did not immediately end slavery in the region, and there were a substantial number of slaves in Illinois and Indiana until after both territories achieved statehood. But the ordinance nevertheless showed the potency of antislavery. In 1807 Congress banned all American participation in the African slave trade, in 1819 Congress provided for stricter enforcement of the ban, and in 1820 declared that illegal importation of slaves amounted to piracy. While opponents of slavery applauded these laws, they cannot be seen solely as victories for opponents of slavery. Many slave owners, especially from the Upper South, opposed the slave trade in part because banning the trade would increase the value of their excess slaves.

DECLINE AND REVIVAL

The early antislavery movement began to die out after the War of 1812. By that time slavery was dead or dying in all of the northern states. Because the early societies were local in their scope and vision, they did not turn to ending slavery in the South, but instead focused on improving the circumstance and educational opportunities of free blacks in the North. Those societies that had existed in the Upper South either completely disappeared or became so marginalized that they had no effect on public policy.

In 1817 some opponents of slavery joined the newly organized American Colonization Society

(ACS), which was dedicated to removing blacks from the United States. Some members of the ACS saw colonization in Africa as a way of encouraging an end to slavery, but many others hoped the movement would simply lead to the removal of the existing free black population. Sincere opponents of slavery soon abandoned the ACS and would eventually move into the abolitionist movement initiated by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831.

In 1819 Congress debated the admission of Missouri into the Union. Northern congressmen, led by James Talmadge of New York, opposed admitting Missouri as a slave state. This led to the first great debate over slavery in Congress. It led to sharp denunciations of slavery by northerners, which shocked many southern members of Congress. Never before had there been such an acrimonious debate over slavery. Sectional harmony would never again be possible as long as bondage made the nation half slave and half free.

In the decade following the Missouri debates, the issue of slavery simmered. No great antislavery movement emerged in the North, but some northerners began to speak out more directly against the system. In 1821 Benjamin Lundy began to publish the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the first bona fide antislavery newspaper in the nation. He daringly moved the paper to the South, publishing it in Tennessee, Maryland, and then Washington, D.C. In 1829 William Lloyd Garrison joined Lundy, and after Garrison left this partnership he began to plan for the publication of *The Liberator*, which in 1831 became the most important antislavery paper in the nation and the catalyst for the antislavery movement of the antebellum period.

AFRICAN AMERICAN ACTIVISM

Throughout this period African Americans were the most committed opponents of slavery. They expressed their opposition in a variety of ways. Fugitive slaves, acting as individuals or in groups, ran from bondage and in so doing expressed their opposition to slavery and their refusal to be treated as slaves. Some blacks, like the Virginia slave Gabriel Prosser and his associates, plotted rebellions. During the Revolution tens of thousands of slaves asserted their freedom or convinced their masters to free them so they could join the army, escaped from their masters, or ran away to join armies on both sides of the conflict. Thousands found refuge with the British, and some of these ended up as free people in Canada and elsewhere. Throughout the period slaves and free blacks petitioned colonial and state legislatures and

the new Congress to gain their own freedom. In the 1820s black authors attacked slavery through their own publications. In 1827 Samuel Cornish and John Brown Russwurm started the nation's first black-run newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, and in 1829 Cornish began to publish his own paper, *Rights of All*. Most dramatically of all, in September 1829—at the very end of the period of the new American nation—David Walker published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, quoting the Declaration of Independence and demanding that blacks be given their inalienable rights to life and liberty or that they rise up in revolt, just as white Americans had done a half century earlier.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans; Missouri Compromise; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Slavery: Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, David Brion. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Wiecek, William M. *The Sources of Antislavery Constitutionalism in America, 1760–1848.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Paul Finkelman

APPALACHIA The history of Appalachia between 1754 and 1829 encompasses an ongoing migration of peoples, their struggle to secure political and economic interests, and a blending of Indian, European, and African cultures into a unique regional identity. Although the Spanish explored Appalachia as early as 1539, significant interaction between Europeans and Indians came only after 1650 with the arrival of English and Dutch explorers. At that time resident tribes included the Cherokee in the South, Algonquian groups in the mountains of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the northern Iroquois Confederation. Contact led to the development of a profitable fur trade between European rivals and the Indians of Appalachia, competition for hunting grounds, and, increasingly, European settlement of lands originally controlled by Indians.

European settlement expanded rapidly after 1730, when Virginia law awarded land speculators one thousand acres for every family settled west of the Blue Ridge and North Carolina offered free "headrights" of one hundred acres to prospective settlers. From 1730 to 1830, waves of German, Scotch-Irish, and English immigrants pushed south and west from Pennsylvania into Appalachia, displacing Indian peoples and resettling western Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee and Kentucky.

Eighteenth-century Scotch-Irish and German immigrants into Appalachia came from war-torn and impoverished regions and were motivated by a desire to own land and to practice their own forms of religion. They moved together and established communities dominated by particular ethnicities and religious sects, including Mennonite, Moravian, Baptist, and Methodist. English immigrants included miscellaneous groups of religious dissenters, such as Quakers and French Huguenots, and, though they lacked the ethnic cohesion of the Scotch-Irish and Germans, accounted for one-third of all settlers and a substantial portion of the economic and political elite that later dominated Appalachia. Slave and free, Africans lived and worked in Appalachia throughout the eighteenth century and participated in the exploration of Indian territory, the construction of frontier homes, the clearing of land for cultivation, the harvesting of crops, and the formation of a regional cultural identity.

Competition between British and French fur traders led to the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the Cherokee War (1759–1761). In both cases American colonists, hoping to open new land for western settlement, supported the British cause. Although victory secured British control of Appalachia, it limited options for Indians in the region and encouraged the Pontiac Conspiracy, a multinational Indian uprising against European settlements. Though ultimately defeated, the uprising led the British to issue the Proclamation of 1763, forbidding white settlement beyond the crest of the Allegheny Mountains. American colonists opposed the Proclamation of 1763 because it countered their achievements in the French and Indian War—access to trans-Appalachian lands for settlement and trade. In the next decade, as the British further restricted access, Virginia fought to strengthen western land claims in Lord Dunmore's War against Chief Cornstalk, a formidable military strategist, and his Indian forces in 1774. The Proclamation of 1763 and other British policies that limited access to western lands were a major cause of the American Revolution.

When the American Revolution began, it was not certain that Appalachian settlers would support the independence movement. In the Regulator Movement (1767–1771), western backcountry settlers in North and South Carolina violently protested their colonial governments' failure to provide adequate protection from Indians, representation in legislative assemblies, and legal and judicial services. Once the Revolution began, however, the British strengthened alliances with Indians and selected military leaders from among non-Regulator constituents; in doing so, they pushed western settlers into the Revolutionary ranks. Major battles of the American Revolution took place in the Appalachian region and involved mountain peoples, including the Battle of Kings Mountain and Cowpens, both victories for the revolutionary cause.

The American Revolution strengthened white settlers' hold on the Appalachian region, forcing the Cherokee to surrender thousands of acres and destroying the Iroquois Confederacy. After the Revolution, Scotch-Irish immigration into Appalachia and the "Long Hunter" culture, both predating independence, resumed and led to the attempted, but failed, statehood of the mountain State of Franklin, and to the successful statehood of Kentucky (1792) and Tennessee (1796). Controversies with the East continuing during the early Republic focused on the use of federal power, Indian removal, and slavery.

A sign of Appalachia's struggles with the new federal government, the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania began when mountaineers protested a federal excise tax on the distilled whiskey they produced. Similarly, southern mountaineers protested federal Indian policy throughout the 1790s. Although Hamiltonian policies pushed many in Appalachia to embrace Jefferson's Republican Party between 1800 and 1825, southern mountaineer demands to move Indians west were not addressed until one of their own became president in 1828. Andrew Jackson and his successors used federal troops to forcibly remove the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, including the Cherokee in the infamous Trail of Tears. Despite this, remnant elements of the Cherokee eluded federal troops and remained in the Smoky Mountains.

As the East moved toward a cash economy after the Revolution, the majority of people in Appalachia experienced a cash-poor yeoman agricultural economy until at least 1830. A significant minority, however, tied the region to the broader capitalist system

by participating in the expansion of mining salt, charcoal, coal, and gold and trading furs, meat, dry goods, and slaves.

After the American Revolution the backcountry's landed gentry achieved their goal of expanding slavery in the region, and a slaveholding elite came to dominate economic and political affairs in many mountain counties. However, only a minority of small landholders in Appalachia became slaveholders, and many others supported antislavery and abolitionist movements in the nineteenth century. Antislavery activities in the mountain South included the development of antislavery societies, the publication of antislavery journals, the founding of antislavery "log cabin colleges" by Presbyterian ministers, and the 1831 debate when western representatives proposed legislation that would gradually emancipate all slaves and end slavery in Virginia. Just months after Nat Turner's slave insurrection and after a full week of debates, Virginia state legislators voted 73 to 58 against emancipation—seven votes short of abolishing slavery.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Middle Atlantic; American Indians: Southeast; Antislavery; Baptists; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Iroquois Confederacy; Methodists; Moravians; Pontiac's War; Proclamation of 1763; Quakers; Regulators; Whiskey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Drake, Richard B. *A History of Appalachia.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2001.

Hatley, M. Thomas. *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians through the Era of Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Inscoe, John C. *Mountain Masters, Slavery, and the Sectional Crisis in Western North Carolina.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989.

Klein, Rachel. *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760–1808.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Mitchell, Robert D., ed. *Appalachian Frontiers: Settlement, Society, and Development in the Preindustrial Era.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Williams, John Alexander. *Appalachia: A History.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Pamela C. Edwards

ARCHAEOLOGY Archaeological discoveries in the United States in the second half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth century relate predominantly to Native American earthworks discovered as Americans expanded into the Ohio and Mississippi River valleys and the interior Southeast. American settlers, naturalists, and antiquarians recorded these earthworks and puzzled over the question of who had built them and when. By the start of the nineteenth century, a growing national interest in science and America's unique ancient history led to an increase in the collection and synthesis of data, to publication, and to a spate of theories on the origins of the people who built the earthworks.

MAPPING AND DATING

The earliest archaeology focused on the detailed mapping of ruins. In laying out the town of New Philadelphia, Ohio, in 1772, missionary David Zeisberger described the Indian mounds that the new town would soon obscure. That same year, the Grave Creek Mound was discovered by settlers near Wheeling, Virginia (later West Virginia). This mound was left intact, a relatively rare occurrence for the time, and more than 230 years later it could still be seen surrounded by the town of Moundsville. In 1787 General Rufus Putnam of the Ohio Company of New England prepared a detailed map of the ancient monuments near the new town of Marietta, the first such map ever made in the United States. Another first at Marietta occurred when Manasseh Cutler (1742–1823) pioneered the use of tree rings to date archaeological sites. He concluded that the mounds were at least one thousand years old.

FALSE ATTRIBUTION

Synthesis and interpretation of such individual archaeological reports began in 1787, when Benjamin Barton published a study of Ohio mound sites and drew a conclusion that would become common in this era—that the mounds could not have been built by American Indians or their ancestors, but were built by a separate race of people who were later displaced by Indians. Such theories, which attributed the construction of the mounds to various people such as the Vikings, Phoenicians, Israelites, and Toltecs, came to be called the "myths of the moundbuilders." The idea that the sophisticated, monumental earthworks were beyond the intellectual and engineering skill of North American Indians had currency among American scholars from the late eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century. A century later these earthworks were known to have been built by the ancestors of contemporary Native

Americans and were constructed from 3,000 B.C. to as late as the early eighteenth century A.D.

EVIDENCE FOR INDIAN CONSTRUCTION

Compelling evidence for this cultural continuity began to form as early as the late eighteenth century. Natural historian William Bartram (1739–1823) traveled extensively throughout the southeastern United States and published descriptions of mound sites located in the territories of the Creek, Choctaw, and Cherokee tribes. At one then-functioning Indian town in Florida, Bartram observed the practice of Indians building and using mounds. Yet at other towns, Indian people could not identify the mound builders. Given this, Bartram concluded the mounds had been built by ancestors of the Indians. Unfortunately, his work was not widely distributed at the time and did little to offset the enthusiasm for interpreting the mounds as the work of non–Native American cultures.

JEFFERSON AS SCIENTIFIC ARCHAEOLOGIST

Archaeology as the science of excavation began in the United States in 1784 when Thomas Jefferson formally excavated an Indian mound near Charlottesville, Virginia, and published the results of his study in a chapter of his widely-read book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). Jefferson pioneered scientific and problem-oriented archaeology in the United States as his excavation was not designed to recover objects for display, but rather to answer questions about the reasons the mound was constructed. Jefferson considered as alternative hypotheses that it was either a place where warriors had died in battle and were interred in a single event or a common sepulcher for a community, used over many generations. The presence in the mound of the remains of both males and females and small children, and the absence of evidence of traumatic injury, led Jefferson to conclude it was a community cemetery used over many generations. Few formal, scientific excavations followed directly on Jefferson's, although his published report and interest in Indian mounds spurred much new study of such archaeological sites.

EARLY PUBLISHED REPORTS

In 1799, as president of the American Philosophical Society, Jefferson sent a letter to correspondents urging them to collect precise data on the form and content of fortifications, tumuli, and other Indian works of art. The letter called for cuts to be made into the tumuli to determine their contents. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the *Transac-*

tions of the American Philosophical Society became a source of information concerning America's antiquities. The most famous of these early reports is that by Henry M. Brackenridge in 1818, which included descriptions of mounds beyond Ohio, most notably the site of Cahokia near St. Louis, the largest mound complex in North America. This period of early American archaeology was influenced by European studies of ancient sites such as Stonehenge, Avebury, and countless less familiar barrows (mounds) spread across the English countryside. Archaeological studies of the ruins of Greece, Rome, and Egypt were rarely compared to the earthen structures built by Native Americans north of Mexico. Significant exceptions include Jefferson's comparison of the unusual burial practices he observed in the Virginia burial mounds to strikingly similar mortuary customs of ancient Greece, and Henry M. Brackenridge's likening of the Cahokia mounds near St. Louis to the pyramids of Egypt.

A FIELD FOR AMATEURS

Archaeology in the United States in the early nineteenth century remained the concern of antiquarians, amateurs committed to gaining knowledge, but not profit, through the study of ancient sites and ancient objects. The American Antiquarian Society (1812), a group of wealthy New Englanders committed to investigating and collecting American antiquities, was the most important of these and invited representation from all states in the Union. In 1820 the society funded and published the results of a large, important study of Ohio antiquities by Caleb Atwater. The engagement of the federal government in the study and preservation of America's antiquities was still a half-century to a century away (with the Smithsonian and the National Park Service, respectively), and America's universities would not engage in the study of American Indian archaeological sites until the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

See also **Architecture: American Indian.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brackenridge, Henry M. "On the Population and Tumuli of the Aborigines of North America." *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, new series, no. 1 (1818): 151–159.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Edited by William Peden. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Silverberg, Robert. *The Moundbuilders.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1986.

Trigger, Bruce G. *A History of Archaeological Thought.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Jeffrey L. Hantman

ARCHITECTURAL STYLES

Style is appearance. It is a public, not a private, quality. It seeks to impart and impress. The word comes from a sharp instrument of the sort reinstituted for the first time since the cuneiform by computer makers in the late twentieth century to imprint an impression upon a portable device. Where Babylonians used styluses to make themselves understood upon clay tablets in ancient Mesopotamia, styluses are now employed to record e-mail messages on PDAs (personal digital assistants). It is a pleasure to consider the first inscriber of Gilgamesh with a PalmPilot and thus to be led to the use of style in architecture. It inscribes as well. It is employed by architects to impart those messages to the public that clients want to impart, about who those clients want to be thought to be.

THE EMERGENCE OF STYLE

Style became important in the early American Republic as an assertion not only of what individuals wanted to be thought to be, but to give an impression of the new nation itself. The messages of earlier structures were associated with continuing cultures, either those in place when the Europeans arrived or those brought with the invaders. Generally speaking, these were astylar, less concerned with meaning than with utility, but there were exceptions. The temples, palaces, and assembly halls of the Native Americans no doubt were intended to impress. Why otherwise set them so high as Monks Mound at Cahokia, in Illinois, or paint them, as in the Southeast, or wall them and rear them so great, as at Chaco Canyon in New Mexico? And a person does not paint the skins that bind a portable habitation unless that person wishes to say something—to make use of what the French call an *architecture parlante*—a talking architecture. So a Cheyenne tepee may, indeed, have a style.

But that is not what one ordinarily means by the term. One means something that speaks in a European language and fits into the taxonomy of European variations in setting large personae before the public. For example, the Spaniards made use of a Vitruvian and Serlian set of precedents in asserting their presence as a Mediterranean culture in Florida, Texas and California. There is no mistaking the Roman style of the great domed brick churches in the bottom of the Satevo Canyon in Mexico or at San Xavier del Bac in Arizona. Spanish designers imagined how the buildings described by the Roman writer Vitruvius (first century B.C.) might have looked, and from their imaginary buildings came the temple forms suggested as pilastered hieroglyphs on the facades of their mission at Santa Barbara, California, and of their governor's house at St. Augustine, Florida. The Spanish Habsburgs and Bourbons sometimes thought of themselves as new Romans. Certainly their captains acted like Romans. Earlier, the Norse at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland seem to have contented themselves with sod structures as functional as the wicker wigwams of the first Pilgrims at Plymouth, but after 1620 or so the British were eagerly conveying by style their intention to remain and urbanize as soon as they could emerge from dugouts, cabins, brush-and-wicker wigwams, and "soddies." Jamestown had London-style town houses. By 1780 sections of Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, and New York looked as much like middle-class areas of Bristol as sections of St. Augustine looked like middle-class sections of Havana or Cádiz.

As habitual architecture continued in city and country, the French West Indian way of building piazzas along the front of buildings came to the Mississippi Valley and the shores of the Gulf Coast and a Hispanic American way appeared along the rivers of the Southwest and Florida. Log cabins were created by Swedes and Finns along the Delaware, probably not so much to assert a style as to keep out the weather, and soon thereafter came ambitious framed-and-filled buildings in wood-building colonies and brick buildings where there was good clay and an acquaintance with masonry. Style bespoke a deliberate effort to impress. Size was important, of course, but at first not shape. Church spires marked style, writing instruments pointing upward toward the heavens, but the buildings bearing them often did not. Only fancy gables, curvilinear or stepped, did so, especially in Dutch trading towns seeking to state affinities to Amsterdam or Antwerp. Nonetheless, until about 1700, buildings were indistinguishable style by style among the colonies of the North Sea peoples. Barbados looked like Boston.

Dark, gabled, jumbled buildings were constructed large and small in the Northeast; simple, timber-framed cottages in the middle colonies; and in the port cities, row houses and tenements. When the number of gables diminished and buildings settled into symmetry, discernable style was setting in. The

Mission Santa Barbara. This Spanish colonial church in Santa Barbara, California, was built by Franciscan missionaries between 1812 and 1820, after an earthquake destroyed the mission's previous church. © DAVID MUENCH/CORBIS.

persistence of medieval qualities in verticality, in grouped chimneys, and in a few windows pointed at the top was probably accidental—the Gothic Revival came in the 1830s and 1840s, after a break for classicism and in reaction to it.

COLONIAL STYLE

The term "colonial" should be reserved for buildings that explicitly assert the dominance of an outside force; the word means farmlike, but in the context of this essay it means a place farmed for somebody else's benefit. Like "plantation," it was first applied to the English exploitation of Ireland and is not to be used carelessly. Nonetheless, considering the ways in which they were built and by whom, it is proper to say that the Santa Barbara Mission church is in the Spanish colonial, or Hispano-Vitruvian style; that the fortress of Quebec is French colonial; and that the

white churches with Roman temple fronts and stacks of Roman gadgets ascending steeples in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston are in the British colonial style. The fundamental designs of the latter style were those of Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and James Gibbs (1682–1754), architects of a triumphant, imperial British baroque. Its secular forms can be distantly observed at in Virginia at Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary, and also in Philadelphia at what became Independence Hall.

The most familiar domestic colonial buildings of the British eighteenth century are not derived from the Hellenistic or Roman Imperial of the baroque, but from a sort of demure and almost Puritan urban merchants' tradition. They are the tidy, red brick, and severe row town houses, often called Georgian when they have white wooden trim set primly into

Isaiah Davenport House. This Federal style house in Savannah, Georgia, was completed in 1820 to 1821 by Isaiah Davenport, a master builder. © ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS.

red brick facades. It could be argued that the architectural influence of the merchant class that prospered under Kings George I (r. 1714–1727), II (r. 1727–1760), and III (r. 1760–1820) extended beyond 1776, but these were not architecturally sophisticated monarchs like George IV (r. 1820–1830). There are large Georgian manor houses in Virginia and Maryland plus one late example southeast of Pittsburgh, but they were not exemplary farther south and west until their style was revived in the 1920s and 1930s.

There is very little in the United States to suggest the more ebullient British styles of the colonial period. Few colonials could afford garlands, swags, and putti. Some very prudent and whitewashed Adamish plasterwork can be seen in George Washington's dining room at Mount Vernon, his sister's parlor ceiling at Fredericksburg, and the tiny pavilion of John Penn (1760–1834) (later included within the Philadelphia Zoo), and one or two other Philadelphia houses, but that is about it. The Scottish brothers Robert Adam (1728–1792) and James Adam (1730–1794) worked in the Gothic as well as in their more familiar garlanded classicism, but not with any American consequences.

FEDERAL STYLE

Yet in lightening things up the Adam brothers did contribute to the Federal style after independence. (There is no Federalist style in the political sense—the Federalists and Jeffersonians had the same architectural tastes.) The Federal style bespoke a new nation, but it did so in forms that were indistinguishable from styles of the same time in England, Russia, Italy, Germany, Hungary, and France. Lighter, more pastel-colorful, glassier, and distinctly more suburban than the colonial style, the Federal was the work of French designers such as Pierre Pharoux, the Mangin Brothers, and Joseph Jacques Ramée (1764–1842), the Irish architect-contractors John McComb (1763–1853) and James Hoban (c. 1762–1831), the
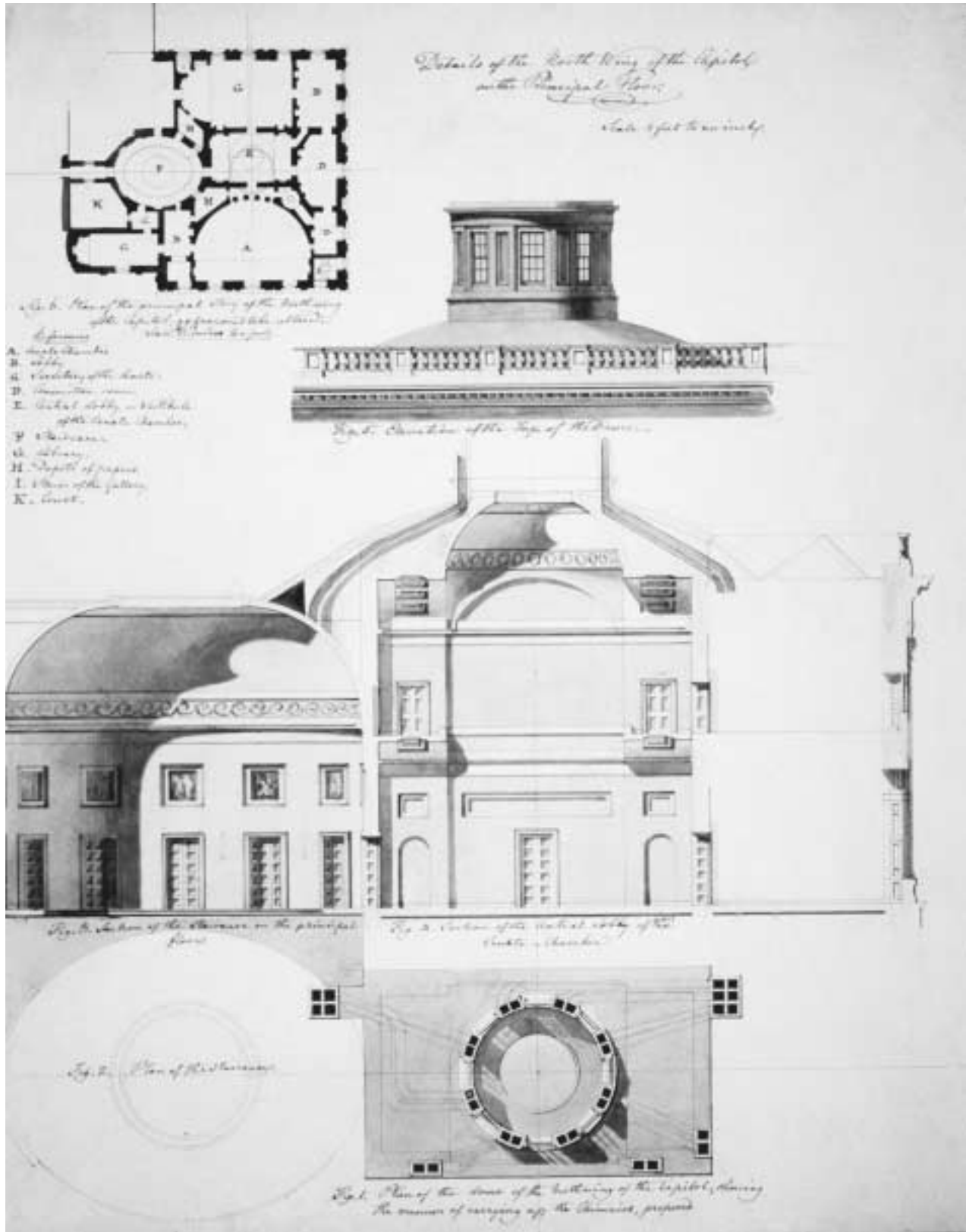
The United States Capitol. Benjamin Henry Latrobe's 1814 blueprint for the north wing of the U. S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. © CORBIS.

West Indian Dr. William Thornton (1759–1828), and the English architects George Hadfield (1763–1826) and Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), the most influential of them all. Had the French designers remained at home, their buildings would have been called Directoire or Napoleonic; Latrobe and Hadfield worked in the Regency style at home and abroad. Latrobe's Gothic villa at Sedgley is gone, as are his villas for Richmond, Virginia. His masterpiece, the Baltimore cathedral, remains, as do his wonderful Federal-style bank in New Orleans, his interiors in the U.S. Capitol (his Federal dome is gone), and a handful of villas outside Washington.

Hadfield's imprint is stronger on the nation's capital. Overlooking Washington was Arlington House, the first Greek Revival building in the nation, a little ahead of its time. In Washington he designed the more characteristically Regency-style City Hall, later the District Courts Building. Thornton was a medical doctor, chief of the Patent Office from 1802 to 1828, and a gifted amateur architect. His Octagon House is the sort of thing Robert Adam might have done for a friend on a tight budget in a tight site; his Tudor Place shows how French was the prevailing Federal taste. Its color is especially instructive, a pale yellow, the color that its counterpart, Gore Place, in Waltham, Massachusetts, would have had if it had been built instead just outside Paris. The Mangin Brothers, in association with John McComb, provided New York its Federal-style City Hall, lighter and more French than Hadfield's for Washington, and Marc Isambard Brunel (1769–1849) showed that a plain English country house could be remodeled into the brassy French baroque for Aaron Burr at Marble Hill, in the West Village.

Generally, however, the Federal may have been cheerier than the Georgian, but it was still earnest and sober by contrast. Even among the newly rich privateering class on Beacon Hill in Boston and Baltimore, there was none of the fanlit, coved-ceilinged, plasterworked, flamboyant Regency of Dublin.

This Federal style was sustained into the 1820s in upstate New York by Ramée, best known for Union College at Schenectady, built in the form of a great French château and the first American campus to be constructed around a rotunda. The University of Virginia was the second. The Federal style is best exemplified, however, in republican country houses, whose builders have returned to anonymity, though their forms and details are based upon pattern books devised by identifiable architects. They are breezier than their colonial predecessors, often displaying fanlights and patterned sidelights to lighten up door-ways as well as windows enlarged vertically. A few are more ambitious, making use of Adamesque coves above doors and windows and plastered exteriors in the white, yellow, and salmon that has too often been sandblasted away to bring them back to the hotter-selling red-brick Georgian. The English-inclining Alsops at Middletown, Connecticut, the French-inclining Gores at Waltham, Massachusetts, and the Prussian-inclining Whitfields at Gaineswood in Demopolis, Alabama, built Federal-style villas irrespective of their dates.

Three more decades passed after independence before a full-tilt Greco-Roman style surged into national popularity. When it came it was the architecture of Manifest Destiny. Of the few porticoed buildings constructed in the United States prior to the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828, only Arlington House carried Greek proportions. The Greek Revival that came with Jackson was largely Roman and appropriately imperial.

GOTHIC REVIVAL AND ITALIANATE STYLES

At the time there was, in a minor key, a Gothic Revival as well. Latrobe's foray into the Gothic had no more immediate consequences for American architectural style than did Hadfield's Greek at Arlington House, but after 1830 or so residential buildings and churches began to take on asymmetrical massing; pointed windows; crockets; finials; decorated, vine-like boards along their eaves; and a generally steeper look. To the extent that the signage of the two styles—their intended messages—can be distinguished, the Gothic Revival spoke to the "home-whispering" nostalgia of the Anglophile literary class of the 1830s and 1840s, and the Greco-Roman to its militantly American political class. The Gothic was assertively nativist, directed oddly enough against Irish Catholics. The Irish had, of course, as often built in the Gothic as the English. Yet in the United States they did not do so until the 1850s. When the Catholic squirearchy of Maryland laid up the first cathedral church in the early American Republic, it eschewed exotic forms like the Gothic, and Bishop John Carroll (1735–1815) rejected that alternative when it was offered by Latrobe. So the cathedral in Baltimore appeared in the Federal-Regency, neoclassical style. Thereafter, hundreds of Anglican Gothic churches went up. Finally, the Irish Catholics of New York insisted upon their own version at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Nobody seemed to notice that its prototypes were as French as those for the first St. Patrick's, down on Mott Street, which by then had burned down.

In addition, by the 1830s two varieties of Italianate style were beginning to follow American tourists homeward. The first was the Tuscan villa, with a square tower, brackets under the eaves, asymmetry, and round-arched windows. The second was the Renaissance palazzo style, cubical, also with brackets and round-arched windows, higher ceiling heights than had been common in the Greek or Gothic, considerably more plate glass, and symmetrical facades. Boston, Baltimore, and Philadelphia went Italianate in a rush. So did San Francisco; Chicago; Red Wing, Minnesota; and Savannah. It was no longer a new Republic, but an older one, with a leisure class desiring to be fashionable and to show that it had been "abroad."

The so-called battle of the styles occurred in mid-century, when the nation grew confused, divided, and sent mixed messages to itself and the rest of the world. Then Abraham Lincoln gave it a New Birth of Freedom and saw to it that the dome was set in place atop the Capitol—and a statue of Liberty set atop the dome, where the world, and the Confederate Army, could see it.

See also **Architecture; Civil Engineering and Building Technology; Construction and Home Building; Housing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Morrison, Hugh. *Early American Architecture, from the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Pierson, William H., Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1, *The Colonial and Neo-classical Styles.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1976.

———. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 2, *Technology and the Picturesque: The Corporate and the Early Gothic Styles.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1980.

Roger Kennedy

ARCHITECTURE

This entry consists of seven separate articles: *American Indian*, *Greek Revival*, *Parks and Landscape*, *Public*, *Religious*, *Spanish Borderlands*, and *Vernacular*.

American Indian

The founders of the American Republic were well aware that they were latecomers to North America and were relatively modest in their architectural achievements. The largest buildings seen by George Washington were built by American Indians along the Ohio River. The most complex geometric construction known to Thomas Jefferson was reported to him from the same area in the 1770s, and it is likely that his octagons and earthen dependencies at Poplar Forest near Lynchburg, Virginia, acknowledged the example of the Hopewell people of Ohio. Jefferson, a preeminent neoclassicist, had no way of knowing that their work dated from the classical period, 400 B.C. to A.D. 400. The wonderment felt by Albert Gallatin amid the giant earthen cones at the headwaters of the Ohio River permeated his entire intellectual life. After he founded the American Ethnological Society of New York, he lived to learn of the great pueblos of the Rio Grande valley. Though much has been lost in the intervening years, enough is left to teach us what these men knew, and a little more besides.

LARGE STRUCTURES

The American Indians built tens of thousands of large structures of earth, stone, timber, and adobe in a great building boom from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. They started just before the Scandinavians established American beachheads and sustained their pace until a mysterious, continentwide folk wandering (to borrow a European term) produced a cessation of monumental building and evacuations of areas rich in architecture such as Cahokia, Illinois; St. Louis; the Four Corners around Mesa Verde; and the Savannah River valley. The Europeans returned after 1492 and converted many more buildings into ruins: the Spaniards so desolated pueblos that they were not reoccupied; the British burnt out the towns of the Appalachee for harboring Catholic priests; and the American armies of Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton destroyed the council houses, residences, orchards, and cornfields of the Iroquois, who some ninety years earlier had scorched the earth of their great town of Ganondagan, with its 150 longhouses up to 200 feet in length and 50 feet wide, before its 4,500 inhabitants evacuated before a French assault. British and American generals did nearly as much damage to the villages of the Cherokee in the colonial period.

The buildings thus destroyed were dimensioned to accommodate the tallest people in the world, half a foot to a foot taller than contemporary Europeans. Osage and Cheyenne males were observed by George Catlin (1796–1872) to average well over six feet; some of the Texas tribes were nearly two feet taller than the Spaniards who measured them. The council

Tepees. These tepees at Fort Laramie National Historic Site in Wyoming are modern reconstructions of Plains Indian structures from the 1800s. © LOWELL GEORGIA/CORBIS.

IMPERMANENT BUILDINGS

The Mississipians and the Hopewell people in Ohio used earth to create platforms, one of which, Monk's Mound at Cahokia, has a larger footprint than the Great Pyramid at Giza. Most of the towns of early people in the desert West were composed of earthen structures, pounded and dried earth, a substitute for stone. The red brick of Williamsburg, so derided by Jefferson as barbaric, is generically close to adobe but less susceptible to erosion. The American Indians did not expect anything they built to last very long; that was not its purpose. Those who build of earth expect it to return in fragments and particles to earth with the rain. They expect to slather it back again as a renewable resource. Even Chacoan architecture of finely crafted layers of stone was intended to be plastered, and thus to be continuously renewed. It is not wise to attribute to its builders the expectation that their buildings would be inhabited much longer than they were—about two hundred years. Europeans who come to Chaco, New Mexico, are prone to follow the example of Jefferson's friend, le Compte de Volney, and ruminate upon ruins, as if the Chacoans aspired to Egyptian longevity and had been deprived of it. But did they?

Like their predecessors and successors, like the builders of the council house at San Luis and the slab carpenters of the Northwest Coast, the Chacoans were building for use. They were as aware of flux as the defining quality of life as were Ionian Greek philosophers designated as pre–Socratic. They saw their world as being fluid as quicksand and as unpredictable as fire. So Pythagoreans and Chacoans turned to the heavens for predictability and continuity, as it appears the Hopewell of Ohio did, and the people of Poverty Point in Louisiana. For these builders, eternity was out there, not here, in architecture. Archaeologists state that the average occupancy of southwestern masonry and adobe architecture was less than two hundred years. But their configurations deferred to patterns lasting hundreds of thousands of years in a larger universe. The earthen octagons, squares, and circles of the Hopewell, the axes of the D-shaped and E-shaped assemblages of rooms in the Chacoan world, the orientation of "effigies"—quite possibly configured according to stellar constellation patterns—in Georgia, Wisconsin, Ohio, Iowa, and Chihuahua, and (possibly) of the villages of the Cherokee and the Iroquois, attend to a world larger and more stable than their own.

Many American Indian buildings were impermanent for more immediate reasons. The people had learned from nasty experience in large urban centers such as Cahokia–St. Louis that human excrement ac-

house of the Appalachee at San Luis, Florida, was 132 feet in diameter. The Spanish friars reported that it could hold from two to three thousand people. These were large buildings for large people, well nourished over generations. Most of the people were agricultural, requiring storage buildings—the people of San Luis required two tons of maize to provide their seed corn. These were villagers, not isolated farmers like many who succeeded them. The Cherokees lived in Upper Towns and Lower Towns, and so did the Creeks. They and their linguistic cousins the Iroquois were sedentary, agricultural townspeople, which is why Sullivan and Clinton could so easily burn them out. The Ancestral Pueblo People and the canal-building hydrologists of Arizona were more urban, per capita, than the Europeans outside Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The first practitioners of new urbanism—the concentration of residential structures in multilevel, multifamily complexes—were pueblo people.

cumulates, and that in cold climates a few thousand people can quickly consume all the wood in the neighborhood for construction, heating, and cooking. They expected to move. It was practical to do so. Therefore, a slab house in Washington State, the apotheosis of a brush arbor in San Luis holding three thousand people, or a Cherokee council house was conceived, like a Japanese wooden temple, to be periodically rebuilt in place so long as the place was healthy and still easily supplied with firewood and its people fed from productive fields. There is nothing artificial about the reconstructions found in many parks and traditional villages. They are today, much as they were in the early American Republic, born to serve life, and then to be replaced. Even the great earthworks that awed the founders were impermanent and were regularly restored with fresh mantles of earth (often in new colors) in sustained interaction with the Earth, while the configurations of the mounds remained in interaction with the heavens.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gauthier, Rory, and David Stewart. *Prehistoric New Mexico: Background for Survey.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981.

Kennedy, Roger G. *Hidden Cities: The Discovery and Loss of Ancient North American Civilization.* New York: Macmillan, 1994.

Morgan, William N. *Ancient Architecture of the Southwest.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994.

———. *Precolumbian Architecture in Eastern North America.* Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999.

Nabokov, Peter, and Robert Easton. *Native American Architecture.* New York: Oxford, 1988.

Roger G. Kennedy

Greek Revival

The American Greek Revival was not so Greek as Roman. The Greeks used stubbier columns than the Romans and that their buildings were therefore squatter. Greeks did not use domes, nor did they build houses in what we call "temple form." Even in imperial Athens, the portico was reserved for public structures and the Parthenon shape for places of diffidence to the gods. The Romans used domes, but not domestically. Only after several centuries in which domed temple forms were limited to use as temples, they deified their emperors and gave them temples, too. Neither the Greeks nor Romans used steeples,

First Presbyterian Church in New Bern, North Carolina. This church, built from 1819 to 1821, was designed by local architect Uriah Sandy in Greek Revival style. © LEE SNIDER/ PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

though for military purposes and to get high enough for a view, both used towers. Steepled churches with porticoes are baroque, not Greek Revival.

Below the surface there is, however, among all these forms, a purpose: a proclamation and an imposition. They are all "classical"—a word coming from an Indo-European root, "kha-les," becoming Greek in the noun "klhsis" for "a calling" and in the verb "kalein," "to call." Calling to what? The Romans give us the answer, for the "classicus" was a summoning instrument rather like an alpenhorn, used to gather the militia into the parade ground—the Campus Martius—to be classified into their ranks, orders, and companies, first class, second, and third. And why were they so ordered? So that they could bring order. Their job was to diminish chaos. Not necessarily to keep the peace, as Rome's neighbors learned, and the neighbors of the new American Republic learned as well. Yet the classical principal was associated with

orderliness in a myth that over a half millennium cloaked Roman aggression as always unpremeditated and always a reluctant response to other people's aggressions. The classified citizenry would go forth to restore tranquility to the countryside—often a countryside previously kept orderly by somebody else.

CLASSICAL HIEROGLYPHS

The classically trained republican founders of the United States were well aware of these connotations to a Roman Revival, and the bullying truculence of Rome appealed to few of them. The columnar American Greek Revival did not get underway in earnest until after 1825. It was not the architecture of George Washington or Alexander Hamilton. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison did not adapt the double-height columns of the Roman temple-form to domestic architecture until the nineteenth century was well underway. The full imperial boldness of the form awaited Andrew Jackson and the Polks, including President James K. Polk and his politically and architecturally ambitious kinship. In the eighteenth century, the English baroque produced a few columned and steepled churches in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York; a library in Newport; a columned banqueting hall—Whitehall—in Maryland; a few porticoes added to earlier houses; and a classically pilastered governor's house in St. Augustine, like the mission church at Santa Barbara a hieroglyph of the temple form. The only true temple form building was Prince William's Chapel in South Carolina, derived from a design of the British baroque architect James Gibbs (1682–1754). It has not survived, and it its proportions were not Greek.

The Parthenon shape, with columns all around, was not seen in the United States until a replica of that building was created in Nashville, Tennessee, in the 1890s. So far as is known, the first building in North America to have columns all around was William Dunbar's plantation house "The Forest" (1819), in Natchez, Mississippi, but it was not in rectilinear temple form. The first Greek-proportioned portico was laid upon a traditional English house form for Arlington House (1802–1820, portico in 1817), overlooking Washington, D.C., created by George Washington's stepson as a sort of Federalist billboard to remind the Jefferson and Madison administrations of their delinquencies after 1800. Jefferson was a Franco-Roman-Palladian in taste, and thanks largely to him, the White House was Irish Palladian: that is to say, that many Italian and British and Irish adaptations had intervened between it and any temple form, either Greek or Roman. It did not bear any resemblance to any Greek or Roman domestic building or to either the Parthenonic or Pantheonic temple form. Until the 1820s, New York was dominated by architects trained in French classicism who eschewed both Greek and Roman Revival styles. The English architects Benjamin Henry Latrobe and George Hadfield, brought over to finish sloppier earlier work on the White House and Capitol, were also disinclined to the Greek. Hadfield produced Arlington House for George Washington Parke Custis, as if inviting the floodlights that now play upon it, but no others. After displaying his erudition for two little dependencies of a British country house in the Greek manner, Latrobe worked only in the English neoclassical mode.

Latrobian-Jeffersonian classicism can best be seen in the pavilions around The Lawn (1826) at the University of Virginia, templates for plantation architecture across the South. Jefferson wrote that he intended them to be exemplary; one can think of them as being like a paper chain to be snipped to make keepsakes by young planters headed for Tennessee. The university needed no architecture school to have the greatest influence of any institution upon the architecture of the plantation South. The northern Greek Revival was Roman as well, but more modest and conscious of a cold climate, often drawing the portico back onto the face of the house as pilasters. It too awaited Andrew Jackson's restoration of the nation's flagging confidence at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) and his westering imperial progress. In 1831 Jackson put a columned facade upon the cluster of previous structures at his Hermitage (1821) in Tennessee and went on to make Jefferson's templates the architecture of Manifest Destiny.

THE POLITICS OF CLASSICISM

The Greek Revival in its Roman-Jeffersonian-Jacksonian form swept all the way to Oregon as a folk architecture. There was no matching Greek Revival in Canada, in part because it was recognized as an American imperial form. It was not, however, an imposed regimen, as was the Russian Greek Revival born eastward across Siberia by order of the tsars. In the United States we have neoclassical outhouses, offices, banks, canal houses, and especially, residences, thousands of them. And the pleasure of their company is to remind us of a time when every citizen was fit for an emperor's kind of house.

Was Hollywood right? Was the Greek Revival so ubiquitous that Scarlett O'Hara's "Tara" was likely

to look like David O. Selznick's temple-fronted version in *Gone with the Wind* (1939)? Not likely. The neoclassical temple form was very rare in the countryside of the Deep South. For that matter, so were plantation houses of any magnitude. Big southern houses tended instead to be in compounds. Outside the watershed of Chesapeake Bay dominated by the Virginian predilection for dispersed plantations, the antebellum South was not a scene of rural white-columned mansions. A contrary, compound-building Carolina tradition dominated the rest of plantation country. Those plantation owners and other whites who could make the choice manifested aversion to living in the countryside, whether guarded by a barrier of columns or not. They chose Charleston or Georgetown, Augusta, Rome, Sparta, Athens, New Orleans, or Natchez. That is where Greek Revival buildings are found, not in the southern countryside. There are a few dozen raised cottages, with columns all around, or nearly all around, along the River Road in Louisiana, but only one house in that state (Madewood) has a temple form where a classicist would have put it, in the center of a tri-part composition, and its columns appear only in the front of the house. In the South, the countryside was for slaves and overseers, not for owners.

The Finger Lakes Region of New York is the heartland of the American Greek Revival, extending westward along the band of Yankee emigration all the way to the St. Croix Valley between Minnesota and Wisconsin. No one has done a complete inventory, but it is a fair guess that the ratio between northern Greek Revival and southern Greek Revival would probably run toward ten to one.

See also **Architectural Styles.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kennedy, Roger G. *Architecture, Men, Women, and Money.* New York: Random House, 1985.

———. *Greek Revival America.* New York: Stewart, Tabori, and Chang, 1989.

———. *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820.* New York: Knopf, 1989.

Kimball, Fiske. *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic.* New York: Scribners, 1922. Reprint, New York: Dover, 2001.

Major, Howard. *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic, The Greek Revival.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1926.

Pierson, William H. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1: *The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles.* Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1976.

Roger G. Kennedy

Parks and Landscape

The small cities and towns of the new American Republic did not have public parks. They did not need them; their inhabitants had only to walk a short distance to reach nature. Nevertheless, there were park-like urban spaces. Almost every New England village had a turfed green at its center, used for markets and other public gatherings. When villages grew into towns, these greens were often enlarged, as in the case of Boston Common. The other type of American urban space was the square, which appeared early in formally planned colonial towns such as New Haven (1638), Philadelphia (1681–1683), Annapolis (1694), Williamsburg (c. 1699), and Savannah (1733). Squares were often faced by important civic buildings such as churches and courthouses. The American square had one unique characteristic: unlike the Italian piazza and the French *place*, it was grassy rather than paved. These little patches of green were the precursors of the great urban parks of the nineteenth century.

A distinctive landscape feature of many New England squares and commons was a huge tree—usually an American elm. The trunk of a mature elm, a fast-growing species, is easily 10 or 12 feet in diameter and more than 120 feet high, so these public trees assumed the role of both landmarks and civic monuments. Elms were often given names. New Haven had the Benjamin Franklin Elm, which was planted on the day of the great man's death; Kennebunk, Maine, had the Lafayette Elm, which stood in front of a house where the general had stayed during his triumphal tour of 1824; and Cambridge Common in Massachusetts had the Washington Elm, below whose spreading branches the general had assumed command of the Revolutionary Army. Most of these great elms were later destroyed by Dutch Elm disease, which ravaged urban America in the mid-twentieth century.

Public parks originated in European cities when royal gardens such as the Tuileries and Regent's Park were opened to the general public. America, lacking an aristocracy, had nothing of that kind. A few cities, such as New York, Charleston, and Boston, provided their citizens with waterside promenades (sometimes disused batteries), but these were a rarity, for river banks were usually taken up by docks and warehouses, commerce taking precedence over recreation. Washington, D.C., was planned to have a parklike space. Pierre L'Enfant (1754–1825) intended a mile-long Grand Avenue flanked by public gardens, but it was never built. The future Mall sat vacant until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Andrew

Jackson Downing (1815–1852) laid out a national park.

The art of gardening in America remained a private affair. After 1750, it was common for northern mansions and southern plantation houses to have extensive walled gardens, laid out in a formal manner derived largely from Britain and France, a practice that continued after independence. Handsome though they were, these early gardens did not exhibit distinctly American characteristics. For that, one has to look to the most important work of public architecture of the early nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia at Charlottesville (1817–1826). His idea of a green, open space enclosed by rows of buildings was entirely original. The so-called Lawn, bordered by rows of trees, was conceived as an outdoor room. It was a sort of idealized town green for what Jefferson called an "academical village." This was not a closed quadrangle on the cloistered Oxford model, however, for it was open at one end and symbolically faced the West—the frontier. Jefferson looked to the ancient Roman world for inspiration—the library was patterned on the Pantheon—but he interpreted classicism in a singular way. His unusual combination of the formal and the bucolic set a pattern that Americans would follow, in cities and suburbs, until the present.

See also **City Growth and Development; City Planning; Nature: Attitudes Toward; Recreation, Sports, and Games.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Campanella, Thomas J. *Republic of Shade: New England and the American Elm.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

Reps, John W. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Witold Rybczynski

Public

George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Aaron Burr, and Alexander Hamilton were patrons of architecture. Washington and Jefferson also designed buildings. Washington supervised the building of Pohick Church, a gentle, red-brick structure near Mount Vernon; after this obeisance to the past, Washington, as well as Hamilton, turned away from the Georgian architectural style, which came to be regarded as symbolic of a colonial status (and presumably boring besides). Nor did Washington and Hamilton endorse any so-called Federalist architecture, as opposed to Jeffersonian-Republican architecture. Hamilton might have done so after Washington's death but in fact showed no inclination to the severe Doric style of Arlington House, designed by George Hadfield for George Washington Parke Custis, Martha Washington's son by her first husband. In this house, begun in 1802 practically as a Federalist monument looming over the federal city, which Jefferson had captured in the election of 1800, the Custis family created a shrine to Washington. Like Washington himself, however, this first Washington memorial had no direct heirs until a generation, and the Federalist Party, had passed.

The architects of the 1780s and 1790s were nonpartisan. Except for Charles Bulfinch, considered the first professional American architect, the only trained talents were French, Irish, or English. Major Charles L'Enfant designed the balconied presidential mansion for the government installed in New York in 1783 and remodeled its Congress building, Federal Hall—both gone and unmemorable. Joseph François Mangin did much better with his design for New York's City Hall—light, airy, plastered, and modern for its time. Mangin's sponsor was Hamilton, triumphing over Burr and his favored architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Mangin also designed the first St. Patrick's Cathedral, on Mott Street, and the city's first public theater. His most formidable competitor before the arrival of Latrobe had been Pierre Pharoux, who designed city and country mansions for the Livingstons, two abortive towns west of the Adirondacks, and a splendid plan for Esperanza (now Athens) on the Hudson. Had Esperanza been built as Pharoux intended, the world would have a neoclassical city hall, market, porticoed church, and triumphal arch in the spirit of the French architects Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Étienne-Louis Boullée.

Burr had previously favored Marc Isambard Brunel, an indifferent architect though a great engineer. Brunel, a French-born Englishman who fled to New York during the French Revolution, proposed to remodel a country house for Burr in a peculiar neo-Baroque style; Burr became occupied with other things and then turned to Latrobe, another engineer-architect, before the place was torn down by the financier John Jacob Astor. The closest equivalent to Brunel's taste was that of Bulfinch in Boston, though he was vastly more competent in the execution of his projects. Brunel, like Bulfinch, used the bombé (having outward curving lines) front to impart grandeur

Pohick Church. Construction of Pohick Church in Lorton, Virginia, was completed in 1774. George Washington, who was a parish vestryman, was a member of the building committee. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

even to row houses, and he, too, drew versions of pantheonic public buildings. But Bulfinch built them, as did Jefferson. The great Virginian's most famous structures were the rotunda library at the University of Virginia, the mansion for his friend Governor James Barbour, and, one might say, the subsumed pantheon at Monticello. Bulfinch provided the more traditional English-Palladian format for the Massachusetts State House and the Cambridge City Hall.

Upstate New York had its counterpart to Bulfinch in Philip Hooker, whose stone Hyde Hall in Cooperstown was the grandest country house away from the Hudson and whose Albany Academy picked up where Pharoux had left off. Both these (still-standing) upstate buildings would have been eclipsed had ironworks and the grazing of merino sheep rewarded the expectations of David Parish and the French architect Joseph Jacques Ramée. Parish, a financier, brought Ramée to America in 1811, and the two created the only neoclassical factories in the United States, set picturesquely beside waterfalls in the brushy backwoods around Parishville, a village named after Parish near Ogdensburg on the St. Law-

rence River. Along with Parish's neoclassical country villa, these factory buildings are gone, though Ramée's neoclassical church stands in the hamlet of Antwerp. Iron ore proved less than perfect for the task they had assigned to it, and the winters were too ferocious for the sheep. Ramée moved on to design Union College, in Schenectady, New York, the first college campus built around a rotunda library.

Four years later, Jefferson and Latrobe made the University of Virginia a constructed curriculum of red-brick, porticoed, Gallo-Palladian-Romanism, guiding the taste of graduate planters all across Tennessee and Arkansas into Texas. Jefferson worked in several other styles, some of them, such as that of the marble, porticoed temple design for the Capitol and Monticello itself, derived from direct observation of French buildings during his tenure as minister to France.

The founders also felt an affinity for Ireland and the Irish hunger for independence, particularly as embodied by the member of the Irish parliament famed for his oratory, Henry Grattan. Real estate agents sometimes refer to buildings of the 1790s in

Pohick Church Interior. After construction of Pohick Church, George Washington and other patrons of architecture did not build in the Georgian style, which they regarded as symbolic of a colonial status. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, or Salem, with fanlights over their front doors in the Dublin townhouse style of the time, as "Federalist." This is to conflate a period with a party. It would be better to speak of these buildings as "Grattanite." The White House was a specific testimonial to the American-Irish affinity; its Irish designer, James Hoban, derived the design from the Duke of Leinster's Dublin mansion, itself indebted to James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture.* L'Enfant, by contrast and by nature, had proposed something far too big. His presidential mansion would have been four times the size of the plan submitted by Hoban, as adjusted by Jefferson and Latrobe.

It must have given the elderly Jefferson satisfaction to see Latrobe produce a masterpiece on his own—no remodelings this time, as at the Capitol and White House. The Baltimore Roman Catholic Cathedral for Bishop John Carroll is the best building of the early American Republic, though it is challenged by another French neoclassical wonder nearby, Maximilien Godefroy's exquisite Unitarian Church. (Latrobe and Godefroy had been collaborators on a third

masterpiece, the Baltimore Exchange, now lost to the wrecking ball.)

The city of Washington owed L'Enfant not only its overall plan but also the concept of a huge, centrally domed Capitol building as its centerpiece. The plan was that of Versailles, with the Capitol, only sketched, where the château of Louis XIV was situated, the White House in the place of the Petit Trianon. The winner of the commission to build the Capitol was William Thornton, physician, botanist, and amateur. When Thornton was unable to make a building out of a plan, Jefferson turned to the recently arrived Étienne Sulpice Hallet (who became known in America as Stephen Hallet). Like Thornton, Hallet was soon run off the job, as was, after him, George Hadfield, brother of Maria Cosway, Jefferson's inamorata in Paris. Hadfield retreated from the Capitol wars to the patronage of Custis. After Arlington House, Hadfield worked quietly on jails, banks, and federal buildings until his last great work, the Washington City Hall, in 1820, which was much admired by the architects Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis, associated with the Greek Revival, and by

hundreds of first-rate successors. The so-called Greek Revival came later, after Andrew Jackson's victory at New Orleans, and then was Greek in only a handful of antiquarian examples. In fact, the style was Roman-Jeffersonian—and it came after the early American Republic had become the rising American Empire.

See also **Architectural Styles; Art and American Nationhood; Hamilton, Alexander; Federalists; Jefferson, Thomas; Washington, D.C.; Washington, George.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hamlin, Talbot. *Benjamin Henry Latrobe.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Kennedy, Roger. *Architecture, Men, Women and Money in America, 1600–1860.* New York: Random House, 1985.

———. *Greek Revival America.* New York: Stewart, Tabori and Chang, 1989.

———. *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1780–1820.* New York: Knopf, 1989.

Pierson, William H., Jr. *American Buildings and Their Architects.* Vol. 1: *The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles;* Vol. 2: *Technology and the Picturesque.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1970–1976.

Roger G. Kennedy

Saint Louis Cathedral. This New Orleans landmark, the result of several building campaigns during the late 1700s and 1800s, illustrates in its eclectic style the influence of French, Spanish, and American tastes. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

Religious

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the predominant strain of religious building in the English colonies that became the new American Republic was neoclassical. By the 1720s, the classicism practiced by the great British designers Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and Sir James Gibbs (1682–1754) had been adopted in various provincial modifications across the Atlantic seaboard. In the Anglican colonies of the South, churches were usually executed in brick and located at nodes of rural transportation. Neoclassicism rapidly displaced the Puritan meetinghouse style in New England and can still be seen on town greens there, with main entrances on the short end in "churchly" fashion and often featuring a pillared Gibbsian portico. By the Revolutionary period it had even been adopted by the sectarian Baptists in their Providence, Rhode Island, meetinghouse, and by the early nineteenth century could be found in New England outposts such as Tallmadge, Ohio. Elaborate versions in what by then was known as the Federal style, such as Center and United Churches on the New Haven, Connecticut, green, represented a display of refined urban taste;

the continuing presence of the two side-by-side is a mute witness to the sundering of Congregational fellowship during the Great Awakening revivals, which persisted materially even after theological differences had been settled.

At the same time, other versions of classicism with republican ideological associations began to crowd out the older, English-flavored style. The first Roman Catholic cathedral, built in Baltimore from 1805 to 1818 under Bishop John Carroll's (1735–1815) supervision, represented a conscious choice of the Roman revival mode, with distinctive dome, over the Gothic alternative also offered by architect Benjamin Latrobe (1764–1820). By the 1820s the Greek Revival had emerged as the definitive American religious as well as civic style. Examples can be found across denominational and sectional lines and even among different faiths, as can be seen in the Swedenborgian Church in Bath, Maine (1843); Temple Beth Elohim in Charleston, South Carolina (1841); the

First Congregational Church in Madison, Connecticut (1838); and the Roman Catholic Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati, Ohio (1845). It is noteworthy that both Jews and Catholics tended during these decades to adopt the styles of the dominant culture for their houses of worship. An early Jewish example is the Touro Synagogue (1763) in Newport, Rhode Island, which was designed by Peter Harrison, often characterized as the first professional architect in the British colonies, and which resembles the home of a prosperous merchant more than a religious structure.

Although classicism was favored by those denominations wanting to identify with the civic and cultural mainstream, dissenting groups often ignored or were oblivious to this tradition. Both Quakers and Shakers, for example, adhered to the same "plain style" that had characterized early Puritan New England meetinghouses, as did German sectarians whose structures often featured distinctively ethnic touches. Popular denominations worshipped wherever they could, though many, such as the Methodists, eventually adopted the styles of the times. Also, beginning with the Great Awakening of the 1740s, many evangelical services were held either out-of-doors or in temporary structures erected as preaching halls. A variant which emerged from this tradition was that of the camp meeting, a several-day event in which large numbers gathered for protracted preaching sessions. The Cane Ridge revival of 1801 in Kentucky was a major prototype of this tradition, which before long became routinized, with permanent facilities for its conduct.

Other styles were utilized by religious communities that drew on different sectors of the European past. Alongside the two neoclassical Congregational churches on the New Haven green lies Trinity Episcopal Church, also built during the second decade of the nineteenth century. Unlike its neighbors, Trinity is designed in an early American version of the Gothic mode, which at this time consisted primarily of some medieval features such as pointed arch windows superimposed on the same sort of rectangular frame as in most neoclassical churches. A similar but more distinctive adaptation of Gothic exists in the first Mormon temple, built in Kirtland, Ohio, in 1831, fitted internally for the distinctive Latter-day Saints rituals then in the process of formation. By the 1840s a more archaeologically correct Gothic style would emerge in Richard Upjohn's (1802–1878) urban Episcopal churches. Upjohn's simplified wooden "Carpenter Gothic" was adopted widely by a broad range of denominations.

In the outlying lands that would be incorporated into the United States by war or purchase, St. Louis Cathedral in New Orleans, the result of several building campaigns, illustrates in its eclectic style the influence of French, Spanish, and American tastes. Its prominent place in the Place d'Armes (Jackson Square) and the adjacent Cabildo (governmental offices) and Presbytère (quarters for clergy) indicate the close alliance of church and state under both French and Spanish regimes. The Spanish missions in California built in the late eighteenth century by the Franciscans Junípero Serra (1713–1784) and Fermin Lasuen (1736–1803) are much smaller in scale, but similarly reflect the cultural mélange of Spanish baroque style with Muslim influences built by indigenous laborers under clerical direction.

See also **Architectural Styles; Revivals and Revivalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buggeln, Gretchen Townsend. *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut's Churches, 1790–1840.* Hanover, Conn.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Williams, Peter W. *Houses of God: Region, Religion, and Architecture in the United States.* Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Peter W. Williams

Spanish Borderlands

Spanish architecture within the boundaries of the early-twenty-first-century United States began as early as 1526 with the settlement of San Miguel de Guadalupe on the coast of Georgia, and Hispanic methods of construction continued after the American capture of New Mexico and California from Mexico in 1846. Santa Fe, Los Angeles, San Antonio and St. Augustine retained their Hispanic appearances into the 1860s.

In the Spanish borderlands the earliest constructions were frameworks of poles interwoven with horizontal and vertical sticks, vines, and twigs plastered with clayey mud and roofed with woven thatch. In moist, wooded areas, framed buildings covered with planks came next. In dry areas construction with sun-dried adobe bricks was normal. Ultimately, many buildings of fired brick and stone were erected, vaulted in the most ambitious churches and fortifications.

Spanish Florida, after the establishment of St. Augustine in 1565, extended through Georgia and

Mission San Francisco de Asís. This San Francisco mission, popularly known as Mission Dolores, was founded in 1776. Construction on the mission's adobe church began in 1782. © LOWELL GEORGIA/CORBIS.

South Carolina and even further north into Virginia. It was the area of North America where Spain expended the greatest effort, resources, and people. But there is only archaeological or written evidence for the existence of 128 sites where missionary activity took place. In Florida the use of concrete for roofs began early, and stone was used in the construction, beginning in 1671, of the very substantial fortification, the Castillo de San Marcos at St. Augustine. Stone was also used in the eighteenth century for the thirty-six surviving houses there.

Spanish towns were planned systematically according to the Ordinances of Settlement, but only St. Augustine grew into an ordered, rectangular grid surrounding a central plaza. Other settlements such as Santa Fe, San Antonio, and Los Angeles were carefully laid out initially but developed slowly in loose and disorderly ways.

More Hispanic structures survive in New Mexico than in any other American area. At least thirty churches were in use in Indian pueblos before the

Spanish were driven from most of the territory in the revolt of 1680, and in 2005 seventeen are still in use. Twenty churches remain from the Spanish and Mexican periods which served mixed populations living in Santa Fe and other New Mexican communities. More than fifteen hundred difficult land miles from Mexico City, the friars and secular New Mexicans adopted the Pueblo Indians' materials and construction techniques for their churches and houses and for the civic buildings of the towns. In contrast, the most significant structures in Florida were designed and built under the direction of military engineers, who were generally available in the Caribbean area.

In Spanish Texas, which contained thirty-seven missions, eleven presidios, and at least half-a-dozen towns, the friars hired master masons from Mexico to design and direct the construction of a modest number of vaulted and domed churches. Notable among these in the San Antonio area are Purísima Concepción, which retains its original vaults and dome, and San José, with its flowing baroque frontispiece.

Masons were also essential in the building in Arizona of San Xavier del Bac, south of Tucson, and the church at Tumacácori. San Xavier del Bac is the best-preserved Spanish church in the United States and has a dazzlingly ornate interior that was restored in the 1990s.

Buildings constructed when Spain controlled Louisiana from 1763 to 1800 are major monuments of the French Quarter in New Orleans, where the Spanish took over an urban layout similar to that prescribed in their Ordinances of Settlement. The cathedral facing the plaza later named Jackson Square has been enlarged and drastically altered, but the flanking structures—the Cabildo and the Presbytère—remain as designed by Gilberto Guillemard, a soldier engineer, although both structures were disfigured by the addition of a dormered third story in 1847.

In California twelve mission churches (out of twenty-one) and two chapels survive, most of them heavily restored. Examples of adobe-walled houses remain in San Diego, in the Los Angeles area, and in Santa Barbara, although they were later roofed with tiles instead of the tar normal for California houses in Hispanic times. The construction of major churches was directed by masons from Mexico. San Carlos in Carmel, San Gabriel near Los Angeles, and the stone church of Mission San Juan Capistrano, the latter substantially destroyed by an earthquake and further damaged by would-be restorers, were vaulted. Ultimately, vaulting was abandoned in California

because of the danger of earthquakes. Notable later churches, such as the restored stone church at Santa Barbara and the church at Mission San Luis Rey, both designed by masons, were timber-roofed, San Luis Rey with an internal timber dome.

The building remaining from the nearly three hundred years of Spanish occupation of much of the United States is impressive. It provides a rich heritage at least comparable to what survives from the briefer English colonial period.

See also **Architecture: Religious; Forts and Fortifications; New Spain; Religion: Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Early, James. *Presidio, Mission, and Pueblo: Spanish Architecture and Urbanism in the United States.* Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2004.

Gordon, Elsbeth. *Florida's Colonial Architectural Heritage.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002.

Treib, Marc. *Sanctuaries of Spanish New Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

James Early

Vernacular

Americans in the early national period used vernacular architecture—everyday structures such as houses, barns, and stores—to implement fundamental changes in everyday life. Economic recovery in the late 1790s initiated a building boom that would substantially transform America's built environment and would begin to realize, however incompletely, an emergent national identity. Increasing specialization, standardization, and the myth of efficiency would characterize the architecture of vernacular landscapes in this new national identity even as persistent regional and ethnic identities preserved local distinctions.

The houses of Americans in the early nation were characterized by more complex floor plans than previously, plans that bespoke specialized room function and the separation of spheres—public from private, entertainment from work. By the later eighteenth century, many elite English Americans occupied houses with a central passage flanked by equally sized chambers. The passage acted as a social buffer protecting the best chambers of the house from direct entry by social inferiors. Also by the end of the century, one of the best chambers was dedicated entirely to the social ritual of dining, a conspicuous con-

sumption unavailable to the majority of Americans who occupied much smaller one- or two-room houses. During the housing revolution of the early nineteenth century, however, a greater percentage of Americans availed themselves of well-built houses, often with central passages and dedicated room use, or at the very least the separation of cooking from living spaces. The common nineteenth-century solution of an ell—a one or two story wing typically extending from the rear of the house—mediated the often-conflicting desires to dedicate entire rooms—dining rooms and parlors—near the front to polite social exchange and the increasing concern for efficiency in household industries and, in rural instances, farm management. By the 1820s, the rear ell became the bridge from the polite house to the industrial sphere of the rear work yard or the agricultural sphere of the farm.

AGRICULTURAL REFORM

The increasing specialization associated with the house was also realized on the larger scale of the farm. One or more small barns, an array of subsidiary structures, fences protecting gardens from free-roaming livestock, and fields unbounded by visual markers characterized the mid-eighteenth-century farm. Responding to the rhetoric of agricultural reform and improvement, early national farms were—to twenty-first-century eyes—more orderly and highly articulated, with fences separating fields of differing crops from pastures and larger multifunctional barns. The Pennsylvania bank barn, which either exploited a natural grade or included an earthen ramp to allow convenient and direct access to two levels, allowed multiple specialized functions all under a single roof and became increasingly widespread in the mid-Atlantic over the nineteenth century. The lower level was usually a stable that opened into an enclosed yard, while the upper level included a threshing floor and hay mows. The second level often reached beyond the lower to provide shelter to livestock in inclement weather. Mirroring changes in the farmhouse and the farmscape at large, the barn became a center of compartmentalized efficiency. On southern plantations, another reform took place as earthen-floored slave cabins of log or more traditionally African materials, including mud-walled houses, were replaced by raised and floored cottages employing English-derived timber-framing methods and aligned in orderly rows and streets.

Nathaniel Hempsted House. Nathaniel Hempsted built this stone house in New London, Connecticut, in 1759. It stands near a house built in 1678 by Joshua Hempsted, Nathaniel's grandfather. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

COMPETITIVE EFFICIENCY AND THE CITY

The city also underwent a reconstitution in the early national period. The expanding grid of the city, for example, promised unfettered circulation. While eighteenth-century shops often claimed only the street-front rooms of merchant's houses, the early-nineteenth-century store had entire floors displaying goods. Furthermore, merchandise filled bay windows and spilled onto the sidewalks. The rational system of the urban grid was also realized in the increasing numbers of larger, institutional buildings—prisons and hospitals—employing rows of identical cells or rooms. The city hotel—grand, economically exclusive, and offering abundant private rooms—began in the 1790s to replace the common tavern with its undifferentiated common rooms and shared sleeping chambers. The enticing myth of efficiency would characterize not just these buildings' forms, but their production as well. The invention of the nail-cutting machine in the 1790s, the brick-pressing machine in the 1810s, and the increasing standardization of timber scantling meant that early-nineteenth-century building materials were mass produced, stockpiled, and delivered to building sites in unprecedented quantities. The slimming of essential framing members and the increasing use of nails instead of time-consuming joinery realized efficiency in both labor and materials.

ETHNICITY AND COMPLEXITY

But even in the midst of such sweeping changes, America's rich cultural diversity tempered pressures toward uniformity. Colonial English, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, Spanish, Africans, and others left complex architectural legacies that imprinted the American landscape. Germanic immigrants, for example, often constructed a *Flurküchenhaus*, a two-room log or stone house with a *stube* (stove room, the main chamber) only accessible through a side *kuche* (kitchen). Variants usually included a *kammer* (private chamber) behind the *stube*. The facade of the typical German house, therefore, was typically asymmetrical, with a principle entry door into the *küche* hugging one edge and an off-center chimney stack. But beginning in the late eighteenth century and continuing well into the next, German Ameri-

Crocker Tavern. Cape Cod's Crocker Tavern in Barnstable, Massachusetts, built circa 1754, served as a central meeting place for Patriots before the Revolutionary War. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

cans began to abandon external signs of their ethnicity and construct houses that more closely approximated the Georgian architectural vocabulary of their elite English counterparts, including symmetrical facades with centrally located doors, end-wall fireplaces, and brick construction. Patterns of German American house planning, by contrast, persisted through the nineteenth century. While acculturation did not mean the eradication of German identity, it did mean that early-nineteenth-century German Americans believed these new house forms negotiated the changing cultural and political context of the new nation more successfully than those forms derived from the Old World.

But cultural exchange in the new nation was not always a migration towards an English-Georgian architectural ideal. Early-nineteenth-century Americans in the coastal regions of the American South from North Carolina through Louisiana constructed one-story houses on a raised basement. These houses had two or three central chambers and multiple exterior doors and were enclosed on one, two, or all sides by galleries. This creolized house type and its many variants probably derived from the Spanish and French Antilles, where an English-Georgian architectural vocabulary held little sway. While widespread Georgianization was certainly a critical factor shaping the domestic architecture of the early national period, regional identities often enjoyed the upper hand in determining the ways broad national forces impacted architectural form. Place by place, America's early-nineteenth-century vernacular architecture spoke to extraordinary changes in everyday life, changes that moved privacy, improvement, and systematic efficiency—however slowly and incompletely—to the center of an emergent national identity.

See also **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Architectural Styles; City Planning; Farm Making.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chappel, Edward A., and Julie Richter. "Wealth and Houses in Post-Revolutionary Virginia." In *Exploring Everyday Landscapes: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture VII.* Edited by Annmarie Adams and Sally McMurry. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997. pp. 2-33.

Hubka, Thomas C. *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England.* Hanover, N.H., and London: University Press of New England, 1984.

Hutchins, Catherine, ed. *Everyday Life in the New Republic.* Winterthur, Del.: Winterthur Museum, 1989.

Lanier, Gabrielle M., and Bernard L. Herman. *Everyday Architecture of the Mid–Atlantic: Looking at Buildings and Landscapes.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Upton, Dell. "White and Black Landscapes of Eighteenth-Century Virginia." *Places* 2, no. 2 (1985): 59–72.

Vlatch, John Michael. "'Snug Li'l House with Flue and Oven': Nineteenth-Century Reforms in Plantation Slave Housing." In *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V.* Edited by Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1995. pp. 118-129.

Louis P. Nelson

ARITHMETIC AND NUMERACY Numerical proficiency in the American population varied in the late colonial decades, depending on occupational needs, but overall, training in arithmetic was arcane, difficult, and limited. Simple enumeration and addition were probably widely imparted to colonial children by parents, but the formal study of written arithmetic was confined to boys ten years old and older who studied it at a district school or with a master. British textbooks and their few American derivatives presented hundreds of abstract rules of calculation, each illustrated by an example. Arithmetic was a heavy labor involving memorization of the rules and close study of the examples. With explanatory text at a bare minimum, arithmetic was rightly judged to be an arduous subject, too difficult for young children.

Arithmetic found its main application in commerce and trade for the figuring of prices and the measurement of goods, the compounding of interest, and the sharing of risks. Denominate numbers— pounds and shillings, pints and gallons—added complexity, as did the differently valued monetary systems in place in the various colonies. Geometry and trigonometry had yet narrower application, namely in surveying, navigation, and gunnery. As a result, arithmetic was seen as a practical tool and thus not part of the classical curriculum of college-bound boys. Harvard College did not require basic arithmetic as an entrance requirement until 1802.

Two dramatic changes marked arithmetic instruction in the early Republic. The first arose out of the adoption of decimal-based money, and the second out of pedagogical innovations. Dollars, dimes, and mills of decimal coinage began to circulate in the mid-1790s, sparking the publication of scores of new textbooks aimed at the "Columbian Arithmetician" or the "Federal Calculator." Authors explicitly linked decimals with republicanism, positioning simplified arithmetic as a challenge to the indecipherable bookkeeping and taxation policies of tyrants. As textbooks proliferated, authors sought to distinguish their works through changes in pedagogy. Simplified arithmetic, it was argued, could now be taught to younger children, and more elaborate explanations of abstract rules began to appear. The most radical change in pedagogy arrived in 1821 with Warren Colburn's book, *First Lessons, or Intellectual Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi.* In this and in several more books (published in 1822, 1825, and 1826), Colburn banished rote-learned rules and targeted children of ages four to six to learn "mental arithmetic" in their heads, before they could read or write. He championed an "inductive" method, in which students would puzzle out carefully chosen problems, inventing their own techniques and eventually discovering the rules of arithmetic for themselves. Colburn's ambitious ideas created an instant sensation and gained a popular following.

Predictably, by 1830 a backlash developed, with some educators calling for a return to traditional rule and example learning. Well into the mid-century, the debate continued, greatly energizing arithmetic instruction. The combination of decimal money, new pedagogy, a rise in textbook publication, and the steady spread of common schools all combined to transform numeracy into a basic skill that spread rapidly, along with literacy, in American culture.

See also **Education: Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, Patricia Cline. *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Reprint, New York: Routledge, 1999.

———. "Numeracy in Nineteenth-Century America." In *A History of School Mathematics.* Edited by George M. A. Stanic and Jeremy Kilpatrick. Reston, Va.: National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 2003.

Patricia Cline Cohen

ARKANSAS In 1673, when Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet ventured into the Arkansas region, residing there were the Caddo, Osage, and Quapaw native peoples. Beginning with the establishment of the *Poste des Arkansas* (Arkansas Post) in 1686 at the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi Rivers, the French fur trade brought radical changes to native societies. Organized by René-Robert Cavalier de La Salle's lieutenant, Henri de Tonti, Arkansas Post drew the Quapaw together with French *habitants* (farmers), *coureurs de bois* (literally, "runners of the woods," i.e., fur trappers), and a small French mercantile elite, generating ultimately a class of *métis* (mixed blood) hunters and traders. In 1762 France ceded Louisiana to Spain, whose rule rested lightly on the inhabitants of the post and did little to change it; as of 1798, its residents numbered 337, along with 56 slaves. After the retrocession to France of Louisiana in 1800 and its purchase by the United States in 1803, Arkansas made its transition from French to American rule, to which the French Creole elite took some exception because of its discomfort with majoritarian republican government, the imported English common law, and a new judicial system.

Following the War of 1812 (1812–1815), settlers from Tennessee and Kentucky seeking land and opportunity flowed rapidly into the expansive Arkansas district of the Missouri Territory, formed in 1812. After Arkansas became a territory in 1819 and the Missouri Compromise (1820) secured slavery, more planters arrived in the Red and Mississippi River deltas. The total population rose from 1,062 in 1810 to 14,273 in 1820. Immigration slowed in the 1820s, but by 1830 the population had reached 30,388. The number of slaves rose from 136 in 1810 to 1,617 in 1820 and then to 4,576 in 1830, mostly the result of slaveholder immigration. The slaves who were marched into the territory suffered the deepest pangs of loss and the worst initial hardships. But for both them and the voluntary pioneers, who homesteaded mostly across the Ozark highlands and plateau, the dreaded "seasoning" process, fears of disease, illness itself, death, and feelings of isolation were commonplace. In this context, plain-preaching Methodist circuit riders and Baptist ministers organized camp meetings and fledgling churches. The Monroe administration relocated Choctaws and Cherokees to Arkansas from 1817 through 1820. A significant portion of the Cherokees, whose numbers reached about five thousand, were successful in building schools, comfortable homes, and farms that were well fenced and stocked with cattle, prompting some contemporaries to conclude that the Cherokees

showed the imprint of "civilization" better than many white settlers. The near constant warfare between the Cherokees and the encroaching Osages, however, generated fears. The suspicion and demands of settling whites prompted Congress to remove all the tribes by 1828, a change that was particularly traumatic for the Quapaws. Removal created a turbulent western boundary abutting the new Indian Territory, which U.S. soldiers at Fort Smith policed haphazardly.

Dominated after 1819 by secretary of the Arkansas Territory Robert J. Crittenden, politics in the territory featured a scramble for status, wealth, and power. Most of the leaders were Democratic Republicans and, after 1824, nominal supporters of John Quincy Adams. Merchants, lawyers, and land speculators with ordinary backgrounds, however, vied for position with men, like Crittenden, from slaveholding families in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. Competition for offices to obtain profits from federal lands and other perquisites spurred jealousies and factions. Public debate generated editorial warfare and duels. Political bloodshed was grist for the national press and for travel books that often depicted Arkansas as extraordinarily lawless and backward (an image that reflected both the moralistic worldview of genteel critics and the "premodern" forms of communal regulation and violent self-help that all-male grand juries often indulged in deference to traditional notions of manliness and honor). Opposition to the Crittenden clique was led by territorial delegate Henry W. Conway and his cousin, Ambrose H. Sevier. This opposition had developed into the Jacksonian Democratic Party by statehood in 1836.

Government and economic development were intertwined. Through the 1820s, territorial delegates petitioned Congress for more liberal land policies and funds to clear waterways, build roads, and improve frontier defense. Moving the capital from Arkansas Post to Little Rock in 1821, the legislature established basic laws, counties, and the militia, adhering to a minimalist system of local government. County courts in towns such as Little Rock (Pulaski), Arkansas Post (Arkansas), Davidsonville (Lawrence), and Washington (Hempstead) administered estates; assessed and collected taxes; licensed merchants, tavern keepers, and ferries; and enlisted residents to build roads and bridges. Increasingly after the War of 1812, pioneer families, mostly in the uplands, concentrated on subsistence farming and household production (raising corn, herding hogs, and making cloth and other items to achieve some level of self-sufficiency). Most yeomen remained unwilling to

risk time, energy, and resources on cash crops and slaves. But transportation improvements, especially the arrival of the steamboat in 1820, connected settlers in the Arkansas, White, and Red River valleys with the commerce in agricultural products and commodities on the Mississippi River. In the late 1820s, a minority of the yeomanry occasionally grew cotton for the market, while a small segment of it employed slaves in this endeavor and were successful enough to join the ranks of substantial slaveholders. By 1830, cotton had become the principle cash crop in the territory.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; American Indians: American Indian Removal; American Indians: Old Southwest.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnold, Morris S. *Colonial Arkansas, 1686–1804: A Social and Cultural History.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991.

Bolton, S. Charles. *Territorial Ambition: Land and Society in Arkansas, 1800–1840.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1993.

McNeilly, Donald P. *The Old South Frontier: Cotton Plantations and the Formation of Arkansas Society, 1819–1861.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Valencius, Conevery B. *The Health of the Country: How American Settlers Understood Themselves and Their Land.* New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Whayne, Jeannie, comp. *Cultural Encounters in the Early South: Indians and Europeans in Arkansas.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1995.

Mark M. Carroll

ARMED FORCES *See* **Army, U.S.; Continental Army; Marines, U.S.; Revolution: Naval War.**

ARMY, U.S. The formal end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 required the Continental Congress to consider a peacetime military establishment. Alexander Hamilton sought the advice of George Washington, and his report, proposing a force of just over twenty-six hundred, drew heavily on the general's recommendations. That plan, however, never obtained the approval of the Continental Congress, and on 2 June 1784 the Continental Army was disband-ed—with only eighty officers and men retained. The next day, Congress asked the states for seven hundred militiamen and soon appointed Lieutenant Colonel Josiah Harmar to command them. That force was sent into the territory north of the Ohio River to protect settlers, aid surveyors, and prevent intrusions on federal and Indian lands.

In 1786, when a rebellion led by Daniel Shays broke out in western Massachusetts, Secretary of War Henry Knox had no forces with which to protect the arsenal in Springfield. In the end, the Massachusetts militia under General Benjamin Lincoln put down the rebellion and saved the army's weapons and stores. The weakness of the Articles of Confederation was clear. The states were not only slow in recruiting, but many failed to satisfy their 1784 quotas. As a result, in 1785 and again in 1788, the Congress asked the states for three-year troops. Even that approach could not keep Harmar's frontier force close to its authorized strength.

THE ARMY UNDER THE FEDERALISTS

When the Constitution of 1787 went into effect two years later, the army consisted of a single, under-strength regiment of infantry and a battalion of artillery for a total of less than seven hundred men. The next year, the new federal Congress authorized a total of 1,216 men for the new nation's army. Although both African Americans and Indians were members of numerous Revolutionary War units, their recruitment into the army was forbidden through the early national period.

In June 1790, when violence between setters and Indians north of the Ohio increased, Knox ordered Harmar and Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, to attack the Indians along the Upper Wabash and Maumee Rivers. St. Clair led a force of regulars and militia north from Vincennes, but he turned back before making contact. Harmar's force, also a mix of regulars and militia, was ambushed at the Maumee. Although his regulars fought well, the militia fled the flight. Harmar lost 180 men, of whom 73 were regulars.

Late the next year, St. Clair was ordered into the field for a second time. Early on the morning of 4 November 1791, his force was attacked by Indians. Again the militiamen fled, trapping themselves and the regulars in a murderous crossfire. St. Clair lost 635 dead and some 300 wounded out of a force of about 1,500. Also killed were some 50 women and children, and many more camp followers were captured. Colonel Richard Butler, St. Clair's second in

command was killed, and St. Clair himself had eight bullet holes in his clothing.

In the aftermath of this defeat, Secretary Knox proposed enlarging the army and Congress approved, authorizing a force of nearly five thousand men, including riflemen and dragoons. At the same time the administration decided to reorganize the force, adopting a legionary system of four sublegions, each with its own infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Knox and Hamilton, now secretary of the Treasury, also reorganized the army's logistics and contracting system. This new force was put under the command of Anthony Wayne, an officer with a reputation for boldness.

In the spring of 1792, after enlarging the army, Congress took up militia reform. The administration's plan was to strengthen and make uniform the state forces and bring them under increasing federal influence. The Uniform Militia Act of 1792, however, accomplished neither aim—nor did any subsequent effort. Rather, it insured a national military establishment of regulars, augmented when necessary by federal volunteers, not militia.

Wayne immediately began to shape his new recruits into an effective fighting force. By the winter of 1793–1794, when he began to move into hostile country, he had barely thirty-five hundred of the five thousand men promised, and many of these were needed to protect his lines of communication. Still, what men he had were thoroughly trained. In July 1794 Wayne's fighting force of some two thousand regulars and fifteen hundred Kentucky volunteers moved toward the Maumee River. They burned and pillaged Indian towns as they marched, demonstrating that the British would no longer aid the tribes. Then, on 20 August, Wayne achieved a decisive victory at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The subsequent Treaty of Greenville in August 1795 brought lasting peace to the Ohio country.

Meanwhile, in 1794 western Pennsylvania farmers refused to pay a new whiskey tax, and President Washington called up nearly thirteen thousand militia and marched them west through Pennsylvania. In the face of this force, resistance quickly ended. In the same year, Knox ordered the arsenal at Springfield to produce muskets, a second national arsenal at Harpers Ferry was approved, and the army began fortifying key seaports. An ordinance officer was appointed to supervise the arsenals, and, two years later, a Corps of Artillerists and Engineers was created to build, garrison, and maintain the new costal forts.

In 1798, during the presidency of John Adams (1797–1801), the Quasi-War broke out—a maritime conflict between France and the United States. When France and England went to war four years before, Washington proclaimed U.S. neutrality, but the French, who believed they were due active support, began attacking American shipping. Fearing a wider conflict, Congress authorized a huge increase in forces. Most important of these was the New Army, consisting of twelve infantry regiments and six troops of dragoons. (The "old" army on the frontier, having abandoned its legionary organization, now had two infantry regiments.) In addition a ten-thousand-man Provisional Army, and an even more massive Eventual Army for emergencies, were authorized should war be declared. Furthermore, the president was authorized to accept volunteers as he saw fit. Of all of these, only a few volunteers and selected units of the New Army were ever organized, and even then few other than officers were ever enrolled. Washington was appointed to command this force, but he agreed to serve only if he could remain at home at Mount Vernon until the nation actually went to war. The Federalists' tendency to appoint only fellow Federalists as officers politicized the army and widened the political divide. The opposition Democratic Republicans claimed to see in this and other administration actions evidence of an incipient military despotism.

By early 1800 the threat of war, external or internal, had subsided, and the Adams administration began to eliminate those new units that had been created. At its peak the army may have approached six thousand men, but when Thomas Jefferson became president in March 1801, the number had declined to roughly thirty-six hundred.

THE JEFFERSONIAN ARMY

Jefferson, however, was less concerned about the size of the army than about the predominance of Federalist officers in its ranks. Many of these men were strongly opposed to him and his policies and might, he feared, prove unresponsive to his orders. The United States Military Academy was created in 1801 by Jefferson and recognized by Congress in the Military Peace Establishment Act of 1802. Both the academy and the Peace Establishment Act were elements in a plan to reduce Federalist influence and ultimately Republicanize the army. The authorized strength of the army was set by the act at just below thirty-three hundred—roughly the size of the force when the measure was passed.

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, the army, under Brigadier General James Wilkinson, began to garrison the towns on the western bank of the Mississippi River and push into the interior of the continent in a series of explorations. The first, in 1804, was the expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark up the Missouri River to find a route to the Pacific. In 1805 other detachments ascended the Osage and Mississippi Rivers and in 1806 explored the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers.

In June 1807, just off Norfolk ,Virginia, the British ship *Leopard* mauled the American frigate *Chesapeake.* Resentment in America quickly turned into war fever, but Jefferson took measured steps until February 1808, when the administration asked for a sizable increase in troops that would bring the army to an authorized strength of almost ten thousand officers and men. In April, Congress gave the administration what it had asked, and Secretary of War Henry Dearborn immediately began the process of expanding the army—and finding Republicans to fill the new officer billets. As usual, recruiting lagged behind the appointment of officers, and the actual number of troops reached a high of around seven thousand in 1808 and then declined to an average of about six thousand from 1809 through 1811.

THE WAR OF 1812

In June 1812 President James Madison asked for a declaration of war against Great Britain on four familiar grounds: impressment, illegal blockades, the Orders in Council, and British encouragement of Indian warfare on the northwestern frontier. Anticipating Madison's request, Congress had, in January, begun the creation of a force of about 36,000 men, plus volunteers, and militia. By 1814 the total authorized force was some 62,500 regulars, of which barely 38,100 were ever raised. Strategic control of the War of 1812 lay with the Americans in 1812 and 1813. They correctly believed that Canada was vulnerable and focused their efforts there during the first two years. The army, however, was ill prepared for an offensive war. Since the Revolution it had been scattered in company-size posts across the country. With few exceptions, there had been neither opportunities nor inclination to train or plan for either large-scale offensive action or the support and supply of such operations. After two seasons of campaigning without effect, the British took strategic control of the war. As the duke of Wellington's veterans poured into Canada, it is likely that the United States was saved from further embarrassment by a negotiated peace.

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERNIZATION

The War of 1812 began under the leadership of senior officers who were veterans of the Revolutionary War—Dearborn, Wilkinson, William Hull, and Wade Hampton, in particular. By 1815 younger men—Jacob Brown, Edmund P. Gaines, Alexander Macomb, Decius Wadsworth, Winfield Scott, and Andrew Jackson—had replaced these veterans, and these new men were the ones who would lead the army for years to come. Just months after the war was over, the army was reduced to an authorized strength of just over twelve thousand officers and men. The actual strength of the force declined until 1820, when the number fell below nine thousand.

At that point Congress announced its intention to reduce the army to about six thousand, and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun proposed an Expansible Army plan that would retain most of the officers and noncommissioned officers needed for a twelve-thousand-man army, but only about one-third of the privates required for the larger force. The House of Representatives favored a more conventional approach, but the Senate sided with Calhoun and his expansible force was approved largely as he had suggested. The bill, however, did not explicitly mention Calhoun or his innovation, and its implications escaped the attention of many at the time (including some serving officers); the measure was also largely overlooked by historians for a century and a half.

In the years following the War of 1812, the army began slowly to evolve into a more professional organization. In 1815 a Board of Tactics presided over by Winfield Scott adopted drill regulations to train and discipline the troops based on the French model. At about the same time, the Ordinance Department began to promote uniformity in production between the two armories at Springfield and Harpers Ferry—a shift that ultimately moved them from craft industry to industrial production. In 1817 the Military Academy at West Point was placed under Sylvanus Thayer, who quickly turned it into a true engineering school—the first in the nation. In 1821 the newly trained engineers found employment as the army began a second program of seacoast fortification. In 1824, moreover, when the army was ordered to provide surveys, plans, and estimates for roads, canals, and other internal improvements, civil engineering was added to the academic curriculum.

The army's nascent modernization was further evidenced by the creation of its first professional school, an Artillery School formed at Fortress Monroe in 1824. This was followed three years later by

an Infantry School at Jefferson Barracks. Although these proved premature and lasted less than a dozen years, it is clear that the years between 1815 and 1828 were the beginning of a long period of slow, sometimes sporadic professional growth for the U.S. Army.

See also **Arsenals; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Forts and Fortifications; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Military Technology; Militias and Militia Service; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812; Whiskey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army: Political and Social Reform of the Military Establishment, 1801–1809.* New York: New York University Press, 1987.

———. *West Point: A Bicentennial History.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

Kohn, Richard H. *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Skelton, William B. *An American Profession of Arms : The Army Officer Corps, 1784–1861.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Stagg, John C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Theodore J. Crackel

ARMY CULTURE The United States operated with two versions of the same military organization during the early period of the Republic. One version consisted of a small peacetime military force that was used to enforce order on the growing western frontier. The other was a national army that was created to conduct war in defense of the Republic. This force was initially the Continental Army during the American Revolution (1775–1783). It was later transformed into a postwar frontier defense force.

NATIONAL ARMY

The regular army or "regulars" was the governmental institution whose job was to defend the country and its citizens. This military organization consisted of established units that were garrisoned throughout the country.

The Continental Army represented the first attempt to create a national military unit within the former British colonies. This organization was made up of men who either volunteered to serve or were conscripted by their states to serve in this force. It was not uncommon to see both whites and African Americans serving in the same battalions or regiments, especially if the organization was raised in the northern states. The ages of the men ran from eighteen to fifty. Immigrant soldiers were most likely to be either Irish or German in nationality. Women were considered a part of these military units as laundresses attached to regimental companies. Women also accompanied the men into the field and assisted in any medical duties. The armament of these regiments consisted of either French or British weapons, which were either supplied or captured on the battlefield. Their officers ranged from political appointees to veterans of foreign armies.

The army of the new nation was a token force consisting of small numbers of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. Regimental officers beholden to the upkeep of their commands recruited the personnel. Many of the soldiers were older men, immigrants, or southerners. These soldiers would face the harsh environment of frontier service, where even their families might find themselves in combat. The War of 1812 (1812–1815) brought an expansion of the national army with the influx of farmers and native-born soldiers from New England. Unlike the peacetime army, this national force consisted of younger men who saw their future in land grants for military service.

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT AND COMBAT

The culture of the army was concentrated around the company, which was the smallest level of the regular military organization. Regular army soldiers operated in a small world, interacting with officers, sergeants, and laundresses. Within these companies, the world of the soldier revolved around the mundane tasks of cooking and basic hygiene. Maintenance of health became an ongoing problem for soldiers in the field because of the rapidity with which disease attacked a unit. In addition, the quality and shortage of food became an ongoing problem for these military units. The regular units also suffered from problems in obtaining enough clothing to ward off sickness. After a particularly harsh campaign, many Continental Army regiments looked worse than their militia counterparts.

For regular units, discipline was the main focus of their training. Through proper discipline, European linear tactics became a lethal force in open country. These tactics thrust rolling waves against an enemy position, with continual strikes. To ensure

this discipline, officers and sergeants were ruthless to their privates. This approach was meant to make the privates mentally strong enough to stand in a line of battle to deliver rounds of volley fire on the enemy or to withstand hand-to-hand combat.

The strong application of discipline was one reason for desertions from military units in both war and peace. In addition, the extreme boredom of frontier garrison affected the willingness of men to endure the treatment of their superiors. The use of bounties for enlistment during the American Revolution and the War of 1812 created a class of soldier that used the system for profit through multiple enlistments and desertions.

FRONTIER ARMY

From 1784 to 1828, the U.S. Army operated as a frontier constabulary for the country's ever-moving western frontier. This deployment forced the officers and enlisted men into becoming a police force to separate the Native American population from the settlers moving into the western territories. The positioning of army units to isolated fortifications along with tight fiscal policies were used to keep the army weakened both internally and politically. Many of the posts consisted entirely of units on the company, battery, or squadron level. In 1818 the regular army numbered roughly seventy-five-hundred men. The U.S. Army maintained sixty-four garrisons, in which units of more than one hundred men of all ranks occupied twenty-three posts. Entire regiments were rarely in the field at one time, except during war.

During times of peace, army life became very ritualistic and extremely lonely for officers and soldiers alike. Much of the time was focused on the maintenance of the post facilities and the occasional patrol. Small, company-sized units were sent out to establish small outposts along trading roads and water routes. Old fortifications were repaired and new ones constructed to protect the local communities. Soldiers were also called upon for construction of civilian buildings and roads. In 1818 the garrisons were ordered to start farming as a cost-saving measure. Several installations were able to raise enough crops to feed their own and other posts and sell the surplus in the marketplace. The fresh food cut the high disease rate of military garrisons, which had previously been issued low-quality food from military contractors.

Recreation on these isolated garrisons during free time was left to the creative minds of the officers and men. Army personnel resorted to activities such as gambling and drinking as a way to deal with the hard work and loneliness. Whiskey was a part of the issued rations for both officers and enlisted soldiers. The alcohol became a tool to deal with the emotional problems of garrison duty. Attempts were made to bring churches, small theater groups, and fraternal organizations like Masonic lodges to these posts. Many times it was left up to officers and enlisted men or their families to create pursuits to relieve the boredom on posts.

The U.S. Army became a tight, isolated community within the growing American Republic. Many men and their families spent their entire lives within the army going from post to post. Their mundane and ritualistic lives were interrupted by violence from time to time on the frontier. Many peacetime soldiers remained close to military garrisons upon leaving the service and formed the basis of many western towns.

See also **Army, U.S.; Continental Army; Forts and Fortifications; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Soldiers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Coffman, Edward M. *The Old Army: Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Cox, Caroline. *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Cress, Lawrence Delbert. *Citizens in Arms: The Army and the Militia in American Society to the War of 1812.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982.

Guthman, William H. *March to Massacre: A History of the First Seven Years of the United States Army, 1784–1791.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Higginbotham, Don. *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763–1789.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

Kohn, Richard H. *Eagle and Sword: The Federalists and the Creation of the Military Establishment in America, 1783–1802.* New York: Free Press, 1975.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783–1846.* New York: Macmillan, 1968.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Slaughter, Thomas P. *The Whiskey Rebellion: Frontier Epilogue to the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Stagg, J. C. A. "Enlisted Men in the United States Army, 1812–1815: A Preliminary Survey." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 43 (1986): 615–645.

———. "Soldiers in Peace and War: Comparative Perspectives on the Recruitment of the United States Army, 1802–1815." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 57 (2000): 79–120.

William H. Brown

ARSENALS   The word "arsenal," derived from an Arabic phrase meaning a "house of manufacture," entered western usage around the mid-sixteenth century. The words "arsenal," "armory," and "magazine" are often used synonymously. Traditionally, an armory focuses on the manufacturing, repair, and storage of weapons, while a magazine is a structure or complex that supports storage of munitions and equipage. By definition, an arsenal represents specialized industrial structures for the purpose of manufacture, repair, storage, and supply of both arms of various size and type and their associated munitions and equipage.

In the seventeenth century, a powder magazine was established in each English colony in North America by royal charter. These magazines varied in size and construction from earthen cellars to grand structures. Although militia laws required each male to own a suitable firearm with a supply of fixed or ready-made cartridges, large stores of powder and shot remained centralized in the magazines. Powder was stored in wooden barrels secured by wooden hoops and issued to the militia in emergencies. Various militia manuals of the day provided instructions for making fixed cartridges from loose powder, paper, and ball. To support English industry, by the mid-eighteenth century powder manufacture in the North American colonies was forbidden by law and weapons for the militia were either imported or stocked locally using imported parts.

The French and Indian War (1754–1760) forced the British army to establish a series of magazines running from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt (later Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) to support forces on the northwest frontier. The town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was selected as the site for a central grand magazine including arms and equipment shops unique to the colonies.

During the American Revolution (1775–1783), the new nation lacked arms and ordnance manufacturing sites. On 9 January 1777 the Continental Congress established a magazine and manufacturing laboratory on the site of the old English works at Carlisle. The Carlisle complex combined the French arsenal concept of state-run manufacturing combined with the English method of using government-inspected contractors from the surrounding areas to provide raw materials and semi-finished goods. At the end of hostilities, Congress sold off the arsenal equipment at Carlisle, leaving a token amount of ordnance stores at Fort Pitt and West Point, New York.

After the War of 1812 (1812–1815), the country began a program of rebuilding the various powder magazines and associated buildings, taking full advantage of the latest European technological innovations. Vaulted brick ceilings, traversed entrances, ventilation shafts, and lightning rods were added to arsenal and magazine architecture to increase safety and protect material. Designs sought to minimize the blast effect by forcing the roof up rather than the walls out. The use of exposed metal was minimized to reduce sparks, and tools of copper, wood, and leather would become standard when working with gunpowder. By 1816 the federal government had established an arsenal system based on five manufacturing plants. Harpers Ferry, Virginia (later West Virginia), and Springfield, Massachusetts, produced small arms; Watervliet, New York, and Watertown, Massachusetts, produced artillery; and munitions and small-arms ammunition were produced and stored at Frankford, Pennsylvania. Production at these plants was supplemented by government-inspected private contractors as need arose.

In the 1820s the federal armories of Springfield and Harpers Ferry, established respectively in 1794 and 1796 on the French model, developed production techniques that revolutionized the factory system. By 1822 the federal arsenals could produce complete machine-made weapons with interchangeable parts and stocks. These advances were the result of machines and gauges developed by John D. Hall for his breech-loading rifle at Harpers Ferry and Thomas Blanchard's duplicating lathe for making gun stocks developed at the Springfield armory. These production methods would become known as the American system and serve as a benchmark of the Industrial Revolution.

See also **Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Inventors and Inventions; Manufacturing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Darling, Anthony D. *Red Coat and Brown Bess.* Ottawa, Ont.: Museum Restoration Service, 1993.

Farley, James J. *Making Arms in the Machine Age: Philadelphia's Frankford Arsenal, 1816–1870.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994.

Murray, James V., and John Swantek, eds. and comps. *The Watervliet Arsenal: A Chronology of the Nation's Oldest Arsenal.* Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Department of the Army, 1993.

Neumann, George C. *Battle Weapons of the American Revolution: The Historian's Complete Reference.* Texarkana, Tex.: Scurlock, 1998.

Partington, J. R. *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder.* Cambridge, U.K.: Barnes and Noble, 1960.

Scott, Beth F., James C. Rainey, and Andrew W. Hunt, eds. *The Logistics of War: A Historical Perspective.* Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: Air Force Logistics Management Agency, 2000.

Smith, Merrit Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology: The Challenge of Change.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Sveda, George J. *Fort McHenry Military Structures Baltimore, Maryland.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1969.

Tousey, Thomas G. *Military History of Carlisle and Carlisle Barracks.* Richmond, Va.: Dietz, 1939.

Wilkinson, Norman B. *Explosives in History: The Story of Black Powder.* Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

Wright, Harry A., transcriber. *The Genesis of the United States Armory at Springfield, Massachusetts.* Springfield, Mass.: 1919.

Chris Semancik

ART AND AMERICAN NATIONHOOD Most of the great western revolutions have led to an explosion of artistic creativity. The American Revolution was no exception. Colonial-era white American art was derivative and provincial. Post-independence art saw significant strides toward cultural autonomy and creativity. The achievement, however, was uneven. American artists accomplished a great deal on canvas. Distinctive American architecture began to appear, both in the Federal style (derived from English Georgian and Regency) and in the Greek Revival mode, which drew on classical and Renaissance models. Taken together, these styles came to define American public buildings, as in Washington, D.C., on college campuses, and at places of business such as banks. They also signified wealth and good taste in private homes. In literary terms, a real flowering had to wait until the mid-nineteenth century. Musically, a genuine American voice did not become audible until even later, when concert hall and music hall alike began to explore the country's heritage of eth-

nic and racial collision. Nonetheless, by the early nineteenth century distinctively American themes were emerging and, sometimes, receiving sophisticated development.

PORTRAITURE AND HISTORY PAINTING

Late-colonial-period white Americans from New England to Georgia were acquiring enough wealth to celebrate their own lives on canvas. Initially, the market need was filled by limners, who often painted a sitter's face into an otherwise borrowed image, and by travelers from England. But on the eve of independence more sophisticated portraitists were emerging. One was Philadelphia's Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827), whose 1772 portrait of George Washington reveals a provincial Virginian with no intimation of the fame that awaited him. But the foremost was John Singleton Copley (1738–1815) of Boston. Between his earliest works, at age fifteen, and his permanent departure from America in 1774, Copley turned out portraits of ever-growing sophistication. Working from guidebooks published in Europe and without formal teaching, he mastered chiarascuro, became adept at painting costumes, and acquired psychological insight. His portraits of Samuel Adams (1771) and Paul Revere (c. 1770) take the viewer deep into Boston's Revolutionary leadership. Yet Copley knew that he had still much to learn; he wanted to graduate from portraiture to history painting; his politics were Loyalist. All these contributed to his leaving.

In London, Copley could associate with fellow expatriate Benjamin West (1738–1820), who had left Philadelphia and emerged as a premier history painter. West's studio had become known as the "American School" because of the aspirants who congregated there. Among them were Peale, Matthew Pratt (1734–1805), Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828), and John Trumbull (1756–1843). Copley's own reputation already was so strong that he joined the Royal Academy of Arts within a year of his arrival.

Most of the others returned to America. Peale worked in many genres, blending the ambitious painter and the showman. His choice of names for his children (Raphaelle, Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian) bespoke his high goals; his Peale's Museum (established 1784) where he exhibited both art and artifacts, prefigured the popular culture productions of P. T. Barnum. Peale's charming *The Artist in His Museum* (1822) brings both qualities together.

After working in London and Dublin, Stuart made himself the master of early Republic portrai-

William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1771, detail). Benjamin West's painting of William Penn meeting with Indian leaders helped reinforce notions of peaceful relations between white settlers and Indians. Edward Hicks drew much of his inspiration from this painting, and reproduced it as one element in his oft-repeated Peaceable Kingdom paintings. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

ture, particularly with his most difficult subject, George Washington. Trumbull used the modern-dress history painting genre that West had pioneered to remember and idealize the events of the Revolution. *The Declaration of Independence* (1786–1797), painted at the instance of Thomas Jefferson, shows the committee that Jefferson led presenting the text to Congress. As literal representation, it bears as much relation to the actual event as West's *Death of General Wolfe* (1770) did. But in symbolic terms, both West's painting and Trumbull's assert the importance of American events.

Taken together, these painters provided lasting, sophisticated images both of the Revolutionary era's social and political elites and of that groups "official" memories of the transforming events through which it had lived. As a whole, their work amounted to a meditation on the meaning of American independence. Not all the memories that the painters recorded were stately. *The Death of Jane McCrea* (1804), by John Vanderlyn (1775–1852), shows a frontier Loyalist woman's widely publicized murder during

the Revolutionary War in lurid, highly sexualized detail. The reputed killers were Indians; the effect is to link the Revolution itself to sexual threat by Native American males, implicitly justifying their people's fate at the hands of the triumphant Republic.

The same quality can be seen developing in how artists handled African American images. One of Copley's great canvases after his emigration, *Brooke Watson and the Shark* (1778), includes a carefully studied black man. Trumbull included an equally detailed African American in *The Death of General Warren at Bunker Hill* (1786). The Revolution began the process of slavery's destruction, and like their white counterparts, black leaders wanted portraits, sometimes by prominent artists. Raphaelle Peale (1774–1825) represented a dignified Reverend Absalom Jones in 1810. But by then, images of black Americans were descending from serious portraiture to supposedly comic caricature, evidence that like Indians, they were excluded from white America's vision of itself.

The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker Hill, 17 June 1775 (1786). John Trumbull's painting of the death of Joseph Warren includes a carefully-studied depiction of an African American man on the right. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

The next great burst of "high" American painting, the Hudson River school of landscape artists, would sidestep the question of race in American life altogether. Virtually abandoning individuals and specific events, its practitioners—including Thomas Cole (1801–1848), Frederic Church (1826–1900), Asher Durand (1796–1886), and George Bingham (1811–1879)—would celebrate the contrast of nature and civilization, often in the same canvas. John James Audubon (1785–1851) excluded humanity from his majestic *Birds of America* (1827–1838). The richly ethnographic illustrations in George Catlin's *North American Indians* (1844) show a people whom the Republic was excluding as policy.

FOLK ART

Untrained "folk" or "primitive" artists have been part of American cultural life from the beginning. In their work one can see the visions of nonelite white men, white women, and both African and Native Americans. Sometimes the artist can be identified. But frequently she or he remains anonymous. Working in

paint and other media, these artists too considered the meaning of the American experiment.

Sometimes the theme might also have appeared in West or Trumbull. *General George Washington* (after 1795) by Frederick Kemmelmeyer (c. 1760–1821) shows an outsized president reviewing the American army in September 1794, during the Whiskey Rebellion. But others adopted quieter themes. Jonathan Fisher (1768–1847), a talented minister in Maine, produced secular landscapes that celebrated life in his village, closely observed nature images, and didactic book illustrations. He had many counterparts, whose work is preserved in many small-town museums.

Indians across the continent expressed their sense both of themselves and of the contact and colonization that were under way. One of their many genres, particularly on the Plains, was the painting style called a "winter count," which recorded a group's history on buffalo skin. Wampum belts, highly decorated costumes, memory sticks, pottery, and metal reliefs all served similar purposes. Once understood, these can reveal as much about native

consciousness of the young Republic as any Trumbull history painting does about white elite thought. African American art from the slavery period is harder to recover. But one can get glimpses. *Mulberry* (c. 1800), a painting of a South Carolina plantation house by Thomas Coram (1757–1811), shows slave quarters in the foreground. Their design is African, particularly their sharply pitched thatched roofs. Black New Englander John Bush decorated Revolutionary army powder horns to express his sense of the struggle with Britain. It is possible that a black artist produced *The Old Plantation* (c. 1800), which features a black celebration and relegates the great house to the distant background.

The most notable early folk artist was Edward Hicks (1780–1849) of Pennsylvania, a Quaker who pondered incessantly on America's place upon the earth. Hicks drew much of his inspiration from one of West's history canvases, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1772). He reproduced it as one element in his oft-repeated *The Peaceable Kingdom* (c. 1833 and other dates), which also drew on the biblical image of the lion lying down with the lamb (Isaiah 11:6). In these and in his secular landscapes, such as *The House of David Twining in 1787* (c. 1846), Hicks portrayed the early United States as an essentially good society.

BELLES LETTRES

Viewed against these achievements, literary output seems thinner. The creation of the United States saw a great burst of political thought, whose high point was *The Federalist* (1787–1788). The French migrant Michel-Guillaume Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735–1813) used his *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) to present an ever-darkening picture of a New World poisoned by racism, slavery, and war. Overcoming a long-standing taboo, a few Americans began to dabble in fiction, most notably Hugh Henry Brackenridge (1748–1816) and Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810). They pointed toward the large achievement of James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), whose output reached deeply into American history and culture. Among early dramatists was Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), who also produced a history of the Revolution. Her fellow New Englander, Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820), developed many of the same ideas about women's civic rights as the more famous Englishwoman, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797).

The enslaved poet Phillis Wheatley (c. 1753–1784) found wide readership. So did the intensely partisan Jeffersonian Philip Freneau (1752–1832).

Among other poets were the "Connecticut Wits," who poked fun at what they regarded as American pretence. Washington Irving (1783–1859) followed their caustic example. But one of the wits, Joel Barlow (1754–1812), exemplified American writers' early republican dilemma. Struggling hard, he produced a triumphant American epic, *The Vision of Columbus* (1787). Widely read in its time, it later was virtually forgotten. Not until Walt Whitman (1819–1892) began to compose *Leaves of Grass* (1855) did an American poet find a voice and a style fully suited to his subject.

See also **Architectural Styles; Fiction; Painting.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davidson, Cathy N. *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Ellis, Joseph J. *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture.* New York: Norton, 1979.

Kammen, Michael. *A Season of Youth: The American Revolution and the Historical Imagination.* New York: Knopf, 1978.

Montgomery, Charles F., and Patricia E. Kane, eds. *American Art: 1750–1800*, *Towards Independence.* Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1976.

Prown, Jules David. *American Painting from its Beginnings to the Armory Show.* New York: Skira Rizzoli. 1977.

———*John Singleton Copley in America.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.

Silverman, Kenneth. *A Cultural History of the American Revolution.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Edward Countryman

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION   The Articles of Confederation were the first U.S. constitution, ratified in 1781. The Articles were a pragmatic compromise born of necessity in the American Revolution (1775–1783) and were in effect until replaced by a new constitution in 1789.

The Articles' principal purpose was to create a formal, limited authority for the wartime central government that at first was conducted informally by the Continental Congress. By July 1776, prior to the Articles, Congress had authorized the colonists to replace their British-created governments with new governments established "under the authority of the people"; appointed George Washington as the Continental Army's commanding general; provided for army staff appointments; and authorized the issuance of currency to raise war funds.

The Articles gave the United States exclusive power to conduct national military and foreign policy. They also established the relationship between the states and the central Confederation government. The Articles gave Congress power to appropriate funds for the "common defence or general welfare." They granted Congress power to make commercial treaties and gave it judicial powers in capture disputes, all disputes between states, and certain private interstate land disputes. States retained virtually all authority in domestic policy. The Confederation government was conducted by a unicameral Congress without a separate executive or judicial branch.

Under the Articles, the United States had limited successes. Congress managed the Revolutionary War, including the creation of foreign alliances and the financing of the costly conflict, subsequent peace and commercial treaty negotiations with Great Britain and other European governments, and the beginning of land distribution from the national domain. In 1787 Congress created the first major U.S. territory, the Northwest Territory. Nevertheless, by 1787 many Americans had concluded that the Articles contained profound flaws.

Although confederation proposals had been made as early as 1775 by Benjamin Franklin and others, Congress was unwilling to consider confederation until after it had adopted its resolution declaring American independence on 2 July 1776. The Articles were not adopted by Congress until 15 November 1777 because war pressures and fundamental disagreements prevented completion of the document until it became apparent that completion would assist the United States in obtaining an alliance with France and in controlling wartime inflation.

THE DICKINSON PLAN

On 22 July 1776 Congress began debate on a 12 July proposal reported after a month of deliberation by a committee chaired by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, whose other members included Roger Sherman of Connecticut and Samuel Adams of Massachusetts. That proposal, commonly known as the Dickinson plan, reflected the committee's views on a draft apparently prepared by Dickinson, a wealthy lawyer trained in England.

Dickinson's draft, which granted Congress broad powers in military and foreign affairs, would also have limited state powers in important areas. For example, the draft protected both religious dissenters' rights and existing commercial rights and privileges against state interference and provided that

Congress could raise troops without local participation.

Dickinson's proposals on religious dissenters and raising troops were rejected in committee. The panel's proposal nevertheless contained important limits on state powers. Its motives for this approach are uncertain but may have been mixed. Some delegates may have sought to eliminate as many sources of discord within and between the states as possible in order to strengthen the war effort, while others may have wanted to limit state interference in existing social and economic relations.

After debate by the full Congress, a revised version of the Dickinson proposal was ordered to be printed for the delegates on 20 August 1776. This draft omitted all limits on state power over commercial rights (later partially restored). There was no agreement among the delegates on several other essential provisions. Although the Articles were debated sporadically by Congress over the next year, little progress was made. Completion of the Articles became urgent only after the U.S. military victory at Saratoga, New York, on 17 October 1777, which made alliance with France a realistic possibility, in turn requiring a government that possessed formal legal authority to enter such an alliance.

MAJOR DISPUTED ISSUES

The four most heavily disputed issues concerning the Articles were the structure of congressional representation, the method for allocating national expenses to the states (that is, taxation), control over western lands claimed by states, and the relationship between state and Confederation powers. Debate on these issues was complicated by threats from delegates that unless their position was accepted, their states would not join the Confederation.

The Dickinson plan had proposed that each state would receive one vote in Congress. Large states, however, vigorously sought proportional representation based on wealth or population, but the "one-vote rule" was adopted, largely because failure to adopt it might have resulted in certain states rejecting the Confederation.

Debate over the taxation formula was similarly heated. During a 30 July 1776 debate on a motion by Samuel Chase of Maryland to exclude slaves from the taxation allocation formula, strenuously opposed by John Adams of Massachusetts and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a southern delegate threatened that if slaves were not treated as property, "there is an end" to confederation. Congress agreed instead to use the value of land and improvements in

allocating taxation, an impracticable system palatable to slaveholding states.

The compromises on representation and taxation reflected the leadership of statesmen from different regions. They included Richard Henry Lee of Virginia and John Adams, who recognized that compromises, even regarding important principles, were necessary to enable wartime national unity.

The Dickinson plan had proposed giving Congress the authority to fix the boundaries of states, some of which had vast western land claims extending to the "South Sea," and to dispose of lands in the national domain. These proposals were anathema to states like Virginia that had large claims, but were vociferously supported by "landless" states such as Maryland on revenue and growth grounds. The Articles denied Congress power to limit state land claims. (However, continued controversy later led several states to make large land cessions to the United States.)

Congress also debated the boundaries of state sovereignty. Thomas Burke of North Carolina attacked the Dickinson plan as an infringement on state autonomy. Burke successfully added a provision to the Articles preserving state sovereignty and retaining for the states every power not "expressly delegated to the United States."

Once these issues were resolved, congressional adoption followed quickly. By July 1778, after Congress had defeated thirty-six state-proposed amendments, most states agreed to ratify. Through January 1779, all but Maryland had done so; Maryland made it unanimous in 1781.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONFEDERATION

For much of the period from 1781 to 1789, economic conditions in the United States were poor: prices and real wages were falling; there was a seriously adverse trade balance; indebtedness was growing; and related civil unrest, such as Shays's Rebellion of 1786–1787, was emerging. The Confederation government was unable to compel either the states or Great Britain to comply fully with the peace treaty of 1783. Congress could not effectively resolve interstate territorial disputes, such as those arising in Pennsylvania and from a separatist movement in Vermont. In 1784 Spain closed the Mississippi to American navigation, and in 1786 Congress disagreed along sectional lines over the U.S. foreign policy response. Americans increasingly questioned whether the Confederation's limited government could successfully meet the growing country's domestic and foreign policy problems.

In 1787 progress occurred on one important front. Congress adopted the Northwest Ordinance, which permitted the creation of new states in ceded lands north of the Ohio River (the Northwest Territory) and provided that slavery would be prohibited in the Territory.

By 1787, however, advocates of a stronger central government felt that the Confederation had very important weaknesses and needed fundamental reform. They argued that it lacked essential powers, such as those over taxation and interstate commerce, and was unable to pay its debts, including those owed to its war veterans. It could act only through the states and therefore could not enforce its laws or judicial decisions directly against individuals; nor, as a practical matter, could it do so against disobedient states. Many of its most essential decisions could be made only with the consent of nine states. Its Articles could be amended only with the unanimous consent of the states, and thus important amendments proposed during the 1780s to strengthen congressional powers over taxation and commerce failed despite widespread support. Finally, it had no ability to prevent abuse of economic, judicial, or other state powers that had interstate impact or to protect states against domestic violence.

THE ARTICLES IN HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Many of the Articles' flaws stemmed from their creation as a unifying measure to address the urgent necessities of wartime government. The Articles reflected a desire on the part of some to limit centralized government that arose both from colonial experience with Great Britain and from the belief that liberty and political power were inherent enemies. At the same time, however, as a pragmatic wartime compromise that sought a broad consensus and resolved only those issues requiring immediate resolution, the Articles provide only a limited insight into contemporary Americans' evolving views of freedom and government.

The Articles nevertheless serve as an exceptionally useful benchmark for understanding the fundamental changes in American government later made by the Constitution's establishment of national, majority control of areas such as federal taxation, commerce, and military appropriations, its creation of a federal separation of powers, and its authorization of enforcement of federal laws directly against individuals under a powerful regime of federal law supremacy, while at the same time preserving a significant constitutional role for the states.

See also **Annapolis Convention; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Continental Army; Currency and Coinage; Federalist Papers; Shays's Rebellion; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact*: *The Lost World of the American Founding.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789.* New York: Knopf, 1950.

———. *The Articles of Confederation*: *An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution 1774–1781.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interests*: *Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union, 1781–1789.* New York: Harper and Row, 1987.

Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic*: *Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States 1775–1787.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics*: *An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

———. *Original Meanings*: *Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution.* New York: Vintage, 1997.

George Van Cleve

ASYLUMS   The first dictionary definition of "asylum" is "an institution for the care of people, especially those with physical or mental impairments, who require organized supervision or assistance"; the second is "a place offering protection and safety; a shelter." The first meaning highlights control, confinement, and supervision (under the rubric of "care"); the second is a synonym for "refuge," connoting freedom and security. The founders of American almshouses, lunatic asylums, and orphanages all faced the problem of how to justify the confinement of the impaired and the destitute with the ideals of freedom and equality that underpinned the Revolution and the birth of the new nation.

ALMSHOUSES FOR THE POOR

Poverty was not uncommon in the colonies and the new nation. Many theologians in the eighteenth century believed that poverty, like mental illness, was simply a part of God's design; thus most of the needy were cared for in community households, where they were not stigmatized as a "problem" population. However, vagabonds or the "wandering poor" were made ineligible for all kinds of relief and were "warned out" of town, as the towns' responsibility for poverty extended only to the community within a town's boundaries.

A few communities did establish separate institutions to serve the needy. Many cities, primarily in the North, built almshouses throughout the eighteenth century. The earliest almshouses were often minimally renovated farmhouses. Residents, who wore no distinguishing clothing, had undergone some personal crisis or illness, or had faced insurmountable difficulties as a result of periodic wars, economic fluctuations, and especially the turn-of-the-century transition to commercialized agriculture and early industrialization. Women consistently far outnumbered men: the special burdens associated with single motherhood accompanied by the paucity of economic opportunities for women made them especially vulnerable to all of the other social forces that induced downward mobility.

By the Jacksonian period, the almshouse had gained a dominant position in public policy toward the poor. In 1821 and 1824, Massachusetts and New York conducted formal studies of the causes of poverty and the condition of the poor; both studies recommended a formal network of almshouses where work, especially farm labor, would be compulsory for all the able-bodied. (A number of almshouses dating back to the late eighteenth century had made this a requirement of residency.) Other states followed suit: approximately sixty new almshouses were constructed from 1820 to 1840, and dozens of existing ones were refurbished and expanded. In keeping with the reform movements that led to the construction of penitentiaries and insane asylums, proponents of these new institutions stressed that poverty was not a divinely ordained condition, and that individuals were, under the right social conditions, perfectible. Accordingly, each of these institutions emphasized discipline, order, and cultural reprogramming that led inmates away from the slothful and vicious behavior (with drink at the top of the list) thought to be responsible for their degraded condition.

INSANE ASYLUMS

Throughout most of the eighteenth century, the mentally ill who could not be cared for at home were often housed in almshouses or jails and were sometimes chained in attics or cellars if they became un-

manageable. But these "mad" inmates were increasingly viewed as a bad influence on—or worse, a physical threat to—the virtuous or reformable sane inmates. Eventually, mental health crusaders like Dorothea Dix (1802–1887) insisted that the poor treatment and unmet medical needs of the mentally ill in the almshouses made separate institutions for the insane a national imperative. The rather undifferentiated population of the almshouse inmates began to be sorted out, and from the early 1830s onward the insane were systematically removed to the new state-run institutions that specialized in treatment of the mentally ill. The roots of this practice reach back to the eighteenth century, both in Europe and America.

Insanity, like poverty, was not considered a "social problem" through much of the 1700s. Those whose behavior was considered sufficiently odd often came under the care of doctors, who might bleed them or subject them to a regime of purgatives or laxatives; but these procedures were typically conducted in the home, unless the patient was violent enough to warrant confinement elsewhere. In Europe, however, a new medical paradigm known as "moral treatment" took hold. This system purported to restore sufferers to reason and light by immersing them in a carefully controlled environment where they would be under the supervision of a physician and where all perverting influences were expelled. The leading exponent of this movement, the French physician and asylum-keeper Philippe Pinel (1745–1826), claimed that his new field of asylum medicine was a logical outgrowth of the French Revolution, in that it guaranteed all the mentally ill the right to humane treatment rather than neglect or abuse.

The first American hospital established exclusively for the insane was the Virginia Eastern Lunatic Asylum, founded in Williamsburg in 1770 to house thirty-six patients. Pennsylvania's experiment, however, was better known. In 1751, under a petition of civic leaders including Benjamin Franklin, the newly formed Pennsylvania Hospital began receiving a large number of vagrant, and violent, "lunatics." In the first decades, patients were often restrained by chains and straitjackets; but, at the urging of the physician Benjamin Rush, they were moved in 1792 to a separate wing, where they could be cared for more effectively and humanely. Rush, though, still favored "heroic" medical treatments—bloodletting, purging, physical restraint, chastising, and stimulation of terror as shock therapy—over the holistic "moral" ones being developed in Europe.

In the early nineteenth century, a number of religious and charitable organizations founded private asylums, generally run on the moral treatment paradigm, that catered primarily to elite populations who were afflicted with insanity. (Each did, however, have provisions for caring for a certain number of indigent patients.) In such asylums as McLean (Massachusetts, 1818), Bloomingdale (New York, 1821), and Hartford Retreat (Connecticut, 1822), the moral treatment took hold, with reportedly spectacular effects. Physicians claimed cure rates as high as 90 percent; this, along with the vigorous campaigning of Dix and others, persuaded many state legislatures to fund state institutions. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1833, almost every Northern state allotted major funding for elaborate institutions to care for patients from all social ranks. However, the cure rate was later exposed as exaggerated, and the actual treatment of patients was considerably more harrowing than the stated ideal.

ORPHANAGES

Unlike insane asylums and almshouses, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries orphanages remained strongly associated with private and religious organizations. And whereas the other institutions were managed exclusively by men, women tended to run orphan asylums, where they were expected to take on mothering roles with their young wards. But as with the response to poverty and insanity, the relief of large numbers of bereft children took place within institutional settings only after the 1830s. In the colonies, two orphan asylums, one Lutheran and one Methodist, opened in what is today Georgia in 1738. The first to be publicly managed was established in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1790, but by 1830, when approximately fifteen orphanages had been established, the overwhelming majority was still religiously oriented. Not all of the children were strictly parentless: some had one living parent, and some had been abandoned.

In orphanages, as in other types of asylums, managers emphasized the importance of developing daily routines and rudimentary training in how to live as productive, law-abiding citizens. Several orphanages, including the Boston Female Asylum (established 1800), provided more regular and rigorous schooling than would have been available to poor children on the outside. There, school was held six hours a day, six days a week, and featured lessons in arithmetic, reading, writing, sewing and domestic skills; Sundays were given to religious worship. Play time, however, was not considered important to development.

Almshouses and insane asylums suffered a downward trajectory through the nineteenth century. These institutions deteriorated as their utopian mystique was eroded and the public lost its faith in them. Conditions at orphanages, by contrast, tended to improve.

See also **Alcohol Consumption; Childhood and Adolescence; Disability; Hospitals; Mental Illness; Orphans and Orphanages; Penitentiaries; Poverty; Reform, Social.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gamwell, Lynn, and Nancy Tomes. *Madness in America: Cultural and Medical Perceptions of Mental Illness before 1914.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995.

Hacsi, Timothy A. *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Katz, Michael B. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America.* Rev. ed. New York: Basic Books, 1996.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

Smith, Billy G., ed. *Down and Out in Early America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.

Benjamin Reiss

AURORA The *Philadelphia Aurora* began as the *General Advertiser* and changed its name in 1794. It was virtually a national daily for the followers of Thomas Jefferson until about 1808, when the *Washington National Intelligencer* began to eclipse it. During the early national period, the *Aurora* proclaimed Jeffersonian principles, but it grew increasingly extreme and eventually pleased only radical Jeffersonians.

During the 1790s, guided by its editors Benjamin Franklin Bache and William Duane, the *Aurora* opposed the Washington and Adams administrations. The paper denounced Alexander Hamilton's financial system, Federalist alliances with Britain, and especially the Alien and Sedition Acts. Instead, the *Aurora* supported the French Revolution, democratic and local governance, and economic policies hostile to the concentration of wealth.

After 1800 none could ignore the *Aurora*. As the Federalists declined, the followers of Jefferson split over what their victory should mean. The *Aurora* called for sweeping reforms, seeking a more demo-

cratic society. It denounced the independent judiciary and opposed constitutions since they could prevent popularly elected majorities from implementing majority will. The paper excoriated common law and insisted that only statutes enacted by popular legislatures should govern a democracy. The *Aurora* frightened moderate Jeffersonians by insisting that majority will should intervene in the economy to preserve what it called "the happy mediocrity of condition." By 1805 several Jeffersonian newspapers had emerged to argue with the *Aurora*, and by 1810 the paper was in decline. Duane sold the paper in 1822 and left for South America, seeking what he considered real democracy.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Democratization; Federalist Party; Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Phillips, Kim Tousley. *William Duane, Radical Journalist in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Garland, 1989.

Rosenfeld, Richard N. *American Aurora: A Democratic–Republican Returns: The Suppressed History of Our Nation's Beginnings and the Heroic Newspaper that Tried to Report It.* New York: St Martin's, 1997.

Shankman, Andrew. *Crucible of American Democracy: The Struggle to Fuse Egalitarianism and Capitalism in Jeffersonian Pennsylvania.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Andrew Shankman

AUTHORSHIP In the new United States the meaning of authorship underwent major changes. Colonial authors had seen themselves as craftsmen and editors, vehicles for preexisting truths, instruments of a muse, a god, or sometimes of the state. They often published their work anonymously or circulated it in private manuscript networks, sometimes to avoid censorship, sometimes to avoid the appearance of arrogance and the social stigma of publication. But by the late eighteenth century, authors began to see themselves instead as writers, individuals with unique voices and original views.

Several factors in the post–Revolutionary United States made it possible, even desirable, for writers to embrace a larger and more public sphere for their work. Most significant among these factors was a relatively high rate of literacy. Partly the result of the growth of common schools, roughly three-quarters

of American families included at least one adult reader by the 1820s.

Readers created potential markets, and several economic factors came together to turn authorship into a viable profession by the 1830s. Books and periodicals became increasingly affordable. Technological changes in papermaking reduced the cost of paper significantly in the 1830s and again in the 1850s. A shift from apprentice to wage laborers in the late eighteenth century reduced printing costs. Initially, the development of stereotyping in 1811 allowed for cheaper reprints. As power-driven presses replaced hand presses by the 1830s, larger print runs could be produced more quickly and economically.

Expanded distribution mattered as much as production to the economic viability of authorship. In the late eighteenth century the number of circulating and social libraries in urban areas increased. Further, the Congress made the post office the only nationalized industry, and the federal government built a comprehensive postal network more quickly than any European state. The post office had discount rates for printed materials, and publishers had substantial tax advantages as compared with their peers in Great Britain or France. Growing networks of roads and canals meant books, periodicals, and manuscript materials could find readers throughout the new Republic.

Changes in the law also encouraged writers. The first amendment to the Constitution provided for freedom of speech and of the press. By 1790 an emerging debate on copyright established that an author's words were property entitled to legal protection.

Complementing the economic and legal changes that made it more possible to earn an income as a writer, a series of cultural shifts early in the nineteenth century provided new audiences, both secular and religious, and affirmed new roles for writers. Popular penny papers, lurid pamphlets, and dime novels developed along with a literature of moral reform. Romanticism revolutionized literary aesthetics, challenging writers to express their individuality in new genres rather than imitate classical forms. Growing literary nationalism called for American writers who would rival the best European authors. The new United States came to view authorship as the quintessential expression of the individual.

See also **Art and American Nationhood; Autobiography and Memoir; Fiction; Nonfiction Prose; Women: Writers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Charvat, William. *The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800–1870.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1992.

Rice, Grantland S. *The Transformation of Authorship in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Warner, Michael. *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Pattie Cowell

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIR   Autobiography and memoir, an author's narrative of his or her past experiences and present reflections, emerged as a popular genre during the early years of the Republic. Historians and literary critics have struggled to define these texts alongside other staples of Western letters—novels, poems, diaries, and "eyewitness" accounts. Unlike fictional narratives, autobiographies are rooted in verifiable circumstances. Yet these texts, unlike official or present-tense accounts, enable the author to select which themes to highlight, what significance to attach to persons or events, and what overall tone or interpretation to give the story. Thus such stories can tread a fine line between fiction and nonfiction. However defined in terms of style, intent, and veracity, however, autobiographies and memoirs serve two functions that might account for their popularity. First, they allow individuals room for self-invention, thus reflecting and reinforcing a belief in the fluidity of the American social order. Second, they lend the United States itself—which lacks the religious, racial, and ethnic commonalities of other nation-states—a set of shared memories, stories, traditions, and history.

Before the formal emergence of autobiography, North American immigrants used personal accounts to express spiritual longings and to defy various forms of oppression. The diary, a register of day-to-day experiences, gave Protestants the medium for revealing doubts, fears, and desires that Catholics found in confession. Diaries were particularly common among Puritan New Englanders, who used their literacy to define themselves against the American wilderness and the "savages" who lived there. New England settlers also read "captivity narratives," in which the authors' imprisonment by Indians and subsequent "redemption" to white society mirrored the quest for personal salvation. The best-known example, Mary Rowlandson's *The Goodness and Sovereignty of God* (1682), ranks as one of the first best-sellers in North America.

For the majority of immigrants who came to colonial America as indentured servants or slaves, illiteracy and day-to-day coercion made self-narration impossible. But a few gained control of the written word and bore witness to their suffering. Olaudah Equiano, an African who was shipped to America as a slave in the 1750s before buying his freedom and moving to Britain, described his ordeal in an *Interesting Narrative*, first published in London in 1789. His recollections of the Middle Passage—men, women, and children packed into ship holds, their breath, sweat, and feces producing "a scene of horror almost inconceivable"—helped to fuel the British movement to abolish the Atlantic slave trade. Equiano died in 1797, ten years before that movement bore fruit. His story helped to shape the later slave narratives of the nineteenth century.

In the Revolutionary period national identity and autobiography rose concurrently. American printers used personal accounts of British injustices to inflame Revolutionary passions. After the War of Independence, biographies of Patriot heroes (especially George Washington) provided newly minted citizens with guides to personal behavior in republican society. Writing, reading, and talking about individual lives encouraged Americans to question traditional forms of identity. Freed of ties to the monarchy, and filled with a phenomenally complex desire for "independence," Americans looked to carve their individuality out of the dense granite of family precedent, local obligation, and hierarchies of race and gender. Simultaneously, in the 1780s and 1790s, British and German writers identified "autobiography" as a new form of narrative. This genre immediately drew fire. One critic, quoted in Robert Folkenflik's *Culture of Autobiography* (1993), dismissed autobiographies as the self-obsessed drivel of self-deceivers, "women who also coquette with posterity," and historians (p. 3). Yet these texts would provide early Americans with a new means of understanding their lives and establishing their identities.

Several hundred Americans who were born after the Revolution published autobiographies; countless more perished along with their authors. The widespread circulation of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* in the 1810s helped to standardize the genre. The texts generally began with the author's earliest memory, thus underlining the intention to give a complete and truthful rendering of his life. The author then recorded a (lowly) background and (burdensome) duties. While reflecting on liberation from these powerful forces, the author might move from past to present tense and from description to evalua-tion. The incidents that the autobiographer featured, and the turning points around which the story was built, revealed not so much the memories that were self-consciously "chosen" as the memories that were available and comprehensible to the author at the time of writing. Common themes in early autobiographies include the escape from the farm, the fight against physical handicaps, and the search for a satisfying, distinctive "career." These were, in short, narratives of struggle—against fate, against inheritance, against an agrarian economy and a traditional society.

The memoir as a biography written by an intimate acquaintance of the subject became another medium for constructing lives through texts. From just twenty-seven during the 1790s, the number of memoirs surged to 270 during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Sometimes written by a husband about his late wife, these stories reveal the prized virtues of "Republican Womanhood": piety, fidelity, and devotion to the good of the nation.

During the early years of industrialization, autobiographies and memoirs poured out of printing presses for consumption by an increasingly literate public. Indeed, these texts captured the enlarged scope and vast diversity of American life during the 1830s and 1840s. Many celebrated social and geographic mobility, helping to make upward striving something of a national ethic. (This ethic also served to hide the high incidence of financial failure in a full-blown capitalist economy.) Memoirs proclaimed that virtue grew best in the free soil of the American Republic. But other narratives revealed quarrels with the institutions, mores, and values of the United States. Like Equiano, escaped slaves—Frederick Douglass was the most prominent—wrote stories about themselves to illustrate the brutality and duplicity inherent to the "peculiar institution." Slave narratives also indicted northerners for their indifference and bigotry. Whatever their tone or purpose, autobiographies and personal memoirs remained popular because of the special axis they created between author and reader, between subject and nation. In the privacy of their parlors, readers could judge their own desires and intentions through the prism of another person's life. Both readers and writers, in turn, could use these texts to set rules for and make sense of a society that often seemed ungovernable.

See also **Authorship; Book Trade; Fiction; Historical Memory of the Revolution; History and Biography; Nonfiction Prose; Women: Writers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appleby, Joyce, ed. *Recollections of the Early Republic: Selected Autobiographies.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997.

Carretta, Vincent, ed. *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano.* Rev. ed. New York: Penguin, 2003.

Casper, Scott E. *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Folkenflik, Robert, ed. *The Culture of Autobiography: Constructions of Self-Representation.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993.

J. M. Opal

AUTOMATION   *See* **Manufacturing.**

AWAKENINGS   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

ℬ

BACKSLIDING A temporary reversion to sinful behavior or lapse into unbelief following a spiritual conversion is known as backsliding. The concept of backsliding, biblical in origin, emerged in the theology of Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609), which emphasized human free will in the acceptance or rejection of Christ's salvation. The ability to freely embrace or, by extension, spurn redemption implied the risk of backsliding. Arminianism was first accepted in American religion through the ministry of John Wesley (1703–1791) and his Methodist followers, who arrived from England in the wake of the transatlantic religious revivals of the 1730s, popularly known as the Great Awakening (and later as the first Great Awakening). Arminian beliefs became accepted among many Baptists as well in the early national period as the second wave of religious revivals drew in converts from Maine to the backcountry of Kentucky and Tennessee. The earlier revivals, concentrated in New England, were strongly associated with Calvinism, which assured elect believers that they, by virtue of the doctrines of predestination and perseverance, could not fall from grace.

The possibility of backsliding stimulated both a high degree of insecurity and self-scrutiny among the converted. They devoted themselves to prayer, scriptural study, fasting, and active church fellow-ship as expressions of faith but also to protect themselves from backsliding. Some reassurance was taken from Scripture that suggested backsliders were not forever lost to divine grace. Baptist and Methodist hymnals in the 1790s included songs for backsliders in the process of regaining their faith and both churches permitted some offenders to rejoin their church communities after a public expression of repentance. Despite the human responsibility implied in their conception of salvation, preachers and laypersons expressed concern in their journals and memoirs that for no overt reason and against their will, they might nonetheless yield to temptation or become insensible to their sins and fall from grace. Many laid the blame for their fear of backsliding squarely on Satan and believed their dread to be one of his insinuations. Some testified that the devil's stratagems extended to assuring believers that they could not fall from grace and need not fear temptations at all. Wesleyan theology did allow for the possibility of achieving a permanent state of sinless perfection, termed "sanctification," but this divine gift of grace was thought to be reserved for the most saintly adherents. The concept of backsliding in effect prevented believers from fully trusting in the authenticity of their conversions even while it motivated an exacting spiritual self-discipline.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Holifield, E. Brooks. *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.

Ann Kirschner

BALLOONS The brothers Joseph Michel Montgolfier and Jacques-Étienne Montgolfier launched the air age on 4 June 1783 when they flew a hot air balloon measuring thirty-five feet in diameter from the town square of Annonnay, France. Over the next seven months, one spectacular ascent followed another, culminating in the first free flight of human beings from Paris in both a hot air balloon (21 November 1783) and a hydrogen gas-filled balloon developed and flown by Jacques Alexandre César Charles (1 December 1783). A number of Americans in France, including Benjamin Franklin and the other diplomats negotiating the Treaty of Paris ending the American Revolution, witnessed these events and spread the news in letters and pamphlets sent to friends and family across the Atlantic.

American newspapers carried the first articles describing these pioneering flights as early as November 1783. Dr. John Foulke, recently returned to Philadelphia from Paris, launched small balloons to the delight of the crowds attending his lectures in May 1784. Peter Carnes, a lawyer and innkeeper from Bladensburg, Maryland, unveiled his American Aerostatic Balloon in June 1784. Standing thirty-five feet tall, the craft was too small to lift the portly inventor. He did, however, send thirteen-year-old Edward Warren up on a tethered flight from Baltimore on 24 June. Just a month later, the *Massachusetts Spy, or, Worcester Gazette* (22 July 1784), reported that "the taste for *Air Balloon* matters has grown to such an extravagant pitch that nothing can pretend to have any intrinsic value in it, unless it has this name as an appendage."

Dr. John Jeffries, a Boston-born Loyalist living in England, became the first American to make a free flight on 30 November 1784, when he ascended from London, England, with the French aeronaut J. P. F. Blanchard. The two men made the first balloon flight across the English Channel on 7 January 1785. Blan-
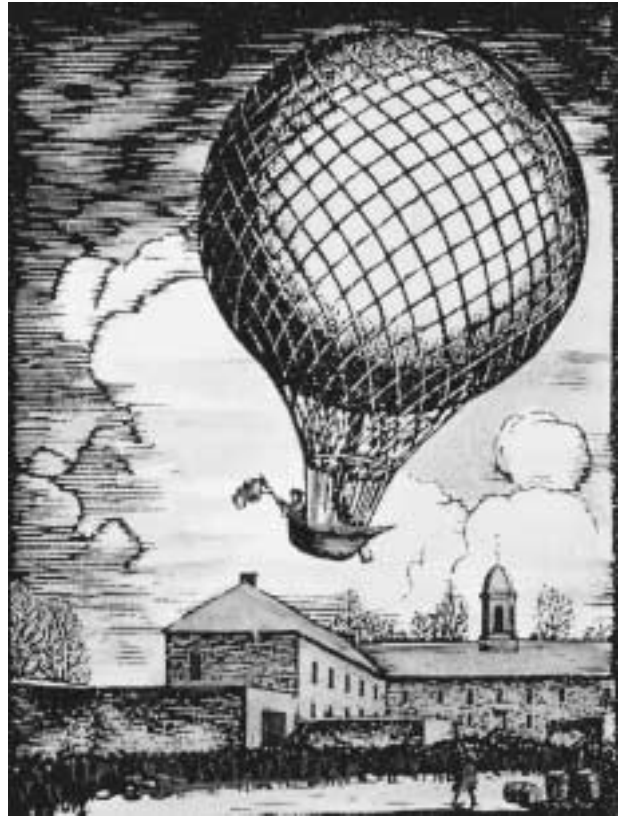
America's First Balloon Flight. French aeronaut J. P. F. Blanchard made the first untethered balloon flight in the United States when he ascended from a prison yard in Philadelphia on 9 January 1793, before a large crowd that included George Washington. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

chard later made the first free, or untethered, flight in the United States, ascending from Philadelphia on 9 January 1793 before a large crowd that included President George Washington and members of his cabinet. Blanchard traveled to a safe landing in Woodbury, New Jersey.

The French created a military balloon corps that saw active service from 1794 to 1799. As early as 1804, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac ascended to an altitude of over twenty thousand feet to study conditions in the upper atmosphere. In antebellum America, Joseph Henry, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, encouraged the use of balloons to study meteorology and as aerial observation platforms in time of war. For the most part, however, ballooning remained the province of itinerant aerial showmen who traveled across the nation, performing feats of aerial derring-do, or setting off on long-distance balloon voyages whenever and wherever they could collect a crowd of paying spectators to witness an ascent.

The popularity of ballooning as mass entertainment was established by European aeronauts, notably Louis-Charles Guille and Eugene Robertson, who toured the United States between 1819 and 1834. Charles Ferson Durant, a native New Yorker who understudied Robertson, emerged as the first American-born aeronautical professional. He inaugurated a "golden age" of ballooning in the United States with a number of notable ascents in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and elsewhere from 1830 to 1834. Pennsylvanian John Wise, who made some 463 ascents during forty-four years as an aeronaut, and Thaddeus Sobieski Constantine Lowe, who organized and led a balloon corps that operated with the Union Army from 1861 to 1863, were the best-known American airmen active before 1860.

See also **Travel, Technology of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crouch, Tom D. *Eagle Aloft: Two Centuries of the Balloon in America.* Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983.

Rolt, L. T. C. *The Aeronauts: A History of Ballooning, 1783–1983.* New York: Walker, 1966.

Tom D. Crouch

BALTIMORE   Baltimore became the third-largest city in the United States during the era of the early Republic. Founded in 1729 as a port for Baltimore County's growing iron and tobacco trade, Baltimore Town began to flourish during the 1740s, when farmers and millers from western Maryland and southern Pennsylvania began sending grain and flour there for shipment. Baltimore Town prospered during the 1760s when the demand for food in the Atlantic world rose dramatically. By the time of the Revolution, Baltimore was a bustling grain and flour port of nearly six thousand people.

The Scots-Irish merchants of Baltimore played a vital role during the struggle for independence, first as leaders of the resistance to British authority and later as suppliers of food for the French and American armies. These merchants profited handsomely from Baltimore's good fortune during the war. By war's end, Baltimore was the leading port town of the Chesapeake.

Baltimore's fortunes continued to rise during the early years of the Republic as merchants and mechanics flocked to town to take advantage of opportunities offered by its booming commercial econo-

my. Baltimore merchants shipped grain, flour, corn, iron, and lumber to other American seaports, Mediterranean Europe, and the West Indies. They also sent Maryland and Virginia tobacco to continental Europe, chiefly France and the Netherlands. In return, Baltimore's merchants handled the extensive trade in European imports for the entire Chesapeake region. A growing community of commerce-related craftsmen operated shipyards, ropewalks, sailmaking lofts, flour mills, breweries, and bakeries to meet the needs of the booming shipping trade. Luxury craftsmen—clockmakers and watchmakers, silversmiths and jewelers, and cabinetmakers and chairmakers—began arriving in Baltimore during this period, testifying by their presence to the town's new wealth and sophistication.

The last decade of the eighteenth century was pivotal for Baltimore. The town population nearly doubled during this period from 13,503 residents in 1790 to 26,514 by 1800, making Baltimore the third-largest urban center in the United States. Economic growth and international turmoil fed this expansion. Baltimore's lucrative trade with the West Indies thrived as town merchants took advantage of commercial opportunities created by the wars of the French Revolution. Revolutions in France and the French island colony of Saint Domingue sent hundreds of French refugees to Baltimore, where both Catholics and slave owners could feel welcome. Hundreds of free people of color fled to Baltimore from Saint Domingue, joining the town's rapidly growing free black community. Slaves and free blacks lived and worked together in Baltimore, but freedom, not enslavement, was on the rise as the young port town entered the nineteenth century. By 1820 the free black population of 10,326 outnumbered the slave population of 4,357.

Town merchants and mechanics played influential roles in early national politics. In 1788 they strongly supported ratification of the Constitution. In 1797 they gained substantial control of town governance when they won approval from the Maryland General Assembly for a charter of incorporation for the city of Baltimore. With the emergence of the first party system in national politics, Baltimore's leadership embraced the anti–British politics of the Democratic-Republican Party. They helped elect Thomas Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 in the hope that a Democratic-Republican administration would more forcefully address the problem of British interference with American shipping.

Baltimore remained a Democratic-Republican stronghold throughout the years of the Jefferson

and Madison administrations (1801–1817). At the start of the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Republican partisanship reached a fevered pitch. In July 1812 a Republican mob brutally attacked Federalist editor Alexander Contee Hanson and his Federalist supporters for Hanson's denunciation in his newspaper, the *Federal Republican*, of Congress's declaration of war. This mob assault, which resulted in the death of a Revolutionary War veteran and the maiming of several others, shocked the nation and led to universal condemnation of the city. The people of Baltimore, however, soon redeemed themselves. Between 12 and 14 September 1814, they successfully withstood the bombardment of Fort McHenry and repelled British troops attempting to invade the city. The successful defense of Baltimore halted the northward advance of British troops following the burning of the nation's capital and won the gratitude of the American people.

After the War of 1812, Baltimore's fortunes shifted. With the arrival of peace in the United States and Europe, city merchants lost important markets and opportunities. And as the center of American trade moved from the West Indies to the industrializing economy of England, Baltimore merchants lost their competitive advantage to the better-situated ports of New York and Philadelphia. Adding further to the city's woes, the Panic of 1819 led to the bankruptcy of many leading city merchants.

During the 1820s city merchants began to look westward to establish connections with the trade of the newly settled western states and territories. Baltimore's leaders had always believed that the city's geographic position as the westernmost port among the major eastern cities had given it a unique advantage for capturing western commerce. The success of the Erie Canal, which opened in 1825, quickly dispelled that illusion and sent Baltimore merchants searching for an alternative means of transportation. They found one in the primitive railroad technology developed in England to haul coal out of mines. In a bold and visionary step, they committed their funds and the city's future to the development of a new form of freight and passenger transportation. In April 1827 city merchants organized the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. In so doing, they gave birth to a new form of transportation and, ultimately, a second American Revolution.

See also **African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Chesapeake Region; City Growth and Development; Mid-Atlantic States; Railroads; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Browne, Gary Lawson. *Baltimore in the Nation, 1789–1861.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Cassell, Frank A. *Merchant Congressman in the Young Republic: Samuel Smith of Maryland, 1752–1839.* Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971.

Phillips, Christopher. *Freedom's Port: The African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997.

Tina H. Sheller

BANKING SYSTEM   The first financial institution created in the United States was the Pennsylvania Bank (1780–1781), founded at the behest of Philadelphia's merchant community with the ardent support of pamphleteer Thomas Paine and Continental Army colonel Alexander Hamilton. The need for such a bank was acute. The new nation, still fighting for its independence, was burdened with expenses and unable to supply or pay its soldiers. A scarcity of silver and gold specie (money in coin) made it impossible for states to effectively collect taxes; their treasuries were nearly empty. Meanwhile, the paper currency printed by the colonies and the Continental Congress proved to be wildly inflationary, driving merchants to trade bills of exchange among each other rather than use actual money.

The Pennsylvania Bank, it was hoped, would solve this problem by circulating a reliable currency, aiding both the war effort and the nation's commercial stability. However, the bank proved inadequate, never becoming anything more than an institution for purchasing military goods. The Pennsylvania Bank was soon absorbed by the Bank of North America, which Congress created on 31 December 1781, shortly after British forces surrendered at Yorktown in October. With offices in Boston, Philadelphia, and Virginia, the new bank was expected to unify the country by circulating a national currency and aiding commerce along the Atlantic coast.

Though new to the United States, the Bank of North America was hardly a novel creation in the Atlantic economy. It mirrored its British and European predecessors in many ways: it was incorporated, enjoying a government charter that permitted it to issue shares of ownership (stocks), assemble a board of directors who would govern its actions, and act as an actual (corporate) person in court, allowing the bank to take part in lawsuits and exist as a legal entity. The bank could both accept deposits and make loans, and was required to hold a reserve of its depos-

its in coined specie. It was also limited in the amount of capital that it could accumulate ($400,000), preventing the bank from exercising undue influence over the affairs of government or becoming a powerful concentration of wealth in the new Republic. Thus, while a legislative charter vested a bank with public authority, it was also a regulatory device that limited its activities.

Even some of its Congressional supporters, however, questioned the national government's powers to create a bank. There also remained widespread public mistrust of banks in general; people often viewed banks as vestiges of aristocratic authority. These concerns led the Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island legislatures to pass laws of their own to authorize and supervise the Bank of North America's operations. With the support of the bank's new directors, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania granted the bank a charter of incorporation to fully ensure its legitimacy.

BANK "DISCOUNTS" IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Economically, the Bank of North America proved a stunning success, rewarding its shareholders with annual returns of nearly 10 percent and proving popular among local merchants. But with only three offices, the bank's reach was limited. Headquartered in Philadelphia, the bank's directors were the object of suspicion among many Boston merchants who preferred to have a locally controlled institution in their city. In New York, an economic center where credit and capital were in growing demand, the Bank of North America's absence only highlighted the city's financial needs.

The personal nature of banking in the early Republic made local banks preferable to larger, multicity institutions. The purpose of a bank, as stated by Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton in a 1791 letter to President George Washington, was straightforward. "The simplest and most precise idea of a bank," Hamilton wrote, "is a deposit of coin or other property as a fund for circulating a credit upon it which is to answer the purpose of money."

The short-term loans, or discounts, offered by banks were usually made for thirty days at an interest rate of 6 percent. These discounts were personally approved by bank directors, not the managers and cashiers who comprised the banks' small staffs. Because the bank's note, once issued, could be used as cash to pay merchants, other banks, or state taxes, it was essential that the bank closely guard its reputation. The decisions to grant loans or exchange

notes for cash were therefore made in secret and often seen as arbitrary. Lending involved risk, however, and directors hesitated to chance their bank's capital on persons with whom they were unacquainted. Although some accused directors of favoring a select group of merchants and "monied elites," there was no other mechanism to protect bank depositors and shareholders from the risks of lending.

REACTION TO THE BANK OF NORTH AMERICA

Attempting to emulate the Bank of North America's success and create financial networks of their own, merchants in Baltimore (1782), New York (1784), and Boston (1784) pressed to establish banks in their cities.

The Bank of New York, Massachusetts Bank, and Bank of Maryland replicated the Bank of North America by adhering to Hamilton's vision; they provided credit and currency to those engaged in commerce. They followed, in form and function, the Bank of North America. Perhaps inadvertently, this first bank had established a model of behavior among early financial institutions. Though denied a charter by the state legislature, the Bank of New York operated under a constitution drafted by Hamilton that made it both effective as a financial instrument and consistent with principles of republicanism.

Funded with both public and private capital, and owned by private shareholders and state governments, banks were mixed-economy enterprises in that they attempted to reconcile the public good with private interests. Hamilton expressed his hope that they would "increase public and private credit . . . [for] the former gives power to the state for the protection of its rights and interests, and the latter facilitates and extends the operations of commerce among individuals." "Industry is increased," he continued, "commodities are multiplied, agriculture and manufactures flourish; and herein consists the true wealth and prosperity of a state." Although only a few might directly participate in banking, Hamilton reasoned, its benefits would be shared by all.

REACTION TO THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

Even after the successes of the first state banks, most people remained suspicious of them, leading bank directors to vigilantly safeguard their institutional reputations. Nearly all agreed that bank competition could have a disastrous effect on the nation's fragile economy; thus the first banks held de facto monopolies in their home cities.

This structure was challenged, however, when Hamilton introduced a plan to establish a federal Bank of the United States with branches in the nation's largest cities. To state bank advocates, Hamilton's agenda favored industrial and big commercial interests over farmers and small merchants. Hamilton and his allies dismissed the objections of James Madison and Thomas Jefferson, who believed that a national bank was unconstitutional and instead supported an expansion of state banking.

Intended to be local engines of commerce without national ambition, state banks were created in response to local needs for capital and credit. Proponents feared that the Bank of the United States and its branches would absorb state banks. They harbored concerns that the circulation of more currency would cause inflation and speculation, potentially disabling the economy.

Confronted with federal competition, states embarked on a bank-chartering boom. There were just five state banks prior to the 1792 opening of the Bank of the United States, thirteen by the end of the year. By 1801 the number had grown to twenty-eight.

Once again, the most active proponents of these banks were merchants and members of the "monied elite"—the attorneys, financiers, and industrialists with the greatest need and use for capital. Even after this new generation of banks was established, banking privileges remained exclusive. Few people needed access to the typical bank's small office suite, often located above street level in a city's mercantile district. Regularly elected by shareholders, bank directors were at the nexus of politics and finance; each director could create a subsidiary network of credit among his peers and associates.

As the number of banks grew to accommodate credit demands, they began to reflect nascent political divisions. Among all but the most elite citizens, the act of patronizing a particular bank could be a declaration of political allegiances. Such was the case following the founding of the Bank of the Manhattan Company (1799), which played an essential role in delivering a Republican victory in New York City for Thomas Jefferson during the election of 1800.

Instead of making banks irresponsible, partisan banking normalized banking practice, bringing heightened scrutiny to banking activities and deterring interference from politically hostile legislatures. As chartered banking became the norm, legislatures created new banks at a staggering rate. By the time Congress created a second Bank of the United States in 1816, there were more than 246 state banks spread across the nation.

ENTHUSIASM FOR STATE BANKS

There were two chief reasons for this enthusiasm on the part of state legislatures. First, banks had proven their utility as commercial financial instruments, assuaging many legislators' anxieties about their economic propriety. This partial legitimization was quickly followed by the discovery that taxes levied on banking activities could provide lucrative public revenues. Additionally, states were more inclined to exercise options to purchase bank shares, allowing the government to collect dividends and appropriate those funds toward state projects.

The second reason for states' newfound affinity for banks was defensive: legislatures sought to protect their internal economies in anticipation of the 1811 expiration of the charter for the Bank of the United States. If Congress failed to renew the charter, the national bank would be forced to shut its doors. This forced legislatures to plan for a scenario in which their state banks would be forced to act as independent mini-national banks, underwriting both state and federal debts, facilitating commercial exchanges, and acting as an emergency lender if the government was beset by unforeseen expenditures.

Just as was true for the national bank, state banks were only partially controlled by their state governments and continued to be regulated by the provisions of their charters during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Some were wholly owned by the state at their moment of incorporation, but most were partially owned. States usually bought shares in the banks but were sometimes vested with them. Both arrangements allowed states to take advantage of market conditions by timing the purchase and sale of bank stocks, raising public revenues from the profits.

Banks were typically taxed on their overall capital, but states also targeted deposits, dividends, and profits. Occasionally, banks paid the state a flat fee, or bonus, for the right to conduct business within a geographic area or industry. Although these taxes were quantitatively insignificant before the wider democratization of commercial banking in the later 1810s, they became major sources of public revenues soon thereafter. In Massachusetts, for example, a 1 percent annual tax on bank capital enacted in 1812 provided nearly one-half of all state revenues needed between 1820 and 1860, entirely eliminating property and poll tax collection in many years. Some states, such as Maryland and Delaware, dedicated bank taxes to particular expenditures, using them to fund internal improvement projects such as turnpike roads, or creating special accounts to establish free

public schools that were funded exclusively by bank taxes.

The practice of owning and taxing banks by legislatures fundamentally altered the relationship between banks, the public, and the government. The advent of more liberal bank incorporation practices by legislatures, accompanied by growing ambitions for public works, led to a thirst for public revenues that relied on banking rather than public taxation. It was politically preferable to levy taxes on those who were privileged enough to patronize state-created institutions, that is, banks, that were created to generate profits. This redistributed a portion of those profits to the public en masse, which was thought appropriate given that banks, as mixed-economy enterprises, were chartered in the public's name and to serve the "public good."

Yet the lure of public revenues did not silence all bank critics, forcing proponents to sometimes devise creative ways to build legislative majorities in favor of bank charters. On occasion, some charters were outright deceptions, offering banking privileges to seemingly benign institutions by hiding the operative language deep within legislation. In the 1802 charter for the Kentucky Insurance Company, for example, "banking" is nowhere mentioned, but the legislation includes phrases that were standard in other bank charters. This episode mirrored the 1799 furor over the charter granted to the Manhattan Company in New York, which was intended primarily to function as a water utility. Yet the deception was repeated in the April 1803 creation of the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati by the Ohio legislature. The company's charter granted a right to "dispose of the funds of the company in such manner . . . most advantageous to the shareholders." These words conferred all the authority necessary for company directors to open an office of discount and deposit weeks later, much to the surprise of some legislators.

THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES EXPIRES

Increasingly during the first decade of the nineteenth century, these machinations became less necessary to win approval for bank charters as the expiration of the First Bank of the United States drew near.

Although he was willing to expand the national bank into the newly purchased Louisiana Territory with a branch at New Orleans, President Thomas Jefferson never became convinced of its constitutionality. That opinion, shared by many Jeffersonian Republicans who came to power in 1801, did not waver despite a mutually beneficial relationship between the government and the bank during Jefferson's two terms of office.

Anticipating an uphill battle for the charter's renewal in 1811, in January 1808 the Bank of the United States shareholders petitioned Congress to consider the issue. Amicable feelings for the bank, which was the government's chief financial agent, failed to move Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin to make a recommendation to Congress until the end of Jefferson's term in 1809. His delay led Congress to defer the renewal issue until 1810; by then, enemies of the bank formed a sufficient coalition to bring about its demise. The bank's reputation was damaged by its large number of British, albeit nonvoting, shareholders, and Federalist directors. It was labeled an "English bank" just as the United States was about to embark on a second military war against Britain. Rechartering eventually failed by a single vote in each chamber of Congress, with the preceding debate principally focused on the legality of a federal bank.

A NEW WAR AND A NEW BANK

Surprising even Treasury Secretary Gallatin, the dissolution of the First Bank of the United States was accomplished with relative ease. Branches were liquidated among local bank proprietors like financier Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, who was the national bank's largest stockholder. However, without the monetary regulation of the central bank, state banks were left free to issue their own notes, causing dramatic inflationary spikes that doubled the total amount of currency in circulation between 1811 and 1816. Specie shortages, an inability to collect debts, and a lack of access to credit once again became commonplace.

After the outbreak of military conflict with Britain, it became clear that the federal government was the party most compromised by the lack of a national bank. Forced to negotiate loans with dozens of smaller state institutions, the federal government had no ready source of funds in either paper or specie, nor could it safely convey such money to where it was most needed. Variations in state discount rates made it impossible to efficiently fund a war on different parts of the continent, and the Treasury was unsuccessful in soliciting financial support by selling shares of loans to banks and citizens in the nation's cities.

Faced with defaulting on several of these undersubscribed loans, the Treasury Department, under the helm of Alexander Dallas, petitioned Congress in 1814 to create a second federal bank. Congress first

rejected the idea but then passed legislation that President James Madison vetoed because he disagreed with a few of the bill's provisions. Finally, a compromise created a bank on 10 April 1816, two years after the signing of a peace treaty with Britain to end the War of 1812. This second central bank would, in Madison's words, restore a "uniform national currency" among the state banks. Unlike previous congressional discussions about federal banking, constitutionality was accorded a minor role in the 1814–1816 debate. Instead, the extent of the bank's regulatory and monetary power was at issue, particularly in defining the relationship between the central bank and the proliferation of state banks.

THE PANIC AND THE LEGALITY OF THE BANK

That relationship faced its first test early after the opening of the second Bank of the United States, when the bank ordered the first of a series of suspensions of specie payments, assuming control of state bank deposits. Having expanded and then contracted the nation's availability of credit among a set of largely uncooperative state banks, the bank inadvertently contributed to a recession, and then panic, that struck in 1818–1819. The price of cotton and other commodities plummeted as European import demands diminished, and the migration of specie to western territories left many state banks, along with the federal bank, deeply indebted. The central bank had more than $22 million in liabilities, but just $2 million on hand, a dangerous 10:1 debt-to-cash ratio.

In this moment of weakness, many state legislatures began levying heavy taxes on the federal bank to protect their own institutions and financially punish the bank. A $15,000 tax applied to the Baltimore branch of the Bank of the United States by the state of Maryland was judged unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), a decision that not only established the legality of the central bank but greatly expanded federal power in general.

THE 1820S: STABILITY AND THE JACKSONIANS

Throughout the 1820s the bank, under the leadership of Nicholas Biddle, managed debt and currency circulation throughout the country as its burgeoning trade fostered interregional networks between Western agrarian interests and coastal commercial centers stretching from New Orleans to Boston. Facilitating international monetary exchanges on behalf of state banks, the bank was active in handling southern cotton as a commodity, moving it to northern and British manufacturers. Private merchants and foreign banking houses, however, retained a prominent role in trading both bank stock and federal debt, owing an unfavorable balance of trade that the United States could not overcome so long as it imported goods of greater value than it exported.

Still, despite the stability of the state and federal banks as a functioning monetary system, both state bank supporters and antibank activists found an ally in Andrew Jackson, who opposed the concept of a central regulatory mechanism in favor of a laissez faire federal monetary policy. His election in 1828 signaled a renewed opposition to the national bank, culminating in his veto of its renewal in 1832.

See also **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Federalism; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; McCulloch v. Madison; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodenhorn, Howard. *State Banking in Early America: A New Economic History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Hamilton, Alexander. *Hamilton: Writings.* Edited by Joanne B. Freeman. New York: Library of America, 2001.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Klebaner, Benjamin. *American Commercial Banking: A History.* Boston: Twayne, 1990.

Lamoreaux, Naomi R. *Insider Lending: Banks, Personal Connections, and Economic Development in Industrial New England.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Mints, Lloyd W. *A History of Banking Theory in Great Britain and the United States.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

Wright, Robert E. *Origins of Commercial Banking in America, 1750–1800.* Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001.

Brian Phillips Murphy

BANK OF THE UNITED STATES Banking in the antebellum United States was dominated by commercial banks, which were chartered by the indi-

vidual states and limited in their operations to the state in which they were established. These banks typically accepted deposits, lent primarily to merchants, traders, and agricultural producers, and issued banknotes redeemable in specie (money in coin) on demand. Most loans were short-term, providing bridge funding to businesses. For example, merchants would typically borrow funds to purchase inventory, anticipating that the sale of those goods would enable them to repay the loan; or farmers and planters would obtain funds to cover the costs of planting and cultivation, repaying with the proceeds of the harvest. Often, loans were made in the form of banknotes, although increasingly draft accounts became part of the process. The exceptions to this general characterization of the period were the First and second Banks of the United States. These were institutions chartered by Congress for the purpose of operating both as a bank for the government and simultaneously as exceptionally large commercial banks serving the public throughout the nation.

THE FIRST BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

The initial Bank of the United States was established in 1791 as a central component of Alexander Hamilton's vision for stabilizing the new nation's finances and for establishing a framework for the future development of the country's economy. The bank was given a twenty-year charter, and its structure followed the recommendations of Hamilton's *Report on Banks*, which in turn drew heavily from the model provided by the Bank of England. Capitalized at ten million dollars, of which 20 percent was subscribed by the federal government and a substantial portion of the remainder by foreigners, the bank provided financial services to the government, including holding tax receipts, making payments, and issuing debt. Thus the government was both an important owner of the institution as well as its most important customer.

As a federally chartered institution, the bank could extend its commercial operations across state lines, something denied to state-chartered banks. Thus branches were established throughout the nation. Its size and large holdings of state banknotes, combined with its ability to rapidly transfer state banknotes between branches and redeem them for specie when desired, enabled the bank to exert control over the entire banking system, ensuring that state banks did not overextend their note issue. The bank's ability to operate as a central bank, although used sparingly, ensured some stability to the system, but may also have served to retard the expansion of com-

mercial banking in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

As the time for the bank's charter to lapse approached, pro- and anti-bank elements began a debate that would foretell events of the 1830s. In support of the bank, Albert Gallatin, who had been secretary of the Treasury under Jefferson, prepared a report on its operations and proposed a reorganization both to strengthen its role and to counter many of the concerns of those opposing the bank. Gallatin stressed the importance to the government of the central bank's functions, addressed the issue of foreign ownership, and proposed an expansion of the bank's capital, including encouraging states to subscribe in return for branches to be opened within their boundaries. Gallatin's report illustrates that at least some leading Jeffersonians had come to respect the wisdom of the arch–Federalist Alexander Hamilton, who had been the moving force behind the bank.

In spite of their best efforts, supporters of the bank failed to renew the charter when the vice president voted "no" to break a tie vote in the Senate. This failure had both political and economic foundations. Politically, the Jeffersonian Democrats' ideological fear of big government, of the bank's concentration of economic power, and of foreign ownership of bank stock were a powerful block to the bank. A general distrust of banks and a desire for hard currency or specie further strengthened their case against the bank. Economically, state-chartered banking interests saw much to gain by removing both a competitor and an overseer.

The void created by the disappearance of the national bank was quickly filled by state-chartered banks. The number of state banks increased from 117 in 1811 to 143 in 1812, or 22 percent in the first year after the First Bank of the United States wound up its affairs. By 1816 the number of state chartered banks grew to 232, or almost double the 1811 total.

THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

With the outbreak of war in 1812 and the drying up of tariff revenues, the absence of a national bank forced the Treasury to rely on bond sales and the issue of Treasury notes to finance the war effort. Neither proved easy, and following the capture of Washington by the British in 1814, a general suspension of specie payment swept the country. This further devastated federal government finances, since it was forced to receive its revenues in depreciated state banknotes and Treasury notes. By the end of the war, Treasury operations were in disarray, and the nation's currency was composed largely of de-

preciated, noncontrovertible state banknotes. As a result of the disruptions during the war, supporters of a national bank seized the initiative. They were able, after seven tries including one veto, to overcome the objections of the hard money interests and create a federal institution capable of operating multiple branches across the nation and powerful enough to establish a uniform currency to serve the Treasury's needs and to ensure control of circulation. Congress created the second Bank of the United States in April 1816, and in early 1817 banking operations began. The second bank's charter was constructed much like that of the first bank's, including a twenty-year time limit. One important difference was its capital of thirty-five million dollars, or over half of the total legal tender in circulation, thus making it the nation's dominant financial institution.

Under the incompetent management of William Jones, the new bank quickly moved to begin operations, restore confidence in the currency, and bring order to Treasury deposits and payments. Although stock in the new bank had been fully subscribed, little of the proceeds were in the form of specie. In addition, at the Philadelphia and Baltimore branches payments for the stock were made using balances from the bank itself. Those balances, in turn, had been created on the security of the bank's stock being purchased. Such corrupt actions damaged the new bank tremendously.

The inadequacy of specie across the country became clear on 20 February 1817, the date by which Congress required that all payments to the Treasury should be made in specie, Treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or in notes of banks payable on demand in specie. State banks were reluctant to resume specie payments but were persuaded to do so by the bank, which agreed in return to expand discounts for its customers by four million dollars in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, and in Virginia.

Although the resulting convertibility was neither universal nor genuine, the bank did live up to its promises to expand loans. This action, combined with growing commerce across the nation and widespread land speculation in the South and West, meant the second Bank of the United States moved its portfolio into a position that would ultimately produce a panic in financial markets. Difficulties arose because of the bank's attempt to redeem at par the notes of all its branches wherever presented, the speed and extent of the loan expansion, and the reality that much of the increase took place in the rapidly developing areas of the Old Northwest and in the cot-

ton-producing South. As a result of the rapid extension of credit by the second bank, state banks in the developing areas felt little pressure to contract credit and retire notes. In addition, Treasury receipts from taxes on an expanding import trade and the proceeds from speculative land sales were building credits in southern and western branches of the bank. The Treasury ultimately had to transfer credits from these debtor areas in order to satisfy their creditors in the East.

The result was a massive flow of banknotes from west to east. The situation reached crisis proportions in mid-1818, when eastern branches of the Bank of the United States refused to redeem in specie any notes but their own issues, including notes of other branches of the second bank. Meanwhile, the directors of the second bank instituted a policy of reducing discounts by five million dollars at the Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, and Norfolk offices. With this move, the Panic of 1819 soon followed as the public lost confidence in the banking system.

With a monetary contraction under way, the Treasury Department continuing to repay debt, and as markets for American staples collapsed, the economy slid into a depression. Under a cloud, Jones resigned and Langdon Cheves became president of the bank in March 1819. Cheves directed two actions that strengthened the bank but hurt the economic recovery. First, he acted aggressively to increase reserve holdings, particularly in 1820. To the extent these reserve holdings were excessive, they retarded the expansion of the money supply at a time when such expansion was most needed. Second, rather than redeeming the bank's notes at any branch, he implemented a policy of making payments in state banknotes whenever possible. This protected the bank's specie holdings and did not expand its liabilities, but meant control over state banks was compromised at a time when restoring confidence in the system was critical.

NICHOLAS BIDDLE AND THE BANK WAR

In 1823 Nicholas Biddle was named president of the bank and moved to assume the bank's responsibilities for controlling the currency and stabilizing the economy by resuming the issue of notes and presenting the notes of state banks for redemption immediately upon receipt. These actions meant that state banks could not easily over-issue notes. Given the size of the second bank and its role as the bank for the federal government, it was continually receiving the notes of state banks and presenting them for payment in specie. Further, owing to the size of the sec-

ond bank and its nationwide branches, its notes soon became a national currency, providing the bank with the ability to control this important element of the currency stock. As a result, the following decade was one of stability for the banking system and for the economy as a whole.

Despite its successes, the bank had many enemies. Among them was President Andrew Jackson, who upon his election in 1828 put the bank on notice that he opposed its being rechartered in 1836, the end of its initial twenty-year charter. Biddle, hoping to blunt Jackson's attack by making the bank an issue in the 1832 presidential campaign, pushed for a rechartering of the bank in the summer of 1832. Jackson responded by vetoing the recharter bill, which Congress sustained, and making opposition to the bank a focus of his reelection campaign. Vindicated by his victory, Jackson moved quickly against the bank by ordering government deposits removed and placed in selected state banks, the so-called pet banks. With its large federal deposits gone, the bank was forced to reduce its activity and contract loans. Although Biddle may have pushed the reduction further than needed in hopes of forcing a reconsideration of the charter, the impact was relatively mild because specie inflows from abroad offset much of the bank's currency contraction.

With its government business gone, the bank continued to operate as just another large commercial bank until its charter ran out, at which time it became a state bank chartered by Pennsylvania. During this time an economic boom began, driven in part by land speculation, particularly in the West. Prices skyrocketed, and in an attempt to stem the land speculation Jackson issued the *Specie Circular* in August 1836, requiring all purchases of public land be paid for in specie. The Panic of 1837 brought the rampant speculation to a temporary halt, although action picked up again the next year. Finally, in 1839 a financial crisis led to large-scale suspension of specie payment by banks and ushered in an almost decade-long economic downturn. The Bank of the United States of Pennsylvania was one of the many banks that failed during this period.

THE IMPACT OF THE BANK WAR

The coincidence of the Bank War and subsequent destruction of the second bank, with the economic boom and following economic collapse, points to a critical role for the Biddle-Jackson battle. Yet economic analysis suggests more fundamental sources for the events of the period. During the period of the Bank War, the money supply increased dramatically as specie and capital flowed into the country from Mexico and England in response to political instability in Mexico and relatively higher U.S. interest rates. In addition, indemnity payments from France further increased the money supply. Changes in the lending behavior of state banks added little to the growth as they maintained their ratio of reserves to liabilities, while declining public confidence in banks worked to slow the growth of the money supply as the public decreased its use of banknotes.

With the economy booming and the money supply growing, the Specie Circular has often been pointed to as the cause of the Panic of 1837. Yet, analysis suggests that it was not Jackson's decision, but the action of the Bank of England to raise interest rates to cut the outflow of capital that played the critical role. A fall in the price of the nation's most important export, cotton, and the rise in interest rates combined to frighten banknote holders and lead to panic. The Bank War was not a direct cause of the panic, but it did change the public's confidence in the banking system, making it more susceptible to the shocks from abroad.

With the end of the second bank, the nation entered a period of free banking. Beginning in 1837, a number of states passed banking laws that enabled anyone meeting certain criteria to establish a bank. This free entry created the possibility of wildcat banks, fraudulent institutions established with little or no capital and designed to issue notes with no intention of redeeming them. Without the second bank to oversee the money supply, some suggest that the years prior to the Civil War were characterized by financial instability. Economic analysis indicates that, while for some periods in some states bank failures were important problems, the overall loss from bank failures was small, amounting, according to one estimate, to a transfer from note holders to wildcat bankers of less than one-hundredth of 1 percent of national income for the entire period. Offsetting these losses from free banking was an increase in competition resulting in lower cost for intermediation and an increased access to credit for many.

Although the demise of the second bank may have increased the cost of holding paper money as well as uncertainty, thereby retarding economic growth in the post-bank era, markets consisting of state and private banks and exchange brokers moved to replace many of the bank's functions. Measures such as the convergence of interregional interest rates suggest they succeeded. What markets could not ensure was an elastic currency, a money supply that could be changed with the needs of the econo-

my. But acting as a true central bank was not something that leaders of the second bank fully understood nor had the means of accomplishing, given the bank's commercial banking business.

See also **Banking System; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Federalism; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; Jefferson, Thomas; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bodenhorn, Howard. *A History of Banking in Antebellum America: Financial Markets and Economic Development in an Era of Nation-Building.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Green, Edward J. "Economic Perspective on the Political History of the Second Bank of the United States." *Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago Economic Perspectives* 27, no. 1 (1st quarter 2003): 59–67.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Kaplan, Edward S. *The Bank of the United States and the American Economy.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999.

Nelson, John R., Jr. *Liberty and Property: Political Economy and Policymaking in the New Nation, 1789–1812.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

Perkins, Edwin J. "Langdon Cheves and the Panic of 1819: A Reassessment." *Journal of Economic History* 44 (1984): 455–461.

Remini, Robert V. *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War: A Study in the Growth of Presidential Power.* New York: Norton, 1967.

Rolnick, Arthur J., and Warren E. Weber. "New Evidence on the Free Banking Era." *American Economic Review* 73 (1983): 1080–1091.

Sushka, Marie. "The Antebellum Money Market and the Economic Impact of the Bank War." *Journal of Economic History* 36 (1976): 809–835.

Temin, Peter. *The Jacksonian Economy.* New York: Norton, 1969.

Clyde Haulman

BANKRUPTCY LAW   Bankruptcy is a legally defined status, conferrable on the select few only by formal adjudication. Debtors can be bankrupt only when statutes exist that prescribe the qualifications for bankruptcy, which for most of American history was the case only sporadically. With infrequent exceptions before the twentieth century, insolvent debtors could not be declared bankrupt unless they followed certain commercial occupations, amassed debts in excess of a large minimum, and committed statutorily defined acts of bankruptcy. Once they qualified, however, they were eligible for the brass ring of bankruptcy—a discharge from liability for their debts. For creditors, bankruptcy resolves the competition to determine who among them will be paid in full, in part, or not at all by distributing the debtor's property among them in proportion to their debts, so that they share in the losses equally.

In the eighteenth century, debtors and creditors alike appreciated the value of the bankruptcy process. Every colony and state permitted imprisonment for debt. Colonies and states occasionally experimented with insolvency statutes that released small and middling debtors from jail and apportioned their assets among their creditors but did not discharge them from liability. Experiments with true bankruptcy discharges were few.

Not surprisingly, calls to abolish imprisonment for debt went hand in hand with proposals to enact bankruptcy legislation. From the first published argument for bankruptcy discharges in 1755, bankruptcy was promoted as a benefit for creditors as well as for debtors. It would allow creditors to intervene and preserve the debtor's assets for all creditors, while the availability of discharge would induce debtors not to waste their assets in futile efforts to avoid debtors' prison. Merchants in particular favored bankruptcy legislation because they knew that insolvency was the downside of entrepreneurial risk.

COLONIAL AND STATE LAWS

Except for brief experiments in Massachusetts and New Hampshire in 1714 and 1715, respectively, the first true bankruptcy statutes in the colonies were a product of the economic dislocations of the French and Indian War in the 1750s and 1760s, which demonstrated that economic failure need not imply moral failure and thereby swept aside the principal objection to discharging debts. Between 1755 and 1757 New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts enacted bankruptcy systems that distributed insolvent debtors' assets among their creditors and discharged them from further liability on their debts. Connecticut followed suit in 1763. Three of the statutes—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—were voluntary, meaning that debtors could apply. Only New York passed an involuntary act, initiable only by creditors. Three—Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New York—applied to noncommercial as well as commercial debtors. Only the Massachusetts act was limited to commercial debtors. The experiments were short-lived or restrictive or both in

their application. Each one expired or was repealed. Their mere existence, however, marked a change in popular attitudes toward insolvency.

That change became even more marked after the Revolution, when the decline of prices, the scarcity of cash, depreciation, competition from British manufactures, obstacles to establishing export markets, and efforts by British creditors to collect prewar debts all contributed to postwar depression and a wave of business failures. As failure became the potential common fate of all merchants, merchants lobbied for bankruptcy laws. A Pennsylvania bankruptcy statute enacted in 1785 announced its commercial purpose in the preamble, that a bankruptcy law was "necessary and proper as well as conformable to the usage of commercial nations," thus assuming as fact an identity as a commercial nation that was hotly disputed in the debates over national bankruptcy legislation in the next decade. The law was nominally involuntary and limited to commercial debtors. New York experimented fleetingly in 1784 and again in 1786 with a voluntary bankruptcy law that applied to both commercial and noncommercial debtors.

THE CONSTITUTION AND FEDERAL LAW
Against this background, delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787 agreed on Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, which empowered Congress "to establish . . . uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States." James Wilson, one of the proponents of the clause, argued at the Pennsylvania ratifying convention that a federal bankruptcy law would be more in keeping with the interstate nature of commerce and the credit relations on which commerce rested. James Madison agreed, writing in *The Federalist* no. 42 that the "power of establishing uniform laws of bankruptcy, is so intimately connected with the regulation of commerce . . . that the expediency of it seems not likely to be drawn into question."

After this seemingly uncontroversial beginning, the question of national bankruptcy relief languished. Proposals for "uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies" arose and died in each Congress from the very first one through the 1790s. As Congress took up bankruptcy bills in the those years, no one disputed that commercial creditors and debtors alike wanted a federal bankruptcy system that would sort out claims, distribute assets, and provide a discharge. Agrarian interests, however, rightly feared that a bankruptcy law would expose farmers and planters to the seizure of their land. They argued

that the new nation was an agrarian society in which commerce was too undeveloped to require bankruptcy. Further sharpening the debate, Federalists saw a federal bankruptcy system as essential to expanding the authority of the national government, of a piece with proposals to enlarge the judiciary and extend a national network of turnpikes. Bankruptcy thus became part of the ideological divide between commerce and agriculture, and between nationalism and federalism.

What finally tipped the balance was the collapse of large-scale land speculation schemes in 1797, when for the first time numerous prominent men found themselves imprisoned for their debts or fugitives from their creditors. Their presence in the pool of insolvent debtors gave new urgency to the debate over bankruptcy. That debate culminated in the Bankruptcy Act of 1800, the first national bankruptcy law, which passed in February only by the deciding vote of the Speaker of the House. The Act was not a law for the common debtor. It applied only to merchants, bankers, brokers, factors, underwriters, and marine insurers who owed at a minimum the substantial sum of one thousand dollars.

Debtors imprisoned in New York joyously celebrated news of the law with a series of toasts to "this Godlike act." Others were not as enthusiastic. Congress repealed the statute in December 1803 after barely three-and-a-half years, a victim of the new Jeffersonian ascendancy. Thereafter, ambiguous U.S. Supreme Court decisions and the expectation that Congress would preempt the field discouraged most states from even attempting to establish bankruptcy systems. Congress did not enact a permanent bankruptcy law until 1898.

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Coleman, Peter J. *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900.* Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bruce H. Mann

BAPTISTS Baptists in the British colonies were a scattered, tiny, and counterculture people. Even in Baptist Rhode Island, the refuge of Roger Williams, the two early congregations of Roger Williams and John Clarke attracted few. Ministers drew support

from farming or doctoring and Baptists left formal theological education to the Congregationalists and Anglicans. Early Baptists, mostly immigrants from England or Wales, clustered in New England, Virginia, and the Philadelphia area—including nearby New Jersey. Willing to suffer the jailings, whippings, and fines levied by Massachusetts and Virginia authorities in order to hold their own services, Baptists earned a reputation as fanatics and agitators, a people critical of the dominant culture.

GREAT AWAKENINGS

Baptist numbers grew rapidly in the 1740s, when the first Great Awakening, a series of evangelistic revivals, followed traveling preachers across New England and in the 1750s spread south through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In each region hundreds of converts joined the older Baptist churches and some organized new congregations. The ministry of Shubal Stearns illustrates how the geographic mobility of Baptists helped spread the movement. A Connecticut New Light Baptist, Stearns in 1754 moved to the North Carolina backcountry, where his preaching resulted in mass conversions and new Baptist churches. By 1758 he had baptized nine hundred converts. Stearns's brother-in-law, Daniel Marshall, also a powerful preacher, assisted in these revivals before moving south to Georgia, where in 1771 he organized the first Baptist church in that colony.

Another Connecticut convert, Isaac Backus, was also a leading preacher and organizer of Baptists. He awakened to God's grace during a 1741 revival and joined his town's Congregational church—but not for long. Convinced that the Bible mandated a stricter, separate church, Backus moved through two strict Congregational churches and then, in 1756, founded a Baptist church, where adult conversion and believer's (not infant) baptism were prerequisites for membership. Like Roger Williams and John Clarke, Backus and his generation of awakened Baptists agreed on the need for adult conversion and baptism and emphasized each believer's duty to study and discern God's revelations in the Bible. This early emphasis on individual "soul liberty" made Baptists natural democrats. It also made lay preaching common—even, on occasion, by slaves and women.

Revivals continued in waves, each feeding converts into old and new churches. Between 1740 and 1804, the number of congregations in the formal network of Baptist associations in New England had grown from 25 to 312. In Virginia, Baptists enjoyed similar growth, aided greatly by a visitor from Massachusetts, John Leland. During his years in Virginia (1773–1791), Leland preached over three thousand sermons, baptized more than seven hundred, and strengthened and founded several churches. Despite this growth, Baptists remained a marginal people; most Baptists came from the lower ranks of society—African American slaves, women, or poor farmers—and as such lacked direct influence on community institutions. Despised as uneducated loudmouths by elites in Congregationalist Massachusetts and Anglican Virginia, the ease with which Baptists pulled newcomers into worship, membership, and church leadership was disturbingly democratic. In fact Baptists allowed women and men, regardless of social standing, to speak and vote in church. And their popular style of singing and baptism by immersion were particularly attractive to Africans and African Americans.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION

Many credit Baptists for the provision in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution for separation of church and state and freedom of religion. Baptists exerted this influence on the emerging American culture through their rising numbers and through two leaders, Isaac Backus and John Leland, the New England ministers best known for their preaching tours, many converts, and assistance in reviving or organizing congregations. As political leaders for a minority group, Backus and Leland were fearless. Asserting that their authority and direction came from God, these preachers ignored laws requiring them to obtain a preaching license in each town they visited.

It was John Leland who during the Revolutionary period urged Baptists to sign petitions for religious liberty. These documents flooded the Virginia legislature in the 1770s and 1780s as Baptists (joined by Presbyterians) protested against laws providing tax support for the Anglican Church. Decades earlier, however, Massachusetts and Connecticut Baptists had protested similar laws in support of the Congregationalist state church. And Baptists in Virginia were also long accustomed to petitioning local and state authorities for religious liberty. This experience of protesting the church tax and appealing for religious liberty, historian Harry S. Stout has argued, prepared Baptists and other New Light revivalists for the campaign against British control that led up to the American War for Independence.

Much of this lobbying for religious liberty was organized in the regional annual meetings of Baptist associations, the first of which took place in Philadel-

phia during 1707. With support from the Philadelphia Baptist Association, an earlier generation of New England Baptists had petitioned the Massachusetts government and the British Crown for religious liberty. Virginia Baptists also turned to Philadelphia for counsel and financial aid when suffering the jailing and fining of church leaders. By the 1770s, many Baptists considered freedom from British rule their best chance for religious liberty. Working through the association network, Baptists sent Isaac Backus to the first Continental Congress in 1774 so he could press the case for protecting religious as well as political liberty. In Philadelphia and New England, earlier generations of Baptists had allied with Quakers in support of religious liberty. In turn Philadelphia Baptists supported Baptists in other colonies, including in Virginia, where Baptists worked with Presbyterians to lobby for religious liberty. One result was the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, passed in 1786 and later a model for the first amendment that made up the Bill of Rights. Sharing the Baptist interest in liberty, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were receptive to pleas from Leland, whose conversations with Madison emphasized the need for constitutional protections of freedom of religious belief and practice.

In the early Republic, Baptists continued to oppose the dominant view, now represented by the Federalists, on the issue of church-state separation. In the presidential contest of 1800 between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, Adams and other Federalists represented the view that a tax-supported church in each state of the Union would provide needed stability. The Baptists opposed this position as they voted overwhelmingly for the alleged atheist, Jefferson. Rejoicing in Jefferson's triumph, several Baptist associations sent formal congratulations to the new president, and Baptists from Cheshire, Massachusetts, sent the most notable present, a giant cheese, delivered by John Leland.

MISSIONS

Seeing the need for schools where ministerial students would learn to emphasize the importance of religious liberty, evangelical preaching, and believer's baptism, leaders in the Philadelphia Baptist Association worked with New England Baptists to organize Rhode Island College (later Brown University) in 1764. After the Revolution other regional associations of Baptists created colleges in Hamilton, New York (1819), Waterville, Maine (1820), Washington, D.C. (1822), Georgetown, Kentucky (1829), and Newton, Massachusetts (1825). Presidents of these

colleges, including Francis Wayland of Brown, stressed the importance of mission organizations, and none more so than the foreign mission society organized by Luther Rice.

While the colleges trained a new generation of leaders, it was the energy and zeal of Luther Rice that created a national denomination—something he urged Baptists to create if they wished to support the evangelical mission of Adoniram and Ann Judson in Burma. In 1812 a group of Congregationalists had commissioned the Judsons and Rice as missionaries to British India. But en route they concluded that the Bible taught adult baptism by full immersion—not the pedobaptism or sprinkling of infants practiced by most other churches. Accepting support from Congregationalists no longer seemed possible, so Rice returned to America to organize a Baptist mission society. Adapting the format of revival (and political) meetings, Luther Rice spoke in several states before calling Baptists in 1814 to Philadelphia to form the General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States of America for Foreign Missions. Usually dubbed the Triennial Convention because it was held every three years, the new denomination formed a board of volunteers, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, to handle business between conventions.

Rice found his work easier where he could build on preexisting regional organizations of Baptist associations. The "mother" association for American Baptists was formed in 1707, not surprisingly in Philadelphia, the home of the Society of Friends and freedom of religion. Founded by only five congregations from the region—three of them in New Jersey—the Philadelphia association by 1750 had grown so that its member churches included congregations as far south as Virginia and north to Massachusetts. Distances and the growing number of Baptists in each region made it advisable for the mother association to dismiss its farthest-flung churches to form their own associations. In 1766 Philadelphia leaders assisted in the forming of the Ketockton Association in Virginia. Also important in the building up of Baptist networks was the Warren (Rhode Island) Association, founded in 1767 for churches in Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Leaders encouraged subscribing to the *Baptist Missionary Magazine*, the Massachusetts publication through which readers learned about overseas missions and regional revivals. The dramatic stories of mission work in Burma attracted many supporters, including some not Baptist, and increased the number of churches and local mission societies sending

funds to the Judsons and other missionaries. But resistance to this new movement was also stiff: anti-mission Baptists, very strong in Kentucky and Illinois, resisted any national or outside leadership. These local and regional leaders denounced the new Baptist organizations and their traveling ministers like Luther Rice for tricking less-educated people into giving funds to national rather than local church organizations.

SLAVERY

The rise of an overseas mission movement also provided an opening for Baptists to revisit the issue of slavery. When in the 1760s hundreds of African and African American slaves began converting to the Baptist faith, white Baptists faced a dilemma. Some accepted the need to teach their slaves to read—after all, many were fellow Christians. That such education could create new difficulties is clear in the case of Lott Cary, an ordained preacher and member of the First Baptist Church in Richmond, Virginia. While the extraordinary Cary managed to buy his own freedom, he found his choices limited. For that reason, Cary reasoned, it was better to move to another kind of society. Commissioned and supported by both whites and blacks, Lott Cary left for Liberia, a missionary of the Richmond African Missionary Society, the American Colonization Society, and the Baptist Board of the Triennial Convention.

For most African Americans, freedom or missionary service overseas was not an option. Yet the Baptist faith continued to attract slaves and free blacks in large numbers. Initially, the interracial relationships that resulted raised concerns about the awkwardness, and perhaps even immorality, of Christians holding other Christians in slavery. In most places Baptists, white and black, met together for worship, although in the 1770s, separate "African" Baptist churches began meeting in slave districts like Williamsburg and Petersburg, Virginia (1776); Silver Bluff, South Carolina (1773); and Savannah, Georgia (1778). Not until 1808 did black Baptists further north form a separate congregation, the Abyssinian Baptist Church in New York City.

These separations, usually occurring with the assistance of sympathetic whites, suggest how quickly antislavery sentiment dissipated among white Baptists after the American Revolution. Earlier concern about the ethics of Christians holding other Christians in slavery were undercut by the economic profitability of slavery and by the desire among the white Baptists to move into a place of influence in their communities. Queries about slavery disap-

peared from the minutes of association meetings, with Baptists channeling any reservations about slavery into support for colonization of free blacks outside the country. In this regard white Baptists moved into the mainstream of American Protestantism, agreeing to view slavery as an evil and a burden, but one less pressing than the evil of disunity, which would distract from the broader missionary enterprise.

Increasingly organized, American Baptists by the 1820s had added to their foreign mission operation a tract and publication society, more newspapers and schools, and new leaders. Among the most prominent was John Mason Peck, appointed in 1817 a missionary to the West, headquartered in St. Louis. Traveling to dozens of frontier communities, Peck assisted local leaders in forming Sunday schools, churches, and mission and Bible societies. In 1828 he founded a newspaper that merged his religious and political interests, the *Pioneer of the Valley of the Mississippi*, and in 1832 Peck organized the American Baptist Home Mission Society so that there would be a national organization focused on missions in the West. Sectarian Baptists continued their criticisms of Peck and other mainstream Baptists. But growing interest in the mission enterprise had a unifying impact on American Baptists in general. By the 1820s Baptist churches and mission workers enjoyed support from a network of local, regional, and national voluntary associations. No longer forming a sectarian counterculture, Baptists continued to evangelize faster than the population grew, by 1820 boasting a membership that in denominational rankings was second only to Methodists.

See also **African Americans: African American Religion; Disestablishment; Frontier Religion; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Professions: Clergy; Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Buckley, Thomas E. *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776–1787.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Essig, James D. *The Bonds of Wickedness: American Evangelicals against Slavery, 1770–1808.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982.

Isaac, Rhys. "Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of the Baptists' Challenge to the Traditional Order in Virginia, 1765–

1775." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 31 (1974): 345–368.

Mathews, Donald G. *Religion in the Old South.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.

Mulder, Philip N. *A Controversial Spirit: Evangelical Awakenings in the South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Stout, Harry S. "Religion, Communications, and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 34 (1977): 519–541.

Torbet, Robert G. *A History of the Baptists.* 3rd ed. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1973.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. "The Antimission Movement in the Jacksonian South: A Study in Regional Folk Culture." *Journal of Southern History* 36 (1970): 501–529.

Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven

BARBARY WARS The Barbary Wars (1801–1815) resulted from interference by the Barbary States of Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis with U.S. merchant shipping. Piracy had long been a source of income for the Barbary States, whose leaders ordered their ships to seize merchant ships and their crews and then hold them for ransom. Like many European nations, the infant United States adopted a system of paying tribute to the Barbary powers to ensure the safety of their shipping.

Beginning in 1796 the United States negotiated treaties with the Barbary States that freed American captives, protected U.S. mercantile trade against attack and seizure, and provided an annual tribute in naval stores. Despite these treaties, the situation in the Mediterranean deteriorated. Demanding a new arrangement with the United States that would increase payments, in May 1801 Yusuf Karamanli, the pasha of Tripoli, repudiated his treaty and declared war on the United States.

Meanwhile, President Thomas Jefferson found himself under domestic pressure to redress an insult to American honor when the dey of Algiers, Bobba Mustapha, in 1800 commandeered Captain William Bainbridge's frigate *George Washington* and turned it into a floating hotel and zoo under the Algerine flag for a voyage to the Ottoman sultan at Constantinople. Unaware of Tripoli's declaration of war but concerned about the deteriorating situation for the United States on that sea, in May 1801 Jefferson ordered a naval squadron to the Mediterranean. Commanded by Commodore Richard Dale, it consisted of only four ships. Dale's restrictive orders virtually assured that he would accomplish nothing. Ordered to pro-

tect American commerce in that sea, he had no authority to engage in combat unless he caught a warship in the actual process of trying to take a U.S. ship.

In late July Dale sailed to Tripoli and opened negotiations with the bashaw through an intermediary. Dale ruled out naval bombardment as a means of dealing with Tripoli. In truth he had too few ships for such an operation and lacked the specialized bombardment vessels, known as bomb ketches, that were highly desirable in such actions. Even had such vessels been available, bombardment would have required a sustained effort. Dale also lacked small shallow-draft vessels for work in shoal waters close to shore.

The Tripolitan War dragged on. In February 1802 Congress authorized Jefferson to use the thirteen frigates in the navy to defend the nation's commerce. Because naval enlistments were then limited to one year, Jefferson was obliged to send out another squadron to replace Dale's. He named Captain Richard Valentine Morris to command it. In the spring of 1802, with the enlistments of his seamen expiring and his ships in need of repair, Dale left for home.

Morris had at his disposal a more powerful squadron of six ships and financial resources not available to Dale. Unfortunately he proved a less than aggressive commander. Morris spent most of his time and kept most of his vessels at Gibraltar, one thousand miles removed from Tripoli, which he was supposedly blockading.

Morris was called home in the summer of 1803 and forced from the service. A third squadron, this one of seven ships led by Commodore Edward Preble, arrived at Gibraltar in mid-September. A far more aggressive and capable commander, Preble made a show of force at Tangier and met with the sultan, forcing Morocco, which was then threatening hostilities, to maintain the peace. Preble also actively blockaded Tripoli.

Preble's hopes of bringing the war to a successful conclusion were jolted by the loss of the frigate *Philadelphia*, his second-most powerful ship. It had run aground near Tripoli at the end of October and its crew was taken prisoner. The Tripolitans succeeded in refloating the frigate and towed it to Tripoli, where they began refitting it, threatening in the process to upset the naval balance of power in the Mediterranean. In February 1804, however, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur led a crew of volunteers on a daring raid into Tripoli harbor and burned the *Philadelphia* without losing a man. As a result of this action, De-

Mediterranean Sea

American
gunboats

Kaliusa Reef

Philadelphia
runs aground
31 October 1803

Constitution   U.S. Squadron

Gunboat
Battle

Intrepid explodes
3 September 1804

Castle
Battery

Tripoli Harbor

Tripoli

Bashaw's
Castle

Philadelphia

Intrepid 10 February 1804

"English" Fort

Barbary Wars

Barbary States

Reef or shallow
water

Barbary raids

Battle

TRIPOLI

N

0   0.25   0.5 mi.

0   0.25   0.5 km

ITALY

FRANCE

*ATLANTIC
OCEAN*

PORTUGAL

SPAIN

**OTTOMAN
EMPIRE**

NAPLES

Tangier

Algiers

Tunis

Mediterranean Sea

Rabat
Casablanca

ALGERIA

MOROCCO

TUNISIA

Tripoli

Derna
27 April 1805

EGYPT

TRIPOLI

0   200   400 mi.

0   200   400 km

catur became the youngest man in U.S. Navy history to be promoted to captain.

That summer Preble mounted a number of attacks against Tripoli, bombarding its ships and shore installations and capturing some smaller Tripolitan vessels. Meanwhile Jefferson sent out more ships and, although Preble had performed well, gave command to Preble's senior, Captain Samuel Barron. William Eaton, the former consul to Tunis, accompanied Barron and came up with a plan to end the war. The United States agreed to support Hamet Karamanali, brother of the bashaw, in an expedition from Egypt against Tripoli. In March 1805 Eaton set out with several hundred men, including eight U.S. Marines, across the desert. Finally reaching Derne,

they capture this second-largest Tripolitan city, and in June Bashaw Yusuf agreed to peace. He accepted a $60 thousand ransom for the release of the more than three hundred American prisoners but agreed to renounce all future tribute from the United States.

The Tripolitan War was inexpensive for the United States in terms of lives lost, claiming only thirty dead. The war created a strong esprit de corps in the young U.S. Navy and cemented in it traditions of discipline and pride. It also trained the leaders who would lead the navy in the far more difficult test with Britain that lay ahead.

In 1815 the United States again went to war with one of the Barbary States, this time with Algiers. In the summer of 1812 the British had encour-

aged the dey to seize American ships. With the end of hostilities with Britain, in March 1815 Congress authorized President James Madison to equip, man, and deploy such warships as he deemed necessary for operations against Algiers. The administration decided to send two squadrons to the Mediterranean, one under Captain William Bainbridge and the other under Captain Stephen Decatur. With ten ships, Decatur sailed first; his actions were decisive. Decatur arrived in the Mediterranean before Algiers could learn of the U.S. action and almost at once captured two Algerine warships. He then dictated peace to Algiers at the end of June. The terms provided for the release of prisoners, reparations to the United States, and an end to all tribute. On his own initiative, Decatur sailed to both Tunis and Tripoli and forced these two states to pay reparations for U.S. vessels that had been improperly seized and also to restore normal relations. Decatur's 1815 Mediterranean foray marked the end of troubles between the United States and the Barbary States and indeed the termination of the latter's piratical activities.

See also **Naval Technology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chidsey, Donald Barr. *The Wars in Barbary: Arab Piracy and the Birth of the United States Navy.* New York: Crown Publishers, 1971.

Kitzen, Michael L. S. *Tripoli and the United States at War: A History of American Relations with the Barbary States, 1785–1805.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1993.

Tucker, Glenn. *Dawn like Thunder: The Barbary Wars and the Birth of the U.S. Navy.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Tucker, Spencer C. *Stephen Decatur: A Life Most Bold and Daring.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2004.

Whipple, A. B. C. *To the Shores of Tripoli: The Birth of the U.S. Navy and Marines.* New York: Morrow, 1991; Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2001.

Spencer C. Tucker

BARTER   Barter is a form of exchange in which goods and services are directly traded for one another without the use of a monetized means of payment, such as cash, checks, or commercial credit. There are two principal kinds of barter systems: commercial barter, in which the exchanging parties receive their desired goods and services simultaneously, and noncommercial barter, in which the parties enter into a continuing series of exchanges without simultaneous reciprocity and which therefore may or may not be in balance at any particular time. Both types were important to North American indigenous and European settler economies down to the nineteenth century.

During the period of European settlement, for example, commercial barter was central to the trade in furs, arguably the most important locus of economic interaction between indigenous North Americans and European settlers until the mid-nineteenth century. Initially at the armed forts and "factories" of enterprises such as the Hudson Bay Company and later at trading rendezvous where the interested parties met on a more egalitarian basis, indigenous trappers bartered hides and furs for a wide range of European manufactured goods. Similar institutions and relationships also characterized the slave trade, especially at its points of origin in Africa.

During the same period, noncommercial barter (characterized by delayed but direct reciprocities) and gift exchange systems (characterized by indirect reciprocities or competitive and ceremonial giving) were the dominant forms of everyday economic interaction within indigenous North American and European settler communities among both men and women. Little is known about the noncommercial and gifting systems in the many different indigenous societies encountered by European settlers and their descendants, though scholars agree that the introduction of European goods and practices ultimately undermined indigenous independence and traditional ways of life. Enough is known about the noncommercial barter systems of the European settler societies of North America, however, to conclude that until the nineteenth century, especially in the countryside but also in the cities, most of the goods and services exchanged among settler households, and even between households and many merchants, were part of a noncommercial barter system; that is, they were paid for with other goods and services, usually after a considerable delay but without marked interest charges. Money and monetary (or commercial) exchange also played a significant role in European and European settler societies during this period, of course, especially among mercantile and urban elites. But money did not begin to be readily enough available to function as a means of payment in most people's everyday transactions until the early nineteenth century.

The transition from a predominantly noncommercial barter economy to a predominantly monetized and commercial one depended, first, on the growth of new technologies and means of distribution capable of supplying the effectively insatiable

demand of consumers for an ever-increasing diversity of goods and services, and second, on the spread of deposit banking, banknotes, and other credit-based financial instruments that were acceptable means of payment in most circumstances and of which there was an essentially limitless stock (unlike, say, gold, tobacco, "made beaver," or any of the other material goods that otherwise served as a universal means of payment). It is important also to note that the Revolutionary War and U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's subsequent fiscal policies, concerned as they were to monetize the economy and ensure the central government of its ability to institute tax policies that could support a modern armed force and government service, provided a crucial fillip to the rise of a modern commercial economy in the United States and to the eventual decline of the noncommercial barter system.

See also **Banking System; Consumerism and Consumption; Economic Development; Hamilton's Economic Plan.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America*, *1685–1815.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life*, *1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard*, *Based on Her Diary*, *1785–1812.* New York: Knopf, 1990.

Michael Merrill

BENEVOLENT ASSOCIATIONS   There were essentially three types of benevolent society in colonial and early national America. The oldest were mutual societies, such as the St. Andrew's Society (Charleston, 1729) and the Union Society (Savannah, 1750). Membership in them represented a form of social insurance, since it brought entitlement to benefits for those members unable to work. Membership in Hibernian Societies, German Friendly Societies, Hebrew Benevolent Societies, and Mechanics' Associations was, by its very nature, restricted to those of certain origins or professions, and all members were male, though widows of deceased members were sometimes eligible for assistance. Gradually, some of these societies expanded their role to provide assistance to nonmembers.

It was not until the last years of the colonial era that voluntary societies with more general humanitarian aims—constituting the second type of benevolent society—were founded, one of the earliest being the Society for Inoculating the Poor, founded by physicians in Philadelphia in 1774. After the American Revolution there was a rapid increase in the number of these societies, and while some, like the Amicable Society founded in Richmond, Virginia, in 1788, were run by men, the vast majority were operated by women. The Society for the Relief of Poor Widows and Small Children (New York, 1797), the Female Humane Association (Baltimore, 1798), the Boston Female Asylum (1800), and the Savannah Female Asylum (1801) were only the first of hundreds of female-managed benevolent societies founded in the early nineteenth century. By 1830 nearly every town and city had a female benevolent society (often the only benevolent society in a particular community), and many had several. The women managing benevolent societies were normally from the wealthiest backgrounds, and they used their family connections to raise funds for orphan asylums and to provide outdoor relief (relief that was given to paupers either in their own homes or as boarders in other people's homes, as opposed to "indoor relief" in an institution such as a poorhouse) to the needy. The women who founded benevolent societies normally restricted their activities to the young, widows, and the care of orphaned and destitute children. Adult men were left to fend for themselves or seek assistance from state poorhouses.

The methods used by charitable women were at times intrusive. They visited applicants for aid in their own homes and only supported those whom they believed were living proper and decent lives. They required mothers seeking help for their children to surrender them entirely to control of the benevolent society, something poor women were sometimes not prepared to do, no matter how desperate their circumstances. The involvement of women in charitable work involved them in public life far more than previously, since they negotiated with city councils and state legislatures for land and money to support their aims and signed contracts with builders and employees. This intervention by women in what was really a matter of public policy was usually tolerated by men, who accepted it as an extension of women's natural roles as care providers and educators.

The national evangelical societies constituted the third type of benevolent society. They included the American Education Society (1815), the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825),

and the American Home Missionary Society (1826), all founded to promote a Christian lifestyle among the poor all over the nation. Their reach far exceeded that of other benevolent societies, with local branches existing in almost every town and city, though their greatest influence was in the Northeast.

The work of benevolent societies therefore complemented and significantly extended the state provision of welfare. The number of poor children who were educated before free public education became commonplace undoubtedly made a real difference, not only to their lives, but also to the communities in which they lived.

See also **Women: Women's Voluntary Associations.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boylan, Anne. "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797–1840." *Journal of American History* 71 (1984): 497–523.

Kuykendall, John W. *Southern Enterprize: The Work of National Evangelical Societies in the Antebellum South.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Nash, Gary B. "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia." *William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, 33 (1976): 3–30.

Tim Lockley

BIBLE   It would be difficult, if not impossible, to argue that there was a single written text more important to the development of British colonial America than the Bible. The Bible's initial importance in the colonies is primarily evident in the Northeast, where large populations of Puritans settled. The Puritans centered their religious beliefs on the Bible, taking it to be the standard by which they guided their private, social, and political worlds. So central was the Bible that as early as 1642, the colony of Massachusetts Bay put a law in place commanding that all children be taught to read. The Puritan commitment to the Bible inspired this law, for if the Bible was the standard by which one was to live one's life, one needed to be able to read it. New England would remain a stronghold for biblical literacy for more than two centuries. Other parts of the country would also have strong ties to the Bible, but in early American culture such ties grew weaker the farther one traveled either west or south from New England.

It should be no surprise that with the Bible so closely tied to American literacy and education, much of American literature has been deeply inflected with biblical resonances. The famous politician and orator Edward Everett (1794–1865) argued for the existence of a uniquely American literature in the early nineteenth century by pointing to the vast American corpus of religious writings. Whether these were sermons, poems, or histories, they were all rooted in the biblical text. The writings of such early American authors as Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Catherine Sedgwick (1789–1867), James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), and Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880) were all inflected with the biblical narrative.

The Bible served as much more than simply a literary inspiration in early American culture. It functioned as kind of a cultural anchor—a text so well-known by so many Americans that it provided a common set of ideas, characters, and narrative conventions—well beyond the field of literature, as seen in its ubiquitous presence in American education, law, and politics. Many political debates are rooted in various views of the biblical narrative. Among others, the Bible influenced the debates over slavery, monogamy, qualifications to hold political office, temperance reform, and divorce. The Bible has also significantly influenced the rhetoric of political debate in the United States. Founders of the new American Republic such as John Witherspoon (1723–1794), Elias Boudinot (1740–1821), and Richard Stockton (1730–1781), as well as the subsequent president, John Quincy Adams (1767–1848), and Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) frequently invoked biblical references in their political rhetoric.

While various biblical interpretations and uses of the Bible have long exercised a profound influence on differing segments of the country's national, regional, and local life, it is critical to understand that, along with diverse biblical usage, there has also been diverse biblical production. The King James translation of the Bible was held under royal copyright until 1776, when the American colonies formally separated from Britain. Subsequently, American publishers began to produce their own editions of the Bible. Between 1776 and 1830 over seven hundred different editions of the Bible were printed on American presses.

While press runs of two thousand copies characterized American Bible production in the late eighteenth century, by the 1820s print runs of fifty thousand copies had become possible. Leading the way in this new era of Bible mass production was the American Bible Society, an interdenominational enterprise located in New York City. Changes in print-

ing technology, papermaking, stereotyping, and distribution allowed the American Bible Society to begin publishing more than 300,000 copies of the Bible per year in the late 1820s. In 1829 the American Bible Society set for itself the goal of providing every American household with a Bible within a span of three years. This goal was never reached, but that the Society believed it possible and important enough to pursue this goal says volumes about both the advances in American publishing and the importance of the Bible in early American culture.

As different American Bible editions appeared, it is critical to note that they had varied formats, illustrations, appended material, and perhaps most important, translation work. Beginning with Charles Thomson's impressive translation of the Septuagint version of the Bible in 1808, six American translators would by 1830 provide their compatriots with portions of the Scriptures, often inflecting God's word with pronounced denominational and theological biases. These different translations have often exercised a profound influence over how the core biblical text is interpreted, spawning new social movements and religious traditions such as Unitarianism and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormonism).

Over half a dozen publishers had produced some fifteen Catholic Bible editions by 1830. Bibles could also be found in a number of different European, as well as Native American languages such as Cherokee, Mohawk, and Delaware in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The United States may have long held the Bible as its most central text, but it is a text of infinite complexity both in terms of its core narrative, and how that narrative reached millions of early Americans.

See also **Religion: Overview; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Publishing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gutjahr, Paul C. *An American Bible: A History of the Good Book in the United States, 1777–1880.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999.

Hatch, Nathan O., and Mark A. Noll. *The Bible in America: Essays in Cultural History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Hills, Margaret. *The English Bible in America: A Bibliography of Editions of the Bible and the New Testament Published in America, 1777–1957.* New York: American Bible Society, 1961.

Nord, David Paul. *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Wosh, Peter J. *Spreading the Word: The Bible Business in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Paul C. Gutjahr

BILL OF RIGHTS   The Bill of Rights, as the twelve proposed amendments submitted by Congress to the states were called at the time and as the ten ratified in 1791 have been called since, came in the twentieth century to symbolize American liberty. At the time of their drafting and ratification, however, and for over a century thereafter, their significance was understood to be highly limited; their draftsmen thought them unnecessary; and those who had insisted on the necessity of amendments considered the twelve that Congress drafted to be entirely inadequate.

BACKGROUND

The history of bills of rights in the English-speaking world dates to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the subsequent succession of William III and Mary to the English throne. The Stuart dynasty, to which Queen Mary was related, had experienced nearly constant friction with Parliament in the seventeenth century, and James II's expulsion was understood as having solved both the issue of the Protestant succession and the question of the relationship between the crown and Parliament. From 1688, Parliament was sovereign in England.

The English Bill of Rights of 1689, then, can be understood as a set of conditions to which William and Mary were required to subscribe before they could assume the throne. Had they refused, Parliament likely would have sought a new monarch elsewhere. Unlike American bills of rights, the English Bill of Rights included a series of severe limitations on royal authority. Specific provisions prevented future monarchs from emulating their Stuart predecessors in raising taxes without Parliament's consent, creating new courts without agreement from Parliament, attempting to rule without calling Parliament into session over a number of years, or refusing to hold new parliamentary elections over a long period of years.

When the American Revolutionaries set about creating republican governments for themselves in 1776, many of them looked to the example of England in this regard. In Virginia, which adopted the first American Declaration of Rights in 1776, George

Mason, that document's chief draftsman, styled himself "a man of 1688." As he understood things, the Bill of Rights must be antecedent to the Constitution, because it must include an explanation of the ground on which the Constitution rested and guarantees of the basic rights intended to be protected by the Constitution. Thus, Virginia's Declaration of Rights opened with a Lockean assertion that all men were created free and equal. Section 1 continued by saying that when men entered into a state of society, they could not divest themselves of certain of their natural rights. The Virginia Declaration included references to, among others, the freedoms of speech, assembly, press, and—in a formula that later would be replicated in the federal Bill of Rights—the "free exercise of religion."

Reflecting the struggles over liberty and executive power that led to the Glorious Revolution, the Virginia Revolutionaries first adopted their Declaration of Rights and only then adopted their constitution. As James Madison, one of the men responsible, later put it, "In Europe, charters of liberty have been granted by power. America has set the example . . . of charters of power granted by liberty." What did the Declaration of Rights mean to Virginians? To the dismay of Thomas Jefferson, it was what lawyers call "hortatory language." That is, while it set a standard for the commonwealth to try to meet, it seemingly did not have legal effect, as the General Assembly repeatedly ignored it in responding to the exigencies of the day. James Madison considered the Virginia Bill of Rights to be a "parchment barrier" that had little power to prevent governmental abuse. This is why, for this reason and others, Jefferson called from 1776 to the end of his life a half-century later for a revised Virginia constitution including enforceable guarantees of individual rights and other limitations on legislative power. Other Virginians, however, did not slight the Declaration of Rights in the same way. While it may not have had the legal effect Jefferson wanted it to have, their Declaration had a significant political effect, within Virginia and without.

While Mason's was the first bill of rights of the Revolutionary epoch, several colonies had adopted statements regarding rights before the Revolution. Probably the most famous was William Penn's Pennsylvania Charter of Liberties of 1682. Like the English Bill of Rights, which was written seven years later, Penn's included extensive attention to questions of the structure of government, not merely to individual liberties. More pertinent to this discussion, perhaps, was the Massachusetts Body of Liberties of 1641, which guaranteed twenty-five of the twenty-eight rights mentioned in the federal bill of rights.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AND RATIFICATION

By the time the Philadelphia Convention that drafted the federal Constitution convened on 25 May 1787, bills of rights—many patterned on Virginia's—had been adopted in several states. The issue of including a bill of rights in the draft federal constitution was raised at Philadelphia by Elbridge Gerry, a delegate from Massachusetts, and by Virginia's Mason. Connecticut's Roger Sherman responded that a federal bill of rights was not needed, and other delegates considered the idea to be contrary to their general goal of strengthening the central government. By ten states to none, the motion was defeated. For Mason, it seems to have been a particularly sore point, although he also had other significant reservations about the Constitution. In the end, Gerry, Mason, and Virginia governor Edmund Randolph were the only delegates to stay to the end of the Convention and then refuse to sign the Constitution. In explaining his reservations to the Virginia General Assembly, Mason began by noting, "There is no Declaration of Rights." In Virginia and elsewhere, that soon came to be a capital objection.

When the Constitution was sent to the states for their ratification, a number of them ratified right away. Soon enough, however, significant contests had developed in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, among other states.

One of the common themes of the Constitution's opponents in the several states was the absence of a bill of rights. The Massachusetts convention, which convened on 9 January 1788, featured a sizable number—perhaps initially a majority—of anti-Federalists, and the popular governor, John Hancock, refused to commit himself. Finally, desperate Federalists lit upon a strategy, which they proposed to Hancock. Governor Hancock was told that if the Constitution was ratified, the Federalists would help enjoin Massachusetts's members of the First Congress to propose a series of amendments. If Hancock sponsored those amendments, Federalists would not oppose his coming bid for reelection, would support him for vice president, and—in case Virginia should not ratify—would point to him as the logical alternative to George Washington for president.

The Massachusetts Plan of unconditional ratification joined to recommended amendments and injunction of congressmen to press those amendments to immediate adoption became a popular gambit for

Federalists in other states as well. Ultimately, this same strategy was adopted in the battleground states of New York (where a largely anti–Federalist convention had been elected) and Virginia (over strenuous opposition).

Alexander Hamilton of New York famously addressed calls for a bill of rights in *The Federalist* No. 84. First, Hamilton noted that some state constitutions lacked bills of rights, and he asked why no hue and cry was heard over those omissions. Then, harkening back to the Glorious Revolution and to the contents of the English Bill of Rights of 1689, Hamilton said that the unamended Constitution already was a bill of rights. It included numerous guarantees, such as the right to the writ of habeas corpus; a ban on ex post facto laws; a ban on granting titles of nobility; and a general plan for the proceedings of government, which was the main point of the English Bill of Rights. If some other traditional rights were not explicitly protected by the Constitution's language, Hamilton said, that was because the Constitution did not empower anyone to violate rights such as the freedom of the press, the right of petition, and freedom of religion.

In Virginia, the most populous and prestigious state in the Union, ratification was achieved only narrowly. The Constitution's chief advocate there, James Madison, subsequently saw his candidacy for the First Senate defeated through the efforts of anti–Federalist leader Patrick Henry in the General Assembly. Madison only narrowly won election to the First House, and that only after pledging to Baptists in his native Piedmont region that he would work to ensure that their religious liberty was protected via a constitutional amendment.

FIRST CONGRESS

In the First Congress, however, virtually no one sympathized with Madison's proposal for a bill of rights. Madison's fellow House members believed that the other business they had to attend to, such as the creation of executive departments and the establishment of a judicial branch, should take precedence. Many, in fact, mocked Madison's single-minded advocacy of a bill of rights, seeing it as a crassly political matter of home-state fence-mending. In a sense, the cynics were right. Madison had been among those who were skeptical of the utility of a bill of rights. Madison believed that as in Virginia and, notoriously at that time, in Pennsylvania, so in the new Union, a majority might as easily circumvent the plain language of a bill of rights.

Jefferson, away in France, responded to his friend's misgivings by saying that "a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no government should refuse, or rest on inference." While a legislature might ignore a bill of rights, Jefferson noted that it would empower the judiciary to protect the people against abuses. Madison went along, largely in hopes of cementing the support of people such as Jefferson and Mason who had supported federal power in the past but who were concerned about the question of a bill of rights for the new government.

Only Virginia elected opponents of the Constitution to the First Senate. Those senators, William Grayson and Richard Henry Lee, were disappointed by the twelve amendments Congress ultimately sent to the states for ratification in October 1789. As they reported to Henry, there was nothing in the twelve to reduce the jurisdiction of the federal courts, to define the powers of Congress more clearly, to limit the congressional taxing power, or to weaken the new federal government—that is, to reinforce the position of the states in the federal system—as the Constitution's opponents had desired.

In short, leading anti–Federalists understood the Bill of Rights as essentially useless. Madison also expected the Bill of Rights to be essentially without value. (He had tried to use the amendment process to empower the federal courts to supervise state legislatures in some respects, but his colleagues in Congress rejected the idea.)

EARLY INTERPRETATIONS

President Washington in 1791 asked his cabinet for opinions on the constitutionality of a congressional bill chartering a bank, which had been adopted by Congress at the request of Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton. Washington knew that Madison had called it unconstitutional in Congress. In response to Washington's request, Secretary of State Jefferson wrote that since there was no explicit grant to Congress of power to charter any kind of corporation, much less a bank, and since the Tenth Amendment said, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people," the bank bill was unconstitutional.

Hamilton, in response, denied that the Tenth Amendment had such force. He argued that a wide variety of powers was implicitly granted to Congress by the Constitution and that the power to charter a

bank was among them. Washington, accepting Hamilton's argument, signed the bill.

The Jeffersonian Republicans responded to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 by insisting on their unconstitutionality in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, and the Virginia Report of 1800. In his Kentucky Resolutions of 1798, Jefferson wrote that the Sedition Act was unconstitutional. He argued that it violated the First, but far more prominently, the Tenth Amendment. He also claimed that the Tenth Amendment reflected the ongoing primacy of the states in the federal system; in Jefferson's draft, that primacy allowed the states to nullify laws they considered unconstitutional and dangerous.

With the election of 1800, Jeffersonians assumed control of the elected branches of the federal government. They would maintain that dominance for a quarter-century, and Jefferson attributed his party's success in the Revolution of 1800 to popular acceptance of the Principles of '98.

The Republicans' state-centered view of the Constitution and their emphasis on the Tenth Amendment repeatedly affected their stewardship of the federal government. Thus, for example, President James Madison in 1817 vetoed the Bonus Bill, legislation intended by House Speaker Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Relations, to give effect to Madison's and Jefferson's repeated calls for a large-scale public works program. Madison's explanation of his veto was that the Tenth Amendment required that the Constitution's grants of power to Congress be read strictly, and that such a reading disclosed no power in Congress to appropriate money for the building of infrastructure. Before Congress could adopt such a law, the Constitution must be amended. This position prevented broad federal support for public works through the early Republican era.

In the case of *Barron v. Baltimore* (1833), the Federalist (and nationalist) chief justice John Marshall wrote, for a unanimous Supreme Court, that the Bill of Rights only applied to the federal government. Everyone had understood it that way at the time of its adoption, Marshall wrote, which explained why the First Amendment began by saying "Congress shall make no law" without any reference to the states. If the plaintiff wanted relief from a local ordinance that took his property without just compensation, in violation of the principle reflected by the Fifth Amendment's takings clause, he should look to his state or local government.

Because of this understanding of the Bill of Rights, no federal or state law was ruled unconstitutional on the basis of any provision of the Bill of Rights until after the Civil War.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Constitutional Convention; Constitution, Ratification of.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America*, *1788–1828.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* 3rd ed. 3 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1923.

Finkleman, Paul. "James Madison and the Bill of Rights: A Reluctant Paternity." In *Supreme Court Review 1990.* Edited by Gerhard Casper, Dennis J. Hutchinson, and David A. Strauss, pp. 301–347. Chicago: University of Chicago Law School, 1990.

Gutzman, Kevin R. C. "The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions Reconsidered: 'An Appeal to the *Real Laws* of Our Country.'" *Journal of Southern History* 66 (2000): 473–496.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 19 vols. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Ketcham, Ralph. *James Madison.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Rutland, Robert Allen. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983.

Kevin R. C. Gutzman

BIOLOGY   The miniscule natural historical community in colonial America was widely regarded in the scientific centers of Europe as provincial and lacking in theoretical sophistication; with few exceptions, would-be American scientists acknowledged their subordinate status. Until well into the nineteenth century, most American natural historians were concerned only with the work of description and classification or with the applied work of medical and economic botany—important functions to be sure, but hardly at the leading edge. A few, like the Quaker botanists John Bartram (1699–1777) and Humphry Marshall (1722–1801), gained a measure of respect in Europe as collectors and suppliers of native plants and animals, but very few American scientists were admitted as intellectual equals.

In the midst of the political and social adjustments of the post-Revolutionary years, however, American natural historians sought to distinguish themselves from their European peers and to establish an approach to science that coincided with nationalist and republican principles. No area of natural historical research became more heavily emphasized than the study of the origins and relationships of human races. In part, the intensity of this focus grew out of scientific opportunism: Americans claimed that they, not Europeans, were daily presented with the opportunity to observe three races. But inevitably, American race science was tied up in the struggle over political and social power in the new nation and in debates over slavery and the racial order. Above all, it offered the alluring prospect of revealing a natural, stable, and predictable social order.

RACIAL DIFFERENCES: VARYING VIEWS

Although race was a fairly flexible concept, encompassing aspects of what in the twenty-first century would be considered nationality, creed, and ethnicity, most theorists accepted the typology of the German scientist Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), who distinguished five races, each with its own characteristic skin color and physical traits: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malay, American, and Ethiopian. In American practice, these races were often conceived as representing stages in the evolution of human culture, with the more primitive, "savage" races—those that relied upon hunting for subsistence—progressing through a historical process into pastoral and agricultural stages and ultimately into the "civilized" world of commerce.

From the 1770s, the key priorities for American racial theorists were to determine how racial differences originated, how the races related to one another and to the scale of cultural progression, and whether they were permanently fixed or could progress or degrade through time. Two discrete but cross-fertilizing polarities guided their inquiries: the first, environmentalism (racial traits seen as the product of factors in the environment and thus could change) versus innatism (race regarded as an inherent and unchanging factor), and the second, monogenism (the belief that all human races share a common origin) versus polygenism (the view that the races have separate origins).

Drawing authority in part from the Christian scriptural belief that all humanity descended from the Garden of Eden, monogenism and environmentalism were particularly influential during the 1780s and 1790s. Advocates like the moral philosopher Samuel Stanhope Smith (1750–1819) or the physicians Benjamin Rush (1746–1813) and Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815) often tended toward a rationalist, anti-evangelical epistemology, citing anatomical, physiognomic, behavioral, or linguistic evidence to support the claim, in Barton's words, that "the physical differences between nations are but inconsiderable." To the long-standing question of the origins of American Indians, for instance, Barton presented linguistic evidence to show that Indians were a single race, possibly related to "Asiatics," although he left open the possibility that some of them might have descended from the lost tribe of Israel or from a wayfaring Welsh prince.

Differences in skin color, environmentalists argued, were the result of exposure to different environmental conditions after the time of creation, with the color varying in proportion to the "heat" or other factors in the native climate. Stanhope Smith attributed the dark skin of Ethiopians to an excess of bile caused by the "putrid exhalations" of the tropical environment, while Rush argued that blackness resulted from endemic exposure to leprosy. In either case, blackness was a function of the environment, and although it might be a sign of cultural inferiority, it was potentially "curable."

American polygenism and innatism may be traced at least to Bernard Romans (c.1720–c.1784), and before him to the Scottish Enlightenment figure Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782). In his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775), Romans bluntly asserted that considerations of both behavior and biology suggested that the races were species apart and that "there were as many *Adams* and *Eves* . . . as we find different species of the human genus" (p. 55). Indians were entirely unlike Caucasians and were "incapable of civilization," while race was so deep-seated that even the bones of Africans were black.

INNATISM PREDOMINATES

In making race a fundamental, innate, and unalterable characteristic of humanity, Romans prefigured the approach that dominated American racial science after the turn of the century, propelled by the entrenchment of slavery and the fears inspired by the Haitian revolution. Influenced by phrenological theory, physicians such as Charles Caldwell (1772–1853)—a onetime pupil of Rush—focused increasingly on racial differences in intellect and the mind, culminating in the craniological work of Samuel George Morton (1799–1851), who amassed statisti-

cal evidence to demonstrate that Caucasians had larger skulls, and were therefore more intelligent, than other races. The so-called American School of Ethnology used scientific authority to demonstrate that Africans occupied the lowest rungs in the scale of civilization and Caucasians the highest, and for many such theorists, slavery and the extirpation of Indians could be seen merely as a reflection of the state of nature and the will of God.

Yet while polygenism offered powerful support for slavery and racial inequality, many proslavery writers objected to its apparent conflict with Scripture, while some polygenists rejected slavery purely on ethical grounds. On the other hand, despite their belief that race was mutable, few white monogenists ever questioned the inferiority of nonwhites. The plasticity of biological argumentation made race science supremely adaptable and resilient, the influence of its conclusions often lasting long after its specific contentions had been rejected. Thomas Jefferson epitomized the situation in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) when he claimed that regardless of whether "blacks" were created separately or had become black through time, he considered them clearly "inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."

See also **Proslavery Thought; Racial Theory.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dain, Bruce. *A Hideous Monster of the Mind: American Race Theory in the Early Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Melish, Joanne. *Disowning Slavery: Gradual Emancipation and "Race" in New England, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1998.

Romans, Bernard. *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida.* New York: Printed for the author, 1775.

Smith, Samuel Stanhope. *An Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species.* Philadelphia: n.p, 1787; reprint of 1810 ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Stanton, William R. *The Leopard's Spots: Scientific Attitudes toward Race in America, 1815–59.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Stocking, George. *Delimiting Anthropology: Occasional Essays and Reflections.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2001.

Robert S. Cox

BLACKFACE PERFORMANCE Blackface minstrelsy—comedic performances about African American culture by white men in burnt cork makeup and exaggerated costumes—is the best known example of American blackface performance. It is usually said to have begun during the years from 1828 to 1831. But its performance progenitors long antedated the Jacksonian era.

ON STAGE

Black characters on stage, played by white men and women costumed in blackface makeup, occurred as early as the fourteenth century in English Christmas pageants. The first notable British scenic designer, Inigo Jones (1573–1652), had the queen of Denmark blacken her face to participate in playwright Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness* (1605). Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko* (published as a novel in 1688 and later adapted after Behn's death as a play) and William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604) both featured actors in blackface and centered their stories around South American and North African characters respectively.

In pre-Revolutionary America, the practice of theater was condemned by the Puritans. It is therefore not surprising that the first black character in an American drama did not appear until 1767. The play, *The Disappointment*, *or*, *The Force of Credulity*, featured the character Raccoon, played by a white actor in blackface. It is not clear which came first, the racial epithet "coon" or this character, but in any case, the die was cast. From then on, servant and slave characters in early American dramatic plays were sometimes black. Since the descriptions often did not specify the race of the character, theater scholars have identified black characters primarily through a unique and manufactured form of "black" stage diction based on mispronunciation, malapropism, and word misuse. The blackened white men who performed these roles played this diction (not a dialect) to the hilt to garner more laughs, and the playwrights would write more ridiculous examples of poor diction for the actors to recite, so that the language degenerated into the almost indecipherable. In this way, the "force of darkness" that the blackface performer had been in English drama became, in early American drama, a stock character of humor. In *Demons of Disorder* (1997), music historian Dale Cockrell documented the following stage productions as those featuring a blackface character that were most often performed on the American stage (date of first American production in parentheses): *Othello* (1751); *Jonathan in England*; *or*, *John Bull at Home* (1828); *The Forest Rose*; *or*, *American Farmers* (1825); *The One Hundred–Pound Note* (1827); *Laugh When You Can* (1799); and *The Irishman in London*

(1793). All of these works are comedic with the exception of *Othello*, though parodies of Othello were a great favorite on the minstrel stage. The last work Cockrell lists, *The Padlock* (1769), is actually a comic opera with a servant character named Mungo. Mungo sings and dances to please his white owners. Cockrell makes the important point that blackness on the early American stage connected comedy with low culture, and that this connection could be illustrated through black servant characters or low-culture characters who were not marked as African or African American or Anglo African but who were performed in blackface.

OFFSTAGE

Black makeup was used as a means and a sign of transgression, harkening back to the English use of blackface before the 1700s. The American spin on the English tradition is that both whites and blacks donned blackface to perform in the streets. The Mardi Gras Carnival of New Orleans is the most prominent and longest lasting of the traditions above.

The Code Noir (Black Code) of Louisiana, first enacted in 1724 and continually revised until the passage of the 1991 Mardi Gras Ordinance, required that the riders of the carnival floats be whites and the torchbearers (*flambeaux*) be Creole or African American. The floats themselves could and did serve as platforms for derogatory commentary through the use of blackface by the white participants. As a counternarrative, African Americans, Native Americans, and African Indians masked (using makeup or papier mâché) "Indian" on the fringes of the carnival route beginning in the 1790s. Playing upon white fear sparked by uprisings like those in Haiti at that time and later by the First Seminole War in Florida (1817–1818), those barred from free and open participation in carnival enacted what performance scholar Joseph Roach has called "scene[s] of defiant counter-entitlement" ("Carnival and the Law," p. 59). There is evidence that these Mardi Gras Indians performed in blackface in order to heighten their dramatic intentions. The Mardi Gras Indians represented the most common use of blackface in the early American period: an interweaving of blackface, political commentary, and humor in performance, on or off the stage.

See also **Theater and Drama.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cockrell, Dale. "Blackface Performance on the Early American Stage." In his *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World.* New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Hatch, James V. "Two Hundred Years of Black and White Drama." In *The Roots of African American Drama.* Edited by Leo Hamalian and James V. Hatch. Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

Roach, Joseph. "Carnival and the Law." *TDR* (*The Drama Review*) 37, no. 3 (Fall 1993): 42–75.

Annemarie Bean

BLOUNT CONSPIRACY   The Blount Conspiracy involved an attempt by U.S. senator William Blount to give control of the Old Southwest to Britain. For violating American neutrality and jeopardizing diplomatic relations with Spain, Blount became the first person expelled from the U.S. Senate.

A native of North Carolina, Blount (1749–1800) entered politics to advance his economic interests and was one of the signers of the U.S. Constitution in 1787. After helping to found Tennessee, he was elected to the U.S. Senate from that state in 1796. Blount made commitments to purchase millions of acres of southwestern land before values collapsed when war broke out between Great Britain and Spain in 1796. In North Carolina, Blount was pursued by creditors and only escaped debtor's prison by pleading his senatorial immunity. Fearing that politically and socially unstable France would gain control of the Mississippi River, the Federalist senator entered into a conspiracy that sought to join the Old Southwest to Britain, which had guaranteed U.S. navigation of the river in the Treaty of 1783. The plan involved three expeditions that would attack the Spanish Empire at New Madrid, New Orleans, and Pensacola in the autumn of 1797. Blount would head the New Orleans forces, consisting of white frontiersmen and Choctaws.

A letter written by Blount on 21 April 1797 revealed his involvement with the British. The administration of President John Adams received the document in mid–June 1797. On 3 July, Adams sent a message to Congress about Blount. While Blount sat in the Senate, the letter was read aloud. Called upon by Vice President Thomas Jefferson for an explanation, Blount turned visibly pale and asked for time to consult his papers. The Senate gave him twenty-four hours. Blount then took flight and failed to appear on 4 July to answer questions. By 5 July, news of Blount's letter had become public knowledge, and he returned to Philadelphia on 6 July in the midst of a nationwide outcry. On 7 July the House of Representatives voted the first impeachment in the nation's history. On 8 July the Senate voted 25 to 1 to expel

Blount for acting contrary to his public trust and duty. Sometime in late July, a warrant was issued by the federal district court for Blount's arrest. The senator avoided the marshal and struck out for Tennessee on 2 August.

Blount then became the first man to face impeachment in the United States. On 25 January 1798, the House charged him with five articles of impeachment, including conspiring to conduct a military expedition from U.S. soil against Spain in violation of the Neutrality Act (1794) and inciting Indians to commence hostilities against Spain in violation of Pinckney's Treaty (1795). The impeachment did not hurt Blount at home, where the immensely popular politician won election to the Tennessee legislature later that year. On 14 January 1799, the Senate voted to dismiss the impeachment on the grounds that it lacked jurisdiction. The exact reasons for dismissal were never made clear. Blount died a hero to Tennesseans in 1800.

See also **Mississippi River; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Conspiracy; Tennessee.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cayton, Andrew R. L. "'When Shall We Cease to Have Judases?': The Blount Conspiracy and the Limits of the Extended Republic." In *Launching the "Extended Republic": The Federalist Era.* Edited by Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Melton, Buckner F., Jr. *The First Impeachment: The Constitution's Framers and the Case of Senator William Blount.* Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1998.

Caryn E. Neumann

BOOK TRADE   The history of the book in eighteenth-century America is by no means the history of American books. Although the first printing press in British North America was established as early as 1639 (at Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts) and while eighteenth-century American printers managed to churn out extraordinary numbers of shorter items such as newspapers and pamphlets, a chronic lack of capital would seriously hamper the domestic American production of books to the early decades of the nineteenth century. As a result, most of the books by far that were sold and read in colonial America and the early Republic were imported books, mainly from England (London) and to a lesser extent from Ireland (Dublin) and Scotland (Glasgow and Edinburgh). With the exception of more specialized

works of divinity and science (which often found their way to America through private channels of religious and scholarly affiliation), Americans would read what colonial booksellers could import. In practice this meant that the Anglo American book trade was determined much less by the intrinsic value of the book than by the mechanics of the commodity market in general; demand and supply, cost base, and profit margins primarily determined what books made it to the bookshelves of general readers and circulating libraries in America—not their aesthetic quality, scholarly content, or canonical status.

THE TRANSATLANTIC TRADE

The book trade between London and America was sluggish until the middle of the eighteenth century. The demand for books was generally low in what was still an overwhelmingly agricultural society; though literacy rates were relatively high in some regions, notably in Puritan New England, these readers tended to limit their consumption of print to a confined canon of religious works. The supply side of the trade was equally weak, with the London traders being discouraged by the high risks and costs of transatlantic shipping and the modest and uncertain profit margins. In the final analysis it was the entrepreneurial structure of the London publishing world that imposed the most serious constraints on the transatlantic book trade. The heavily capitalized publishing business in London was dominated by an exclusive fraternity of booksellers, and so long as they refused to sell to the colonial retailers at a wholesale price that was significantly below that of the going "gentleman's price" in London, the American trade remained weak. A few booksellers operating on the margins of the London monopoly, particularly James Rivington and William Strahan, attempted to undercut London book prices using a variety of market strategies, including the trade in pirated editions with false London imprints and in "rum books," unmarketable titles and random volumes that were sold in batches with a few attractive titles mixed in as a bait.

The only significant pressure on the London book tycoons came in the course of the 1760s and early 1770s from competitors who, because they either refused to recognize English copyright law (the Scots) or were outside of the jurisdiction of English law altogether (the Irish), could undersell their London rivals. This led to a marked increase in the transatlantic book trade. It has been calculated that in the period from 1770 to 1775, the total annual shipment of books from Britain to the mainland American col-

onies may have amounted to around 120,000 separate volumes and printed items, which was approximately 4 percent of the total British annual output. However, the Revolutionary crisis would soon interrupt the transatlantic commerce in books.

CHANGES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The post-Revolutionary period saw a rapid increase in the secularization of the reading public's taste, and in the wake of that a phenomenal growth of the demand for print in general and for prose fiction in particular. Several factors contributed to this development. Fundamental changes were taking place in the marketing and dissemination of print. Thus, booksellers began to adopt more commodity-driven market strategies similar to those used by later publishers, and this redefined the relationship between booksellers and readers as one between producers and consumers of print. An even greater impact on the reading public's taste and hence on the consumption of print was the exponential rise in the number of circulating libraries in the second half of the century, most notably in the 1790s, when the number tripled while the growth of the population only doubled. The proportion of fiction in the catalogues of circulating libraries rose from 10 percent in the 1750s to over 50 percent around 1800. By the late eighteenth century, Americans were largely a novel-reading public. However, paper, type, and money remained in short supply in post-Revolutionary America, so that when trade with Britain was resumed after the Treaty of Paris of 1783, bookselling in the early Republic remained largely a matter of book importing. Although some American book traders managed to get a stake in the lucrative piracy market, even the more successful American importers were only small players in the transatlantic book trade—which after the Act of Union (1801), joining Ireland and Britain into a single kingdom, was dominated even more than before by London book tycoons. In Britain there had been a rise in the number of cooperative bookselling firms and partnerships from the 1780s onward, but in the United States such a consolidation in the market did not take place till later, notably between 1800 and 1840. As a result of this uneven competition, of the hundreds of colonial and early Republican printers-publishers, only Mathew Carey's business survived into the nineteenth century. This meant that for much of this period, American readers continued to read what the London printers provided.

See also **African Americans: African American Literature; Almanacs; Children's**

Literature; Free Library Movement; German-Language Publishing; Nonfiction Prose; Poetry; Religious Publishing; Women: Women's Literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amory, Hugh, and David D. Hall, eds. *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Botein, Stephen. "The Anglo-American Book Trade before 1776: Personnel and Strategies." In *Printing and Society in Early America.* Edited by William L. Joyce et al. Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1983.

Wil Verhoeven

BOSTON   Throughout much of the colonial era, Boston, founded by the Puritans in 1630, was the largest city and preeminent port in British North America, gaining its wealth primarily by shipping and fishing. However, the city was plagued with economic difficulties throughout the middle of the eighteenth century, and by the 1750s New York and Philadelphia had passed Boston in population and wealth. Boston was governed by a town meeting, with a board of selectmen acting as a sort of executive body. Sensitive to imperial intrusion, the city had a long-standing tradition of mob action. These traits ensured that Boston would play a prominent role in the resistance to Great Britain that culminated in the American Revolution.

BOSTONIANS AND BOSTON LIFE

Boston's European population was overwhelmingly English. Its African population reached a high of 10 percent of the total population of 15,730 in 1752, and remained steady at over 1,000 throughout the Revolutionary era. The total population hovered around 16,000 throughout the middle third of the century, with war and epidemic disease counteracting natural increase and immigration.

In the middle of the eighteenth century Boston was physically a small town. It encompassed a 750-acre peninsula joined to the mainland by an isthmus known as the Neck. It boasted the oldest public school system in the colonies, but the nearest college, Harvard, was across the Charles River in Cambridge, just to the west. The main social pillar was the Congregational Church, with nine congregations by 1800, of which the Brattle Street Church was generally regarded as the most fashionable. Faneuil Hall, the center of the town's civic life, was constructed in

State Street, **1801.** The square was the site of the Boston Massacre in 1770. © BURNSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS.

1742 as a public market, but long-standing hostility to such a project turned the building into a meeting hall. Boston made its living off shipping, carrying cod to the West Indies, Spain, and Great Britain, lumber to Great Britain, and finished goods from Europe to the colonies. Attempts at a linen manufactory failed in the 1750s, but the town did engage in some industry, such as distilling rum and manufacturing rope.

THE SEEDS OF RESISTANCE

James Otis, a prominent attorney and moderator of town meeting, led the first stage of resistance to British rule. In 1761 he argued against the writs of assistance, and in 1764 he wrote a pamphlet denouncing the Sugar Act. The Stamp Act provoked violent action in 1765, when in August a mob led by Ebenezer MacIntosh sacked the home of stamp commissioner Andrew Oliver and destroyed the home of Oliver's brother-in-law, Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. By that year political leadership of the town had passed to Samuel Adams, a member of the Boston Caucus, former tax collector for Suffolk County, and representative in the General Court; and John Hancock, a wealthy merchant. Both were leaders of the Sons of Liberty, secret organizations formed in opposition to the Stamp Act. The repeal of the act brought great celebration to Boston, but Adams warned against complacency.

The Towshend Duties, passed in 1767, brought the Sons of Liberty back into action. On 14 August 1767 they held a rally denouncing this new act. On 4 March 1768, ninety-eight Boston merchants called for the nonimportation of British goods. On 7 April British customs agents boarded the *Lydia*, owned by John Hancock, but Hancock refused to let them go below. In February the colonial General Court issued a circular letter to the other colonies calling the Townshend Duties unconstitutional. Lord Hillsborough, the colonial secretary, demanded the General Court rescind the letter. In August the House of Representatives voted 92 to 17 to defy the order. Fearing

that Boston was in open revolt, the British government sent two regiments of troops, which arrived in October 1768.

THE OUTBREAK OF VIOLENCE

The arrival of four thousand British troops into a city of about fifteen thousand ushered in the most violent period of resistance before the outbreak of the American Revolution. To prepare, the town meeting advised stockpiling weapons, ostensibly to be used in case of war with France. When the troops camped on Boston Common, town officials tried to arrest them for vagrancy. When that failed, Bostonians tried to get the soldiers to desert. On 5 September 1769 a customs agent beat James Otis nearly to death. In February 1770 a mob stormed the home of another customs agent, and one Boston youth was killed in the fracas. On 2 March a group of soldiers seeking work went to a ropewalk in the South End, where they clashed with locals.

Each of these small incidents led up to the Boston Massacre of 5 March 1770. That evening about ten soldiers harassed a group of Bostonians. This prompted a larger crowd to turn out to confront the soldiers. By half past eight the crowd had the soldiers pushed back to the barracks, and the first stage of the conflict ended by nine o'clock. Soon after, two boys started taunting a British captain. After being chased off, they went to throw snowballs at the soldiers. One rang the bell of the First Church, bringing another crowd into the street. A private was hit with a club, causing him accidentally to fire his musket, killing Crispus Attucks. The other soldiers began firing, killing two more and shooting two others who would later die of their wounds. The next day, about four thousand gathered at Faneuil Hall in an emergency town meeting. On 13 March Captain Thomas Preston and the soldiers involved were indicted for murder; the Sons of Liberty approved of John Adams and Josiah Quincy as counsel for the defense. The court acquitted Preston on the grounds that he did not give the order to fire and found that the other soldiers acted out of legitimate fear for their lives. By July the last soldiers stationed in Boston had been removed. On the day of the Boston Massacre, Parliament repealed the Townshend Duties, and Boston ended its nonimportation on 12 October 1771.

THE TEA ACT

In order to maintain vigilance, Samuel Adams helped organize the committees of correspondence in 1772. He hoped for a pretext to test how far Great Britain would go to suppress resistance. The Tea Act of 1773, which gave the East India Company a monopoly on the distribution of tea in the colonies, provided that pretext. A mass meeting on 5 November demanded that the tea consignees resign. The first ship, the *Dartmouth*, arrived on 27 November, and the *Beaver* and the *Eleanor* arrived soon after. A meeting of "the Body of the People" on 29 November pressured the master of the *Dartmouth* to stay out of the port. Governor Hutchinson, however, demanded that the tea be unloaded and the tax paid by 17 December. On 16 December, five thousand Bostonians gathered at the Old South Church to plan action. After learning that Hutchinson would not relent, Samuel Adams adjourned the meeting. Some members of the crowd, disguised as Mohawks, went down to the wharf to destroy the tea. Many of those involved in this action, which came to be known as the Boston Tea Party, were members of the Sons of Liberty, but their exact number and identities are unknown. By nine o'clock that night, ninety thousand pounds of tea worth over £9000 lay in the harbor.

Parliament responded by making an example of Boston. The Intolerable Acts, also known as the Coercive Acts, closed the port of Boston as of 1 June 1774, moved the capitol of Massachusetts to Salem, and ordered that rebels would be brought to Great Britain for trial. To enforce these acts, General Thomas Gage, commander in chief of British forces in North America, arrived as the new governor in May 1774. Four regiments arrived in August, and by the outbreak of war twelve regiments were camped in Boston. In May Samuel Adams drafted a Solemn League and Covenant for another nonimportation but was blocked by a group of eight hundred Boston merchants. The Continental Congress, which convened in September, rallied to Boston's defense.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

War might have come at any time. The annual Massacre Day oration in the Old South Church in 1775 nearly turned into an armed clash. On 16 April 1775, Gage received orders to move against the Provisional Congress at Concord. Paul Revere, Samuel Prescott, and William Dawes rode out to warn them. The first British troops left Boston Common by sea early on the morning of 19 April. A relief column marched out through Boston Neck around nine o'clock. The British were turned back at Concord, and by evening were trapped in Boston. On 23 April, Patriots were allowed to leave the city. The British, under General William Howe, attempted to break the siege on 17 June, assaulting the Patriot position on Breed's Hill. After the third assault, the British took Breed's Hill

The Bloody Massacre. This famous engraving of the Boston Massacre by Paul Revere, after a sketch by Henry Pelham, was issued on or about 28 March 1770. The image helped ignite public outrage after it was copied and widely distributed throughout the colonies. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Plan of Boston. This plan of the town and harbor of Boston and the surrounding countryside, made by J. De Costa in 1775, shows the road from Boston to Concord, the site of an early engagement between British and American forces. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY.

and Bunker Hill, chasing the Patriot army to Cambridge; however, the British sustained heavy losses, and their victory in the Battle of Bunker Hill—which served as a morale booster for the gallant Patriots— failed to break the siege. The Patriots still held the heights around Boston.

General George Washington arrived to take command soon after the battle, and in January 1776 Colonel Henry Knox arrived at Framingham with the cannon from Fort Ticonderoga in New York. In March Washington placed the cannon at Dorchester Heights. Howe, believing he could not hold the city, evacuated Boston on 17 March 1776. Bostonians returned to a ruined city, with the common torn up and houses torn down for firewood. Nevertheless, Boston resumed its place at the center of Massachusetts politics, serving as the site of the state constitu-

tional convention in 1779 and of the federal ratifying convention in 1788.

THE CITY IN THE NATIONAL ERA

The task of rebuilding the city fell to the architect Charles Bulfinch, a member of the Board of Selectmen from 1791 to 1795 and again from 1799 to 1817. During that time he redesigned Boston's public and private spaces. His two most famous public buildings were the new State House and the reconstruction of Faneuil Hall. The State House was built on land on Beacon Hill that had belonged to the painter John Singleton Copley. The top third of the hill was torn down and used for fill in the Mill Pond and other places. Paul Revere and Samuel Adams laid the cornerstone on 4 July 1795, and the building was completed in January 1798. The new State House transformed grazing land on the fringe of the

city to the political center of the state and the most fashionable neighborhood in the city. In 1805 Bulfinch doubled the size of Faneuil Hall and added a third story. Bulfinch also built homes for Boston's mercantile and political elite, including three houses for Harrison Gray Otis, a nephew of James Otis and a leading figure at the Hartford Convention in 1814.

Politically, Boston was solidly Federalist. All of Boston's congressmen from 1788 to 1828 were Federalists, and Democratic Republican candidates for governor carried Boston only twice. Economically, Boston thrived on overseas trade, exporting fish, whale oil, and lumber. Frederick Tudor pioneered the export of ice. Boston also provided the ships to carry products from other states and the West Indies to Europe. Beginning in the 1780s, Boston merchants traded with Asia, particularly China. Thomas Handasyd Perkins was Boston's leading merchant, and by 1825 he was the largest American opium trader in China. The Embargo of 1807 hit Boston particularly hard, fueling opposition to President Thomas Jefferson and his secretary of state, James Madison. The end of the Napoleonic Wars closed off much of the old shipping business.

In 1813 Francis Cabot Lowell and Nathan Appleton founded the Boston Manufacturing Company, which built textile mills in Waltham and the Merrimack Valley. The Boston Associates, as they were known, launched the industrial revolution in the United States. Daniel Webster, who moved to Boston in 1816, served as their advocate in Congress.

By the early nineteenth century, Boston's physical setting and population outgrew its form of government. In the 1790 census Boston's population was 18,038; in 1810 it was 33,787; in 1820, it had grown to 43,298; and in 1830 the population reached 61,392. Physically, the city expanded onto reclaimed land in the North End and along the waterfront, and in 1804 annexed Dorchester Heights, renamed South Boston. After 1776 several proposals to replace town meeting with a mayoral system failed. In 1820 some eight thousand people were eligible to attend town meeting, but few did so, and those who arrived first tended to dominate. A split in Boston's Federalists accelerated change. The Central Committee, led by Harrison Gray Otis, represented Federalist orthodoxy. Josiah Quincy broke with the Federalists over the admission of Maine as a state, and forged a movement of dissident Federalists and Republicans. The Central Committee reluctantly embraced the move for a new charter, approved by town meeting on 7 January 1822, in order to control the process.

In the first mayoral election, Otis faced Quincy, leader of the "Middling Interest." Neither could win a majority, and both agreed to a compromise candidate, John Phillips. The next year Quincy won the first of his six one-year terms, during which he consolidated the powers of the old town boards into the mayor's office, eventually absorbing the functions of the school department and using a disastrous fire on Broad and State Streets as an opportunity to abolish the old fire wards and establish a professional fire department in 1825. In 1826 he built a new market near Faneuil Hall, now called Quincy Market. As Quincy accumulated power he also accumulated enemies; in 1828 Otis defeated him for reelection and went on to serve as mayor until 1831. He planned to use the mayor's office as a stepping-stone to the governor's office but never succeeded. His most durable legacy was the banishment of cows from Boston Common in 1830.

See also **Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Bunker Hill, Battle of; Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; Industrial Revolution; Intolerable Acts; Massachusetts; New England; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Sugar Act; Tea Act; Townshend Act.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crocker, Matthew H. *The Magic of the Many: Josiah Quincy and the Rise of Mass Politics in Boston, 1800–1830.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999.

Kirker, Harold, and James. *Bulfinch's Boston, 1787–1817.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

O'Connor, Thomas H. *The Hub: Boston Past and Present.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001.

Warden, G. B. *Boston, 1689–1776.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1970.

Zobel, Hiller B. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: Norton, 1970.

Robert W. Smith

BOSTON MASSACRE On the evening of 5 March 1770, British troops and Boston townspeople clashed on the street in front of the customhouse. This skirmish, known as the Boston Massacre, marks the first blood to be shed in the American Revolution.

The Boston Massacre. This page from the 12 March 1770 edition of the *Boston Gazette and Country Journal* includes an article describing the Boston Massacre, along with illustrations of coffins bearing the initials of four men who died: Samuel Gray, Samuel Maverick, James Caldwell, and Crispus Attucks. A fifth man, Patrick Carr, died later. ©CORBIS.

On 1 October 1768, British regulars had arrived to support American customs officials. Bostonians, already hostile to demonstrations of imperial rule in general and standing armies in particular, reacted

angrily to their presence. Over the next eighteen months, civilians and soldiers physically and verbally abused each other. The city was suffering an economic recession, and relations between soldiers and civilians were harmed by underpaid soldiers who supplemented their small stipends by moonlighting and by British officers who delayed paying bills to tailors and other artisans. When rope workers got into a fight with soldiers looking for work in the beginning of March, several days of off-and-on brawling ensued. Then, on 4 March, some officers performed an unauthorized search of a rope factory, looking for a missing sergeant; they feared he had been kidnapped, although in fact he had spent the night in a brothel. For several days before the Massacre, gossip circulated between men and women in kitchens and parlors that events would soon come to a head. Rumors spread that the soldiers planned to take their revenge on the next night.

Early on the evening of 5 March, a wigmaker's apprentice taunted the customhouse guard by scoffing that the regiments' officers were no gentlemen, as at least one of them did not pay his bills. The sentry swung his musket at the boy, who ran off crying. Someone rang the nearby church bells as a fire alarm, and soon a large mob formed around the guard, who yelled for support. Captain Thomas Preston led seven grenadiers from their barracks. The crowd jostled closer, throwing ice chunks and oyster shells and taunting the soldiers with, "Fire, fire, you durst not fire." Preston ordered his soldiers not to fire, but in the confusion, five of them discharged their guns. Three townsmen died instantly; two more died later. One of the five was Crispus Attucks, a free mixed-race sailor.

Governor Thomas Hutchinson forestalled more violence by issuing a warrant for Preston's arrest that night and by moving the soldiers out of the city of Boston. Radicals and Loyalists alike rushed to get their version of events into print. Samuel Adams immediately dubbed the event a "horrid massacre," and with other Sons of Liberty he appointed a committee to take depositions from sympathetic witnesses. The city of Boston published the depositions and claimed to have sent all the copies to London, but many of them were kept for potential jurors to read. At the same time, Henry Pelham created an inaccurate but highly inflammatory drawing of the event. Without Pelham's permission, Paul Revere copied and widely distributed the drawing as an engraving entitled "The Bloody Massacre."

Preston and the soldiers stood trial for murder in the fall of 1770. John Adams and Josiah Quincy Jr.

defended them; Josiah's brother Samuel argued the case for the prosecution. Despite their radical politics, Adams and Quincy believed that all men were entitled to a legal defense. Three years later, Adams recorded in his diary that his defense of the soldiers was "one of the most gallant, generous, manly and disinterested Actions of my whole Life, and one of the best Pieces of Service I ever rendered my Country." Their legal aid was approved by the Sons of Liberty, who were convinced of their guilt and yet wanted to ensure that the trials were not tainted by charges of partiality.

Preston and the soldiers were tried separately. The lawyers mounted two different defenses: for Preston, they argued that he had not given an order to fire; for the soldiers, they argued self-defense against a threatening mob. Due to this skillful strategy and a jury that was comprised of men entirely from outside the city of Boston, Preston and six of the soldiers were acquitted. The two others were convicted of manslaughter rather than murder. As the result of a legal privilege called "benefit of clergy," they were branded on the thumb and released.

Samuel Adams, alert to the propaganda value of the riot, arranged to have 5 March celebrated as an annual day of mourning. From 1771 through 1784 (when it was replaced by 4 July), orators such as John Hancock and Joseph Warren inveighed on the anniversary of the massacre against the tyranny of the British ministry and the evils of a standing army.

See also **Boston.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams.* Edited by L.H. Butterfield. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

———. *Legal Papers of John Adams.* Edited by L. Kinvin Wroth and Hiller B. Zobel. Volume 3. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Shy, John. *Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press,1965.

Zobel, Hiller B. *The Boston Massacre.* New York: Norton, 1970.

Serena R. Zabin

BOSTON TEA PARTY   The Boston Tea Party of 16 December 1773 is an iconic event in American history, revealing the nature of American resistance and bringing severe retaliation from the ministry of Great Britain. The Tea Party was a brazen and radical action that demonstrated the organization and resilience of Boston's waterfront community. By precipitating the Intolerable Acts, the tea action helped to accelerate the dissolution of the British Empire in North America.

Boston was already in a ferment in 1773 over a proposal to pay the Massachusetts civil list from customs revenues and over the publication of royal governor Thomas Hutchinson's letters, which recommended curtailing American liberties. In the midst of this turmoil, the North American seaports learned of the passage in the spring of 1773 of the Tea Act, which granted the East India Company the ability to undersell its competitors (often American smugglers) while still paying the hated Townshend duty on tea shipped to America. As the seven ships bearing the East India Company tea sailed across the Atlantic Ocean, Boston and other seaports took steps to ensure that the duetied tea would not land.

Bostonians tried to force the tea consignees to resign their commissions and return the tea. By law, however, the tea could not be re-exported to England. On 28 November 1773, the *Dartmouth* was the first of three tea ships to arrive in the harbor. The following day the people of Boston crowded Faneuil Hall to plan a course of action, while the consignees fled to Castle William in the harbor for safety. Negotiations continued without success: the customs officers and the governor would not allow the tea to be sent back to England. If the duty was unpaid by 17 December, British customs officers could seize the tea and then sell it at auction.

Thus, on 16 December some five thousand people from Boston and its surrounding towns met at the Old South Meeting House. As day turned into evening, Governor Hutchinson refused one final time to allow the *Dartmouth* to leave the harbor. The crowd gave shouts of defiance, and a group of about 150 men hastened to Griffin's Wharf where the tea ships were docked. Under the guns of the Royal Navy, these men began heaving the tea into the harbor. Many disguised themselves as Indians or blackened their faces to avoid recognition. The men aboard the tea ships represented all ranks of society: apprentices and journeymen as well as artisans, merchants, and Patriot leaders. With speed, order, and discipline, they destroyed ninety thousand pounds of tea worth £9,659.

The Boston Tea Party aroused opposite reactions on the two sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Bostonians celebrated the action, as did many other American radicals. The British citizenry, meanwhile, saw this

action by the rebellious Bostonians as a slap in the face. Although New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston had also prevented the dutied tea from landing, only in Boston had Americans taken the drastic step of destroying the East India Company tea, and so it was Boston that the ministry singled out. Since it proved impossible to name specific individual participants in the Tea Party, the ministry resolved to hold Bostonians collectively responsible for indemnifying the property of the East India Company. The Boston Tea Party demonstrated the government's loss of control over Boston, and the Boston Port Act of March 1774, in conjunction with the other Intolerable Acts of that year, aimed to reestablish parliamentary authority on a firmer footing in Massachusetts.

See also **Boston; Intolerable Acts; Tea Act.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Labaree, Benjamin Woods. *The Boston Tea Party.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon, 1999.

Benjamin L. Carp

BOTANY Botany, the study of plants, was the most actively pursued observational science in the late colonial and early national periods. The practice occupied the minds, filled the gardens, and guided the travels of hundreds of university-educated and self-taught men and women. This period witnessed the founding of botanical gardens; the publication of books, articles, and manuals for learned and popular audiences; the establishment of botany as a mainstay in college curricula; and the application of botanical knowledge toward an efficient and more bountiful agriculture. The period also saw American botanists enhance their position in the international botanical community from backwater collectors for foreign patrons to full-fledged, contributing members of the discipline, respected the world over.

Botany was practiced by a few men living in North America during the colonial period, primarily as collectors and agents of European naturalists and scientific societies looking to acquire samples for rare plant gardens and natural history cabinets. Pennsylvania's John Bartram (1699–1777), New York's Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776), and South Carolina's Alexander Garden (c. 1730–1791) laid the foundation of professional American botany through correspondence and sample and seed trade with Eu-

ropean naturalists, particularly Peter Collinson and the Royal Society in London. At the same time Bartram, Colden, Garden, and others also drew on neighbors' and farmers' knowledge of local plants, suggesting that careful attention to plants was not an exclusively elite pursuit. Beginning in the late twentieth century, scholars have noted that much botanical information also came from women and slaves, which prompts an opportunity to revisit dominant narratives about the history of science and exposes rich new veins for future scholarship.

The years following the American Revolution (1775–1783) witnessed an efflorescence in botanical activity with the publication of new books, the creation of professorships at universities, the founding of professional scientific and medical journals covering the subject, and the establishment of the nation's first botanical gardens. Animated by nationalist zeal, botany enthusiasts sponsored exploratory expeditions into the interior of the continent—the expedition of Lewis and Clark, most famously—and encouraged ordinary citizens to describe plants in their neighborhoods and report their findings to the emerging scientific centers in Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Charleston. Proponents of botany urged American citizens to scour forests and fields for plants that could be used for food, dyes, manufactures, and medicines; they suggested that, along with a financial windfall to the individual, the American who discovered a plant that could aid the growth of the nation was a true patriot. Benjamin Smith Barton (1766–1815), professor of botany at the University of Pennsylvania, urged readers of his *Collections for an Essay towards a Materia Medica of the United States* (1798) to consider that "the man who discovers one valuable new medicine is a more important benefactor to his species than Alexander, Caesar, or an hundred other conquerors." Barton's other textbook, his *Elements of Botany* (1803), became a discipline standard.

American-born botanists, however, were disappointed to observe that the most successful botanists studying North America were foreign-born and that their publications dominated the first years of the nineteenth century. In 1803 the French father-son team of André and François-André Michaux published *North American Flora*, the first general account of North American botany. In 1814 Frederick Pursh, the German traveler-botanist, published his two-volume *Flora Americae Septentrionalis*, the most comprehensive American botany text to date. American-born botanists redoubled their efforts and quickly rose to the forefront of botany in their native land.

Amos Eaton (1776–1842), John Torrey (1796–1873), and Asa Gray (1810–1888) each published important botanical texts in the decades that followed—the latter two becoming the nation's preeminent botanists of the nineteenth century. These texts comprised naming, classifying, and describing the flora of the United States, and their authors spared little ink as they debated the merits of rival classificatory systems, the correct scientific and common names for plants, and the assignment of credit for the discovery of individual species.

Interest in plants was not confined to the academic elite. Unfortunately, historians know little about what might be termed "garden botany," local knowledge and experience of plants that went unrecorded by ordinary Americans. Only tantalizing glimpses of such knowledge can be found in the correspondence of credentialed botanists and in the conversations between those botanists and the ordinary Americans described in their botanical texts.

See also **Agriculture: Agricultural Improvement; Education: Colleges and Universities; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Natural History; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Daniels, George H. *American Science in the Age of Jackson.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.

Greene, John C. *American Science in the Age of Jefferson.* Ames: Iowa State University, 1984.

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1956.

Andrew J. Lewis

BREWING AND DISTILLING   *See* **Alcoholic Beverages and Production.**

BRITISH ARMY IN NORTH AMERICA   When Paul Revere set off on his famous ride to warn Patriots of a British advance on Lexington and Concord (19 April 1775) in Massachusetts, he almost certainly cried out "The regulars are coming." Revere referred to the "regular establishment" of the British army; soldiers were administered in accordance with laws and regulations governing such things as pay, promotion, and retirement.

In 1754 about four thousand regulars served in North America. They were too scattered to act effectively and had long been neglected by the home government. Two British battalions arrived in Virginia in March 1755 to participate in Braddock's Expedition. They suffered staggering losses in the Battle of the Wilderness (9 July 1755) at the Monongahela River. Subsequent defeats along the frontier prompted the home government to expand greatly the regular establishment in America.

Recruiting proved difficult. During the first two years of the French and Indian War, some seventy-five hundred Americans enlisted in British regiments while only forty-five hundred regulars came from Britain itself. Following the official declaration of war against France in the summer of 1756, recruiting efforts in Britain were more successful. Some eleven thousand regulars were sent from Britain to America in 1757. Simultaneously, the flow of colonial recruits diminished to a trickle. Setback and defeat in 1757 marked the nadir of British fortune. James Abercromby's appointment as commander in chief in North America in early 1758 brought reform and improvement in an army that grew to twenty-three battalions. The year 1758 marked the turning point of the war and the restoration of the British regulars' prestige.

The British regulars in their red coats stimulated a wide range of emotional responses among Americans. After the Peace of Paris in 1763 that ended the French and Indian War, the regular establishment in the colonies was set at ten thousand men. Americans living on the frontier welcomed their presence as security against the Indians. Americans who had to pay taxes for the war debt and for the expenses of maintaining the regulars disliked them. In places like Boston, this dislike turned to hatred after the so-called Boston Massacre (5 May 1770). For them the British regulars were Bloody Backs, a derisive term referring to their severe discipline, which included lashing. Tolerated or hated, the British regular of 1775 was a highly disciplined professional soldier.

He and his officers were contemptuous of the fighting prowess of the colonials and the ability of their leaders. Regulars regarded provincials as ungrateful, second-class citizens. Even those who, like George Washington, sought approval and acceptance within the regular establishment, encountered discrimination. The poor performance of many colonial units during the French and Indian War, combined with the proclivity of America militia to break and run during Revolutionary War battles, reinforced the British sense of superiority. Consequently,

JOURNÉE DE LEXINGTON.

Journée de Lexington. This engraving (c. 1784) by François Godefroy depicts British regulars under the command of General Thomas Gage retreating from charging American militia in April 1775 during the Battle of Lexington, a key early battle of the Revolutionary War. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

many British commanders acquired an overconfidence that ultimately contributed to some shocking setbacks.

ORGANIZATION

The infantry regiment made up of a single battalion was the era's tactical building block. Each regiment had three field officers—colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major—along with a small staff numbering five men. However, the colonel was a titular officer, so

the lieutenant colonel often acted as brigade commander. Frequently, though, both he and the major were detached for special assignment, which meant that the senior captain commonly commanded the regiment while on campaign. The field officers were also nominal commanders of a field company. Consequently, lieutenants commanded their three companies while on campaign. The net effect of this organizational practice was a reduction in the number of officers present on campaign and in battle.

Twelve identical companies composed a regiment, but two of them were recruiting depots, one permanently stationed in England and one in Ireland. Two of the companies were so-called "flank" companies: the grenadier company, composed of the largest men, and the light company, selected for agility. The flank companies were elite formations and were habitually detached from their parent regiments to form provisional grenadier and light battalions. While this practice gave British leaders elite combat formations, it deprived the remaining line, or "battalion companies," of their best men.

Each company had 3 officers, 2 musicians, 6 noncommissioned officers, and 56 privates. At full strength and minus the flank companies, the regiment numbered 514 men. Because of sickness, desertion, battle loss, and men assigned to detached duty, a regiment never entered battle at full strength.

Warfare in Europe shaped the British organization. Here the emphasis was on close order, meaning the soldiers packed elbow to elbow in order to maintain the discipline and solidity required to conduct a bayonet charge. Accordingly, formal doctrine called for the British infantry to deploy in three ranks, although the third rank's fire was inefficient. Experience in North America demonstrated the superiority of a looser deployment in two ranks. The two-rank deployment became standard tactical doctrine.

Soldiers wore a woolen red coat with voluminous folds buttoned back to form lapels. A cocked hat, stiff stock, waistcoat, small clothes, and gaiters reaching just above the knee completed the standard uniform. A foot soldier carried about sixty pounds of equipment, including a cartridge box, knapsack, haversack, blanket, canteen, musket, and ammunition.

The standard Brown Bess smoothbore flintlock musket weighed fourteen pounds. It had an effective range of three hundred yards but was wildly unreliable at more than one hundred yards. In order to maximize firepower, regiments deployed into line. At ranges as close as forty yards, the opposing lines traded volleys in massed group fire. Repeated close-order drill instilled the ability to load and fire quickly, absorb losses, and close ranks as losses thinned the firing line.

The hallmark of the British infantry was the ability to deliver a bayonet charge. Soldiers fixed the one-pound, fourteen-inch-long socket bayonet over their gun's muzzle, and at their officers' command advanced on their foe at the quick step. A charging line of bayonet-wielding redcoats presented an imposing scene and often proved tactically triumphant.

PRIVATES AND OFFICERS

Eighteenth-century soldiers most often joined the British army for economic reasons. The onset of the industrial revolution brought enormous social change. Destitute common laborers, unemployed textile workers, and displaced artisans joined the army to escape poverty. A private soldier received eight pence per day from which there were numerous required deductions. Privates seldom had much if any coin in their pockets to supplement their poor diet or afford any recreations. Even officers' pay failed to keep up with wartime inflation.

Commissions in the army were bought and sold. The purchase system hampered men of moderate means from ascending very high, regardless of their military talents. Most regimental officers up to the rank of major came from the middle class. Only sons of the nobility—William and Richard Howe, Thomas Gage, John Burgoyne, Henry Clinton—could afford high command. They had to be politicians as well as soldiers to become senior generals.

The common soldier usually enlisted for life. Army service was not popular, and the government had difficulty in filling the ranks. The Scottish Highlands and Ireland had long been a fruitful recruiting ground. Because of emigration to America and unusual Irish prosperity, fewer recruits were available when the American War for Independence began. This led to the employment of some thirty thousand German mercenaries along with numerous additional Germans who served in British units. Various bounties attracted some recruits in the British Isles, but after three years of war the government increasingly had to turn to impressment. This measure brought vagrants and the extremely poor into the ranks. Jails released debtors and criminals. Yet field battalions continued to be under strength.

When the Revolution began, the paper strength of the Royal Army stood at some 48,647 men, including 39,294 infantry, but its real strength was closer to 20,000. Some 7,000 served in North America, including those assigned to garrison Canada. By 1781 the number of effectives in North America had risen to about 40,000. Americans helped fill the ranks, but most Tories preferred to serve in Loyalist units. Numerous Continental deserters also took the king's shilling.

STRATEGIC PROBLEMS

During the age of sail, supporting an army operating three thousand miles from its home was a daunting technical challenge. The government annually concluded contracts to furnish a complete daily ration

for every soldier in America. Transport carried the provisions across the Atlantic, but hungry redcoats found them to be inedible. Commissary generals repeatedly complained about the delivery of moldy bread, weevily biscuit, rancid butter, sour flour, worm-eaten peas, and maggoty beef.

Distance from its home and the colonial environment made the army's task to crush the rebellion very hard. The negligence, corruption, and inefficiency of its administration, particularly in the provisioning and transport services, enormously compounded that difficulty.

France's entry into the war in February 1778 changed the strategic calculus. Unchallenged command of the sea was gone. The French fleet could deliver enemy soldiers anywhere at a time when the British army was widely dispersed from Canada to Florida and in the West Indies. In fact, the crown valued the West Indies more than the rebellious colonies. The need to retain the islands greatly diminished the resources available to fight the rebels.

The king was even willing to concede that New England, the birthplace of the rebellion, might be beyond reconquering. However, the supposed presence of thousands of Loyalists in the southern colonies helped turn attention toward the Carolinas. The result was the last British strategic offensive. It opened with the capture of Charleston (May 1780) and ended with the surrender at Yorktown (October 1781).

A notable feature of the southern campaign was the participation of large numbers of Loyalist units. Indeed, except for the British commander, the strategically critical Battle of Kings Mountain (7 October 1780) was exclusively an American fight. Yet in the end the Loyalist turnout was disappointing to the British. The British infantry remained the key to battle. The redcoats continued to fight bravely, but their numbers steadily dwindled. Lord Cornwallis's pyrrhic victory at Guilford Courthouse (15 March 1781) cost him too many irreplaceable men and compelled him into his ultimately disastrous march into Virginia.

Although poorly fed and cared for and often poorly led, the redcoats time and again performed courageously. For example, the ability of the British infantry to suffer two repulses with heavy losses and then mount a third, decisive charge up the blood-soaked slopes of Breed's Hill (17 June 1775) was a remarkable martial achievement. Regimental pride and discipline go far to explain such sterling conduct.

THE WAR OF 1812

The Revolutionary War ended with the British army having lost some of its imposing reputation. But it retained a presence in North America, and those soldiers garrisoning certain forts on the Great Lakes became one of the causes for a new conflict, the War of 1812 (1812–1815).

The War of 1812 began at a time when the British army was absorbed in a death struggle against Napoleonic France. Since the American Revolution, the British infantry had formally converted from fighting in three ranks to two, which greatly improved its firepower. But the disciplined bayonet charge remained its tactical trump.

At war's start only a small regular force defended Canada, but it was sufficient to repulse the uncoordinated American invasion. Thereafter, major conflict occurred along the Niagara frontier, which the redcoats fought with their customary steadiness.

Napoleon's fall from power in 1814 released British veterans for service in North America. They easily defeated the mismanaged Americans at Bladensburg (24 August 1814) in Maryland and proceeded to capture Washington. However, their frontal charge against well-led Americans at New Orleans (8 January 1815) was a costly defeat. Napoleon's return from exile in 1815 refocused the army on the war against France. In sum, for the British army, the War of 1812 was very much a sideshow.

See also **French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Military Technology; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Military Leadership, American; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brumwell, Stephen. *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755–1763.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Curtis, Edward E. *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution.* New York: AMS Press, 1969.

Fortescue, J. W. *A History of the British Army.* 13 vols. New York: AMS, 1976.

Frey, Sylvia R. *The British Soldier in America: A Social History of Military Life in the Revolutionary Period.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Mackesy, Piers. *The War for America, 1775–1783.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

James R. Arnold

BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

In 1754 tensions between British and French colonies in North America had reached a breaking point. These colonies lay in defined, neighboring patterns: the British in a coastal arc from Georgia to what would become Maine, France in the bordering territory from the St. Lawrence River down to what became the state of Louisiana. While it can be said that the immensity of the continent should have led to the realization that there was enough land and potential for all, the continent's great size paradoxically also meant that each side wanted this unrealized potential all to itself. In the summer of 1754, a British fort at the headwaters of the Ohio River was demolished by French troops, who promptly rebuilt it and named it Fort Duquesne in honor of the governor of French Quebec.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

The combination of French armed forces with Indian assistance threatened the British colonies, particularly at the edges, so an impassioned plea was made to the royal government by representatives of seven colonies at a conference in Albany, New York, in 1754. Faced with the loss of prestige within its empire, as well as the possible loss of its interests in North America, Britain responded with troops and preparations for war.

For Britain, the war in North America was a disaster until 1757, when the royal government appealed to the colonial assemblies for further assistance with the promise of increased spending and generous reimbursement for assistance. The necessity of reversing the direction of the war forced the British government into a much more cooperative policy. Military spending increased hurriedly, and the increased funding and the nimble strategy of William Pitt the Elder, the new prime minister, turned the tide. By 1759 the British had scored substantial Atlantic victories from Canada to the Caribbean islands. Subsequent victories proved to Britain that cooperation with the colonies was to their advantage, though at a high price—a debt that Britain would spend decades trying to pay off, with the colonies used as an increasing source of funds.

BRITAIN'S NEW POLICY: THE REASONS

The decade after 1754 saw Britain make significant changes in relations with its Atlantic possessions; moving from a hands-off policy to a much greater and active supervision. In addition to the British debt, the accession to the throne of George III in 1760 and the Paris Treaty of 1763 were also major reasons for the changing British attitude. The "king-in-Parliament" was determined to manage the empire personally and more closely than before, as evidenced by his dissatisfaction with and replacement of a series of prime ministers and administrations, none of which appeared to satisfy him. The rapid turnover of administrations meant that more responsibility fell to senior bureaucrats, who tightened control over colonial affairs. Legally, the colonies were chartered, protected bodies subject to control by the crown, but in the early eighteenth century, the empire was content to let the colonies fend for themselves with little interference. Thanks to the Hanoverians and the stretched imperial economy, uniformity and consolidation of control soon became the focus of colonial policy.

The colonies were becoming both an increasing source of revenue and a corresponding drain on imperial finances. From 1747 to 1765, the value of colonial exports to Britain doubled from about £700,000 to £1.5 million, and the value of imports also doubled, from £900,000 to £2.0 million. Exports from Britain to its various outposts were rising at a staggering amount as well: between 1750 and 1772, the tonnage of exports from British ports nearly doubled. The population of British North America doubled also from 1750 to 1770, from approximately one million to two million. In 1700 the American population was one-twentieth of Britain's and Ireland's combined; in 1770 it was one-fifth.

From its beginnings, the foundation of the British Empire lay in mercantilism, a system designed to gain imperial and political strength from trade and commerce. Mercantile theory held that the wealth of a nation is found in its supply of precious metals (thus justifying the empire's firm grasp on the minting of coin in its colonies) as well as from a favorable balance of trade. The prevailing attitude among Britons was that America existed merely for the economic benefit of Britain, and they claimed that the benefit would increase if private investors and tradesmen were left to their own devices. Sir Walter Raleigh's words from two centuries earlier still held the day: "Whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself." Small wonder that economic expansion was called "the only justifiable Reason that can be given . . . of making Settlements and planting Colonies" by Sir William Keith, lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania from 1717 to 1726, who later was one of the very first administrators to suggest the idea of a stamp tax on the colonies.

A CHANGE IN COLONIAL POLICY

In 1763 the British Parliament changed its philosophy; from now on, regulations regarding North American trade would be imposed not just to regulate colonial commerce, but also to keep the trade solely in the hands of the British, protecting a significant source of revenue for the empire, which in turn could be used for its increasingly costly defense.

The change took the form of a series of increasingly strict and unwelcome statutes. The Proclamation Act of 1763 forbade North American expansion westward past a rough line drawn approximately along the Appalachian Mountains. This law was odious to the colonists since the colonies were in danger of losing a great deal of potential western property, particularly the Virginia colony. (The fact that Nova Scotia and Georgia were expanded by the act was of small consolation). The Sugar Act of 1764 extended and replaced the Molasses Act of 1733. More items would be taxed, and enforcement would be more vigorous. The Stamp Act of the following year was the final straw, pushing the colonies from resentment to active resistance, and later rebellion. All colonial documents, including legal forms, official proclamations, and even newspapers, had to be stamped. Also, a fee had to be paid to collectors, who were not under the control of the colonial governor and therefore prone to committing abuses and fraud.

The various revenue acts also led to greater British organizational control, including the creation in 1767 of the American Board of Customs Commissioners, responsible for strict enforcement and collection. Disputes brought to the board were almost exclusively resolved in favor of the British government. Vice admiralty courts claimed to prosecute vigorously smugglers but were widely corrupt—customs officials falsely accused ship owners of possessing undeclared items, thereby seizing the cargoes of entire vessels, and justices of the juryless courts were entitled to a percentage of the goods from colonial ships that they ruled unlawful. Writs of assistance and blanket search warrants to search for smuggled goods were liberally abused. John Hancock, the wealthy New England merchant, had his ship *Liberty* seized in 1768 on a false charge, incensing the colonists. Charges against Hancock were later dropped and his ship returned because of the fear that he would appeal to more scrupulous customs officials in Britain.

Britain's desire for increased colonial control mirrored the realization that the Atlantic Ocean was becoming more than a barrier to be crossed—it represented a complex new system of interaction, over which Britain desired control for itself. The creation of the African slave trade a century earlier had established a triangular Atlantic network, through which trade in raw materials (such as timber, tar and tobacco), finished goods (such as the precious items traded to African tribal chiefs) and slaves surged. Portugal, Holland and France had also established similar trade systems, and these burgeoning Atlantic routes would shortly form a complete new "Atlantic World" dynamic that was essential to the survival of all Atlantic colonial enterprises.

TURMOIL IN BRITISH POLITICS

Stability of administration in the colonies was not enhanced by the extremely turbulent political climate at home. There were fifteen prime ministers between 1754 and 1783, with widely disparate measures of success. They included Thomas Pelham-Holles, the hypochondriac duke of Newcastle (1754–1756, 1757–1762), who resigned twice due to an incompetence that almost lost the war with France; John Stuart, earl of Bute (1762–1763), who served a mere eleven months, could not appear on the streets without a disguise, and was frequently burned in effigy while in office; and Frederick North, Lord North (1770–1782), who doggedly supported the oppressive policies of George III, even when faced with evidence of their failure, and therefore presided over the loss of the American colonies.

George Grenville, the prime minister from 1763 to 1765, provided the greatest spark to colonial tensions; in order to increase his popularity at home, he lowered taxes, shifting the burden to the colonies in the measures noted above. One of the rare capable administrations of this era was that of William Pitt the Elder (1757–1761, 1766–1768), who actively spoke out against colonial policy in America, realizing that the colonists were being pushed toward a breaking point.

COLONIAL GOVERNORS

The face of the British Empire in North America was represented by the royal governors, who were appointed by the crown to each royal colony; or, in the case of the proprietary or chartered colonies of New England, elected by the colonies themselves. The primary administrative responsibility of the British Empire in the Atlantic fell to the governors, who acted under royal prerogative and held wide-ranging if not always well-defined power. The royal prerogative of these governors meant that they had the same powers, and in some cases extensions of the powers, as held by the crown in Britain: the governor was

captain-general (and vice admiral) of the provincial military forces; was empowered to appoint justices and establish courts as he saw fit; was authorized to make laws with the consent of the council and assembly; and had wide-ranging "minor" powers, such as granting pardons and appointments to ecclesiastical positions. The duties of governors in the proprietary colonies were much the same as the royal appointees, though they tended to act with more individual latitude, causing the crown (and other colonies) to argue for a uniform royal standard throughout North America.

Types of governors. Invested with broad powers, the governors of the eighteenth century unfortunately fell for the most part into two categories. One group comprised intelligent and ambitious men who desired to make something of themselves and eagerly sought colonial positions; many of them became corrupt, insensitive leaders. The other group was made up of those who could not succeed in Britain and were therefore shipped out as reward for loyalty to the crown, exiled away from their failings at home, or rewarded for their financial support—in all cases without the colonists' consent or with their best interests in mind.

By 1763, the colonies were divided into three groups, according to how they were governed: the seven "royal" colonies, in which the governor was appointed directly by the Crown, based on a recommendation from the Board of Trade; the "charter" colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, who chose their own governors; and the private or "proprietary" colonies—Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware—whose relationship with the crown was ill defined and often contentious. Thankfully, the unwieldy system of "personal unions," in which colonies were combined under the administration of a single governor, had been abandoned by then.

Ineffectiveness and corruption. Most governorships were patronage appointments, given to men like Francis Bernard, governor of New Jersey in 1758, and then Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769. A well-educated, unassuming man, he obtained the post by virtue of connections to the king through his uncle, and he pursued appointment in the colonies only to meet the financial needs of his ten children. "I am assured that I may depend on a quiet and easy administration. I shall have no points of government to dispute about . . . with a very pretty place to retire to." Bernard quickly found the demands of governorship to be much more difficult than he was able to handle, and he left his post to his successor, the unfortunate Thomas Hutchinson. Although he opposed the Stamp Act and was at first determinedly sympathetic to the colonies, Hutchinson nevertheless became the object of the hatred directed at the policies of George III and Parliament.

Abundant examples exist of the ineffectiveness of the royal governors and their administrations, though simple incompetence was not always the reason. The men sent to govern—profiteering administrators, with no head for understanding the political climate—were quite unfit to deal with the awakenings of political consciousness in the colonies. The British government was frustrated by the lack of talent on the ground, but the system of royal patronage appointments continued. Authority to grant land was vested in the governor on terms laid down in his instructions from the crown, but the crown's expectations for quick settlement and fair grants were frustrated by governors' efforts to subvert the system for their own gain. In contrast, the carefully constructed and executed land grant scheme of the British West Indies spurred development ahead of many of the North American colonies.

Corruption by colonial officers was not simply a matter of outright stealing from colonial treasuries, though there was certainly quite a lot of that. By 1765, according to one estimate, systematic smuggling, graft, extortion, and bribery in the colonies cost the British treasury some £750,000 per year. The deeper problem, however, was that colonial appointees largely viewed the purpose of their positions as being personal advancement, including the accumulation of personal wealth. Eliseus Burgess, who was appointed royal governor of Massachusetts in 1715 but remained in England, is said to have sold his governorship for £1,000. One-third of the seizures and forfeitures of vessels for violation of the seventeenth-century Navigation Acts went into the governor's personal coffers. And in Delaware, the property of persons dying intestate was granted to the governor. It is small wonder that to most colonial governors, the growth of the colonies and the freedom of their constituents ran a losing battle against personal gain.

The manner in which the governors were paid their salary varied among the individual colonies and was linked to the constant controversy over where the governor's allegiance should lie. Governors paid from the treasuries of the colonial assemblies, it was argued, should be accountable to the assemblies, not the government in Britain. Such was rarely the case, however.

Proprietary governors also struggled with their duty to their benefactors. Horatio Sharpe, governor of Maryland from 1755 to 1761, wrote of his frustration with this dual accountability: "If my hands had not been tied up by such Instructions as empty Coffers seem to have dictated I should many Months ago have had a Regiment of Maryland Troops under my Command and in all probability have been enabled to prevent any Incursions of Indians into this Province."

More governors than not were scorned and feared by the colonists. Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, royal governor of New Jersey from 1702 to 1708, treated his subjects, in the words of the New Jersey assembly, "not as Free-Men who were to be Governed by laws, but as Slaves, of whose Persons and Estates he had the sole power of disposing."

Rarely, but with increasing frequency in the eighteenth century, gubernatorial appointments were drawn from the colonists themselves, and in those cases, the results were, not surprisingly, to the benefit of the colony. Upon his appointment, the first royal governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, serving from 1741 to 1767, was greeted with enthusiasm by the colonial assembly as a governor whose "interests mixed with theirs." Wentworth, though, like other governors, was fiercely loyal to the crown, and he dismissed the assembly in 1765 for its protests against the Stamp Act.

There were examples of effective colonial leadership. William Burnet, governor at various times during the 1720s of New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts, was noted in particular for his conscientious and unselfish governance. However, the governorships and the powers invested in them allowed too much potential, in the eyes of the colonists, for corruption and manipulation, and the negative examples were seized upon as instances of the unfairness of British domination of the colonies.

DENIAL OF REPRESENTATION AND RIGHTS

Regardless of the personality or suitability of the governor, in the eyes of the colonists the most repellent aspect of the imperial system was that they helped pay for the maintenance of the empire without corresponding representation. Britain responded with the argument that like the American colonists, "all British subjects are really in the same [condition]; none are actually, all are virtually represented in Parliament." This virtual, not actual, representation—accountability to Parliament, without any say in its policies or governance—caused the deepest colonial resentment.

Another source of contention in the colonies was the application of law. Were colonists governed by English law or could they adapt the legal system to their particular needs? Realizing the similarities of the situation in the Atlantic with that of Ireland, some in Parliament suggested that Poyning's Law (1494), which restricted the Irish Parliament from taking action on any law that was not approved by the English throne, be applied to the American colonies as well.

Most historians refer to the American Revolution as marking the end of the first British Empire, and it was royal attempts to consolidate and organize imperial power in the Atlantic that may have brought about this end. The inferiority of the men entrusted with governance contributed, but the overriding factor may simply have been the colonists' belief in British liberties and natural rights, a belief that the home government failed to recognize, with fatal consequences for their Atlantic empire.

See also **Constitutionalism: American Colonies; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Origins of American Politics.* New York: Knopf, 1968.

———. *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Burrows, Edwin G. "Corruption." In *The Reader's Companion to American History.* Edited by Eric Foner and John A. Garraty. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1991.

Carrington, C. E. *The British Overseas: Exploits of a Nation of Shopkeepers.* London: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Churchill, Winston. *History of the English-Speaking Peoples.* New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965.

Greene, Evarts B. *The Provincial Governor in the English Colonies of North America.* New York: Longmans, Green, 1898.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Hall, Hubert. "Chatham's Colonial Policy." *American Historical Review* 5 (1900): 659–675.

Henretta, James A. *"Salutary Neglect": Colonial Administration under the Duke of Newcastle.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Home, William Douglas, ed. *The Prime Ministers: Stories and Anecdotes from Number 10.* London: W. H. Allen, 1987.

Hunt, William. *The History of England, from the Accession of George III to the Close of Pitt's First Administration (1760–1801).* New York: Greenwood, 1969.

James, Lawrence. *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire.* London: Little, Brown, 1994.

Mises, Ludwig von. "Senior's Lectures on Monetary Problems." *Economic Journal* 43 (1933): 525–530.

Murdoch, D. H. "Land Policy in the Eighteenth-Century British Empire: The Sale of Crown Lands in the Ceded Islands, 1763–1783." *Historical Journal* 27 (1984): 549–574.

Steele, Ian. "The Anointed, the Appointed, and the Elected: Governance of the British Empire, 1689–1784." In *The Oxford History of the British Empire.* Volume 2, *The Eighteenth Century.* Edited by P. J. Marshall. Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Thackeray, Frank W., and John E. Findling, eds. *Events That Changed America in the Eighteenth Century.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1998.

Ubbelohde, Carl. *The American Colonies and the British Empire, 1607–1763.* New York: Crowell, 1968.

Watson, Alan D. "The Quitrent System in Royal South Carolina." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 33 (1976): 183–211.

Winch, D. N. "Classical Economics and the Case for Colonization", *Economica*, Vol. 30, No. 120 (Nov. 1963): 387-399

Wood, Gordon S. *The American Revolution: A History.* New York: Modern Library, 2002.

Doug Krehbiel

BUILDING TECHNOLOGY *See* **Civil Engineering and Building Technology; Construction and Home Building.**

BUNKER HILL, BATTLE OF

The Battle of Bunker Hill (17 June 1775) unfolded as a spectacle before thousands of onlookers, searing their memories along with those of future Americans. In this first pitched battle of the American Revolution, the finest troops of the British army stormed a hill occupied by exhausted, disorganized, inexperienced New Englanders. Both sides experienced heavy casualties. As a result, the British would prove more cautious in their subsequent movements against Americans, while Americans came to realize their need for organized leadership now that they had begun an open, violent revolt.

During the two months after the Battles of Lexington and Concord in April 1775, the Massachusetts provincial government assembled an army of fifteen to twenty thousand New Englanders around British-occupied Boston. General Thomas Gage, royal governor of Massachusetts, had done nothing during this time to dislodge these forces or extend his effective control beyond Boston. On the night of 16 June 1775, fearing a British movement, Colonel William Prescott and his detachment of New Englanders occupied an important position atop Breed's Hill on Charlestown peninsula (though the Massachusetts Committee of Safety had ordered them to Bunker Hill, for which the battle was named). This untrained army, insufficiently equipped with artillery, could not hope to hold the hill, yet did so for two and a half hours on 17 June.

The battle gave three British generals their first taste of fighting against Americans: the cautious William Howe; the tenacious yet unheeded Sir Henry Clinton; and the self-important John Burgoyne. The commanders unwisely decided to throw a frontal assault against the New Englanders' lines when flanking maneuvers would have dispatched the Americans more effectively. The British troops attempted the defensive fortifications three times, and the Americans cut them down in droves with sustained musket fire. Meanwhile, the Royal Navy cannonaded the empty town of Charlestown, reducing it to cinders. The New Englanders demonstrated remarkable resolve as they held their position without ever receiving reinforcements. As the New Englanders ran out of ammunition, the British finally routed the defenders with a bayonet charge and commanded the heights of Charlestown peninsula.

General Clinton described the battle as "a dear bought victory, another such would have ruined us." About half of the 2,200 British troops (including 92 officers) sustained wounds or died, compared to approximately 400 of their American enemies killed or wounded. The British came to the sickening realization that quelling the American rebellion would come with a terrible price in casualties. Any hopes for reconciliation, or, alternatively, for military occupation of inland Massachusetts, were now fading.

Americans, meanwhile, lamented their failure to occupy the peninsula and the death of Patriot leader Dr. Joseph Warren, who fell during the battle. They howled with outrage at the destruction of Charlestown; Benjamin Franklin disingenuously accused the British of having "barbarously plundered and burnt a fine, undefended Town." The authors of the Declaration of Independence would later explicitly list such destruction among their grievances against the king. The Battle of Bunker Hill marked out heroes, cowards, and martyrs, giving both sides much to
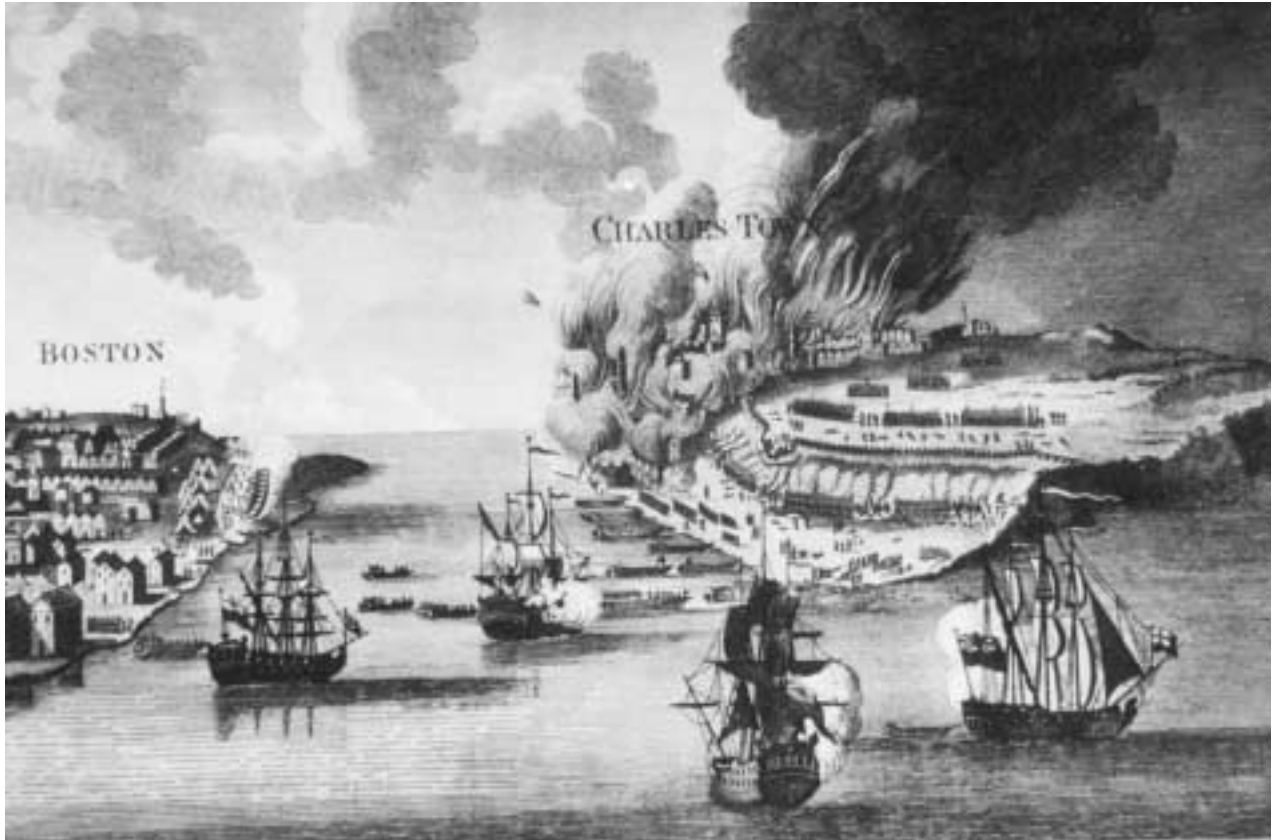
The Attack on Bunker Hill. The Battle of Bunker Hill, shown here in John Lodge's *View of the Attack on Bunker Hill, with the Burning of Charles Town, June 17, 1775* (1783), was actually fought on nearby Breed's Hill. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS & PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION.

ponder during this first year of the American Revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ketchum, Richard M. *Decisive Day: The Battle for Bunker Hill.* New York: Holt, 1974.

Purcell, Sarah J. *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002.

Benjamin L. Carp

BURNED-OVER DISTRICT   *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

BURR CONSPIRACY   After two centuries, the Burr Conspiracy (1804–1807) remains among the most mysterious events in American history. Other than Aaron Burr and, perhaps, a few of his closest friends, no one at the time could determine precisely what Burr intended, and no one since has definitively established his thinking.

Burr had been a leader of the Democratic Republican Party in the 1790s and played a crucial role in its victory in the election of 1800. But his behavior during the final stage of that election—as the House of Representatives worked to break the electoral deadlock between him and Thomas Jefferson—had badly damaged his standing in the party and with the new president. By the fall of 1804, Vice President Burr seemed to have little political future. That year he had failed in his bid to become governor of New York and killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, for which he was indicted for murder in New York and New Jersey.

As his vice presidential term came to an end early in 1805, Burr apparently began shaping a plan to revive his fortunes in the West, probably in association with James Wilkinson—an ally from the Revolution, a leading figure in Kentucky's famed Spanish Con-

spiracy, a paid Spanish spy, and the highest-ranking general in the U.S. Army. If Burr had a single plan, he enveloped it in secrecy and mystery by telling different people different things. To some, he suggested that the ultimate goal was a division of the American Union at the Appalachian Mountains and the erection of a new, and more energetic, nation on both sides of the Mississippi Valley. To others, he revealed a plan to invade Spanish Mexico, liberate its colonists, and establish a new empire. Usually, he told potential supporters that this plan depended upon a war between the United States and Spain, occasionally even hinting that men high in the administration approved of his preparations. At other times, he insisted that the government knew nothing of his plans.

Before leaving Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1805, Burr used his remaining influence to have Wilkinson appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory. That summer and fall he traveled throughout the West, lining up supporters. The following winter he returned to the East and unfolded different versions of his plan in secret meetings with the British and Spanish ministers, hoping to secure financial and perhaps even military assistance. Over the summer of 1806, Burr's agents began recruiting men and procuring supplies and boats in preparation for his return to the West. A series of perfectly legal projects provided cover for his activities: winning election to Congress from a western state or territory, constructing a canal around the falls of the Ohio River at Louisville, and settling an immense tract of land in the Orleans Territory (the modern state of Louisiana).

Over the summer of 1806, relations between the United States and Spain verged toward war. Jefferson sent Wilkinson and the army to the disputed border between Louisiana and Texas and Burr decided to set his plans in motion, apparently trusting in events to decide which part of his plan to pursue. In October 1806, Wilkinson found himself forced to de-cide between his conflicting loyalties to Spain, the United States, and Burr. He apparently decided that Burr's "conspiracy" could not succeed and betrayed it to Jefferson, disguising his involvement as well as he could. As Wilkinson's letter raced to Washington, Burr's preparations crumbled in the face of hostile public opinion and various legal challenges. By late December, when his supporters converged at the mouth of the Cumberland River, Burr had just ten boats and less than one hundred men. On 10 January 1807 he learned of Wilkinson's treachery and Jefferson's call for his arrest when he came ashore above Natchez. He surrendered himself for a trial in the Mississippi Territory. After it proved abortive, Burr was taken to Richmond, Virginia, where he was tried for treason and for the misdemeanor of organizing an expedition against Spanish Mexico. The trial played out over seven months. Favorable rulings by Chief Justice John Marshall on evidentiary matters secured Burr's acquittal on both charges in September 1807.

Whether it existed or not, and whether it involved treason or not, the Burr Conspiracy was made to serve various political purposes. It was used by Republicans—in the administration, the major newspapers, and the West—to show the intensity of western loyalty, to demonstrate the energy of republican (and Republican) government, and to blast the patriotism of most Federalists. Federalists, in turn, presented Burr and his friends as victims of Jeffersonian persecution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abernethy, Thomas Perkins. *The Burr Conspiracy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Lomask, Milton. *Aaron Burr.* 2 vols. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979, 1982.

Melton, Buckner F., Jr. *Aaron Burr: Conspiracy to Treason.* New York: Wiley, 2000.

James E. Lewis Jr.

CABINET AND EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

In 1787 the Constitution created a federal government with broad powers. But if the Constitution stated what that government *could* do, it did not state *how* it should do it. Creating a practical means for implementing the Constitution would become the daily task of the president, his cabinet, and a small but far-reaching federal workforce reporting to the executive. The federal government exercised limited powers within the states themselves; thus daily operations within the executive responded primarily to foreign relations or to matters concerning the territorial periphery.

When the first federal officials—President George Washington, Vice President John Adams, members of the House and Senate, and a small clerical staff—reached the new capital in New York in 1789, they arrived without any clear mandate for how best to distribute power within the federal government. Participants at the Constitutional Convention had spent little time on the subject of practical policymaking, nor had it been a dominant subject in the debate over ratification. Some federal leaders believed that the advice and consent clause of the Constitution not only permitted but required extensive Senate involvement in direct management of any federal bureaucracy. Others, working primarily from their belief in Washington's own leadership ability, assumed that the president himself would take direct charge of the men who served him.

Federal leaders eventually agreed that both approaches were impractical, requiring either a level of centralization that no man could run effectively and a tyrant might use dangerously, or a level of inefficient decentralization that would result from direct congressional involvement. The executive and Congress together crafted a system of cabinet officials clearly within the executive that drew most of its inspiration from European—especially British—models. But it did break from the British system in one important way. Unlike the parliamentary system operating in London, where cabinet ministers usually held seats in Parliament, the Constitution's requirement for a separation of powers prohibited service in both the cabinet and Congress.

The structure established in the Washington administration (1789–1797) underwent few changes throughout the early Republic. The administration initially consisted of State and Treasury Departments and a War Department that controlled both the small federal army and a nonexistent navy. Although technically part of the cabinet, the attorney general functioned as a legal advisor with only limited administrative duties outside the capital. Meanwhile, the Postmaster General reported to the State Department

but enjoyed quasi–independent status within the cabinet because of its considerable budget and nationwide reach. The only major changes to the cabinet structure came almost a decade later. First, as the United States mobilized a fleet at sea in 1797, Congress created a separate Navy Department. Second, the open rift between President John Adams (1797–1801) and his vice president, Thomas Jefferson, replaced the dynamics within the Washington administration, where Adams chafed at the limited constitutional powers of the vice presidency but nonetheless remained an important policymaker through his personal relationship with Washington.

The situation only intensified after the election of 1800. Jefferson never forgave Aaron Burr, his own vice president during his first term (1801–1805), for his failure to disavow a last-minute bid for the presidency in 1800. Not only did this situation inspire the Twelfth Amendment, which created the system of official presidential and vice presidential candidates, but it also prompted Jefferson in his second term (1805–1809), as well as Presidents Madison (1809–1817) and Monroe (1817–1825), to choose as their running mates aging politicians of limited dynamism whose primary benefit would be to deliver regional votes.

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE CABINET

The distribution of power inside the cabinet revealed a consistency that mirrored structural arrangements. After the president, the secretary of state was first among equals. In addition to its current role in foreign policy, the State Department also oversaw direct administration of the federal territories (later assigned to the Interior Department), authority over U.S. attorneys (eventually housed in the Justice Department), and liaison responsibilities with Congress and state governors (now the responsibility of a variety of White House officials). Only the Treasury Department—and its leadership—came close to rivaling the State Department.

Leading political figures naturally gravitated toward this office, and presidents recognized that the State Department was a logical appointment for their closest allies. All of the Democratic Republican presidents (Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams) served prior to their own presidencies as secretary of state for other presidents. Only the last Democratic Republican secretary of state, Henry Clay (serving under John Quincy Adams from 1825 to 1829), failed in his bid for the presidency.

Only secretaries of the Treasury came close to matching the influence of their colleagues from the State Department. This was the obvious case in the Washington administration, during which Alexander Hamilton (serving from 1789 to 1795) battled with Jefferson for influence with the president and for control over the national agenda. Likewise, during his lengthy tenure in office, from 1801 to 1814, Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin remained one of President Jefferson's and President Madison's closest confidants. William Crawford of Georgia also proved influential during his own extended tenure as secretary of the Treasury from 1816 to 1825. He left the office after coming in third out of four candidates in the divisive presidential campaign of 1824.

In sharp contrast, the War Department exercised relatively little direct influence on policymaking, this despite the United States Army's status as the largest single source of federal employment and, accordingly, the largest item in the federal budget. Henry Knox, who served as secretary of war for Washington from 1789 to 1795, and his successors concerned themselves primarily with administrative matters, implementing policies usually developed in collaboration between the president, the secretaries of state and the Treasury, and other confidants. This arrangement was also in keeping with efforts to preserve civilian authority over the military. Although John C. Calhoun brought unprecedented political power to the War Department during the Monroe administration (1817–1825), he was the exception that proved the rule. Calhoun also oversaw the final transfer of most of the State Department's responsibility for Indian affairs to the War Department. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams seemed eager to dispense with Indian affairs, part of Adams's own efforts to reorganize procedures within the State Department. Calhoun was able to use the War Department as a stepping-stone to the vice presidency (1825–1832) under both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson.

If political relationships within the cabinet remained consistent, relations between the executive and Congress varied. After sharing a general consensus on many policymaking issues during the first and second Congresses, the emerging Jeffersonian opposition in Congress actively resisted the executive during the 1790s. This situation reversed itself from 1801 to 1804, after the Republicans took control of the executive but before they constructed a majority in Congress. Yet partisanship alone did not dictate these problems. Members of both parties challenged the constitutionality of executive action in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase, questioned the prudence

of the Embargo of 1807–1809, and openly challenged military planning during the War of 1812.

MANAGING THE CABINET AND FEDERAL AGENCIES

Whatever the developments within the federal capital, the daily reality of executive operations was more often a product of external developments both at home and abroad. The cabinet offices that saw the greatest changes were the army and the navy, and for obvious reasons. Throughout most of the 1790s and the early 1800s, the army underwent regular restructuring and a general increase in size as the federal government struggled to establish or preserve racial supremacy over the Indians of the western frontiers. The Quasi-War with France and the embargo led to short-lived increases to the army. But it was the War of 1812 that caused the largest and most sustained military buildup in the early Republic. Equally important, the disastrous military campaigns in 1812 and 1813 led officials in Congress to demand a series of administrative reforms within the army that continued into the 1820s. The navy saw similar increases during the Quasi-War, the Tripolitan War of 1801–1805, and the War of 1812.

The State Department experienced its own growing pains. The ongoing federal governance of the Old Northwest and the subsequent acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase, the Gulf Coast, and the Florida Peninsula required the consistent expansion of the territorial system. Managing those frontier territories also forced the State Department to become actively involved in asserting white control over Indians, slaves, and free people of color in places where that power seemed most tenuous. Meanwhile, increasing commercial engagements overseas led Congress to authorize a growing number of foreign ministers and consuls.

In all these cabinet agencies, the number of administrative staff officials in the various federal capitals remained small even as the number of officials serving at home and abroad continued to grow. Weeding through the vast number of applicants seeking federal patronage was a major task for all members of the cabinet. Managing those officials after they received their appointments was no less taxing. Federal patronage also became one of the most potentially politicized activities of government. The use of patronage as a political tool only increased in the antebellum era as politicians increasingly looked on federal appointment as a means to achieving strategic party goals.

Indeed, the changing attitude toward the use of patronage represented one of the most important shifts from the Age of Jefferson to the Age of Jackson.

See also **Congress; Constitutional Convention; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Embargo; Louisiana Purchase; Presidency, The; Quasi-War with France; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Crenson, Matthew A. *The Federal Machine: Beginnings of Bureaucracy in Jacksonian America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975.

Cunningham, Noble E. *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations*, *1801–1809.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Ketcham, Ralph. *Presidents Above Party: The First American Presidency*, *1789–1829.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

White, Leonard D. *The Federalists: A Study in Administrative History.* New York: Macmillan, 1948; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

———. *The Jeffersonians: A Study in Administrative History*, *1801–1829.* New York: Macmillan, 1951.

Peter J. Kastor

CAIN RIDGE *See* **Revivals and Revivalism.**

CAMP FOLLOWERS At Yorktown, Virginia, the site in 1781 of the last major battle of the American Revolution, Sarah Osborn remembered that she took her stand "just back of the American tents, say about a mile from the town, and busied [herself] washing, mending, and cooking for the soldiers, in which [she] was assisted by the other females; some men washed their own clothing." While her "husband was there throwing up entrenchments . . . [she] cooked and carried in beef, and bread, and coffee (in a gallon pot) to the soldiers in the entrenchment." When General George Washington stopped her on one of these trips and asked her if she "was not afraid of the cannonballs," she replied, "No, the bullets would not cheat the gallows. It would not do for the men to fight and starve too."

Sarah Osborn belonged to the army, but she was not enlisted, and she was no "whore," an undeserved reputation accorded to "camp followers." Premodern armies had commissaries but no quartermaster corps. Instead, they relied on civilians to meet the soldiers' needs. Most often they were the soldiers' wives and daughters, and many times they brought their children, who also provided for the troops. Sometimes they were men too, and civilian men and women served as deputies, clerks, wagoners, conductors, nurses, sutlers, artificers, and laborers, and were paid as designated "retainers to a camp . . . persons . . . serving with the armies of the United States." Color did not matter, nor did social status. Camp followers were black and white, freedpeople and slaves. Many times they were refugees whose lives had been destroyed by the British army and who followed American troops for protection and employment. This tradition of relying on civilians came from European armies, and Americans had used it in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

During the course of the Revolution, General Washington recognized the indispensability of camp followers and issued rations at the rate of one retainer for every fifteen soldiers. The rest of the retainers would have to provide for themselves by contracting their services directly to soldiers. Women and some men in this position most often served a "mess" of three to four troops. Male and female, adult and child, these retainers formed a community with their soldiers, and together they fought and won the American Revolution.

See also **Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dann, John C., ed. *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Mayer, Holly A. *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996.

Paul Douglas Newman

CANADA In 1749 a small fleet of British ships anchored in Chebucto Harbour and disembarked 2,500 passengers to begin the establishment of Halifax as the new capital of Nova Scotia and as the North American base for the Royal Navy. In Newfoundland, Captain George Brydges Rodney, governor and naval commodore posted to the island for the fishing season, undertook a major overhaul of the system of naval governance. Back in Britain, Parliament held inquiries on the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), with a particular focus on whether it was fulfilling its charter obligations to search for the Northwest Passage.

These simultaneous developments reflected a heightened British interest in overseas enterprises, particularly after Britain's poor showing in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). They also represented policies originating in Britain, whether from the Ministry, Parliament, or the Admiralty, and that were implemented in colonies acquired in the eighteenth century, such as Nova Scotia, and commercial enterprises, such as the fishery and fur trade. This trend of overseas involvement became even more pronounced and widely applied after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), but in the older colonies settled in the seventeenth century the metropolitan government met serious resistance. Acceptance of those policies or resistance to them reflected two distinct political geographies in British North America. One encompasses the colonies settled in the seventeenth century, which became the United States. The other encompasses the commercial territories and the colonies acquired by conquest in the eighteenth century, which eventually became the modern state of Canada.

A REMADE IMPERIAL LANDSCAPE

At the start of the Seven Years' War, which unofficially began in the Ohio River Valley in 1754, Britain held more territory than France in the northern half of North America. France's control of Canada (the colony along the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes) and Île Royale (or Cape Breton), however, made it the dominant power. Britain's control over Nova Scotia had remained tenuous since its conquest in 1710 and its cession in 1713. By 1754 the number of English-speaking, Protestant settlers had declined to approximately 2,000, although supplemented by 2,500 "Foreign Protestants." The French-speaking, Catholic Acadians were numerically dominant at approximately 15,000 persons. The native peoples in the region numbered around 2,000, but remained a redoubtable military power. Newfoundland had over 5,000 permanent settlers, but they were scattered in outports along hundreds of miles of coastline and were oriented to a transatlantic, not continental North American, world. The Hudson's Bay Company, despite its detractors, was a remarkably stable

A View of the Taking of Quebeck by the English Forces Commanded by Gen. Wolfe, Sep 13, 1759. This engraving from a 1760 issue of *London Magazine* shows the fall of Quebec to the British in 1759, a conquest that added thousands of French-speaking Catholic residents to the British Empire. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

British presence in North America. All of its trading forts, however, were on the shore of the bay, and it assiduously avoided involvement in military conflicts either as allies of native peoples or against the French. Thus these northern British territories were no match for the more integrated parts of New France, particularly the port of Louisbourg on Île Royale, the commercial and administrative centers of Quebec and Montreal surrounded by their well-populated agricultural parishes, and the extensive network of military and trading forts in the St. Lawrence–Great Lakes watershed.

With the outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities in 1754, British officials in Nova Scotia decided to attack Fort Beauséjour, which the French surrendered in June 1755, along with two other forts in the region. Governor Charles Lawrence then issued orders for the deportation of Acadians to colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. By 1756, when war was declared in Europe, a new British imprint was impressing itself on the cultural and political landscape of the Northeast.

Deportations of Acadians continued from 1755 to 1762, leaving vacant thousands of acres of fertile farmland along the Bay of Fundy. After the fall of Louisbourg in 1758, Governor Lawrence invited New Englanders to move to Nova Scotia, and by autumn 1760 approximately 7,000 had settled either on vacated Acadian lands or in South Shore fishing ports. Meanwhile refugee Acadians, both those who eluded deportation and those who returned, settled in remote areas, such as the upper reaches of the Saint John River, on the north shore of Cape Breton, and along the Bay of Chaleur. Large communities of Irish Catholic fishermen congregated in Halifax and Canso, while Irish Protestant farming families settled among New Englanders, along with immigrants out of Yorkshire. In Lunenburg, German and Swiss Protestants put down deep roots.

The Island of St. John (renamed Prince Edward Island in 1799) was added to Nova Scotia in 1763, but politicking in Britain resulted in its division into 20,000-acre townships and their distribution by lottery to wealthy proprietors, who agreed to settle the island. They then asked to be separated from Nova Scotia, which the Ministry agreed to do in 1769 if the proprietors agreed to finance the colonial government through quitrents (land taxes paid to proprietors). By 1775 approximately 1,500 tenants from Scotland, Ireland, and England had settled on the island. To the north in Newfoundland, the permanent population grew to over 12,000 by 1780, dividing itself between Irish Catholics along the Avalon Peninsula and West Country settlers along Conception, Bonavista, and Trinity Bays.

The fall of Quebec and Montreal in 1759 and 1760, respectively, added approximately 70,000 French-speaking, Catholic residents to the British Empire, as well as thousands of native peoples, many of whom had previously been allies of the French. The British devised distinct policies for inhabitants in these newest territories of the empire, articulated most prominently in the Proclamation of 1763 and the 1774 Quebec Act. Native peoples were to be self-governing, and their right of occupation on the land could not be extinguished except through an agent of the Crown. The Quebec Act provided for the continuation of French civil law and thereby the seigneurial system of landholding, and it allowed Catholics to hold public office and the Catholic Church to collect tithes.

A few Britons and British Americans moved into Quebec, most prominently Highland Scots who quickly came to dominate the ownership and management of the Montreal-based fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Company had anticipated that the French defeat in North America would attenuate fur trade competition. Instead, the Highland Scots proved to be every bit as, if not more, aggressive than their French predecessors. The Montreal-traders pushed north-westward around Lake Winnipeg, traveled west along the Saskatchewan River system (even though they were on lands included in the HBC charter), and by 1778 had crossed into the Arctic watershed. This aggressive expansion finally forced the HBC to establish inland posts after a century of trading from forts on the Bay.

The American Revolution reconfigured the cultural landscape of North America once again. Approximately 100,000 Loyalists chose to leave the United States, half of whom resettled in the northern loyal colonies. Approximately 35,000 came to Nova Scotia, 20,000 of whom settled in peninsular Nova Scotia. The other 15,000 landed in ports in mainland Nova Scotia and by 1784 persuaded the British government to set them off as the colony of New Brunswick. Among them were 3,000 free blacks, who soon learned that freedom did not bring equality in the distribution of land, in political rights, or in treatment by the courts. In 1792 over a thousand left for Sierra Leone, part of the first resettlement of free blacks in West Africa. Another 15,000 Loyalists settled south and west of Montreal, and soon were agitating for an elected assembly and English common law rather than French civil law. In 1791 Parliament obliged them by passing the Constitutional Act, which divided Quebec into Lower Canada and Upper Canada, the former predominantly French Canadian and the latter English Canadian. In Newfoundland, privateering during the American Revolution disrupted the migratory fishery, prompting a rise in permanent settlement on the island. Similar disruptions during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) effectively ended the migratory fishery.

Unrelated to but simultaneous with the American Revolution was the third and last exploratory expedition of James Cook to the Pacific (1776–1780). Among the expedition's significant landfalls was Nootka Sound on the coast of Vancouver Island, where western Europeans got their first glimpse of the highly lucrative but short-lived trade in sea otter pelts. Reports from the expedition unleashed a race for the Pacific, both by water routes and across North America from Montreal. In 1793 an overland expedition led by the Highland Scot Alexander Mackenzie reached the Pacific, and his published account influenced Thomas Jefferson's decision to commission an American overland expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

At the turn of the nineteenth century, there were seven British North American colonies. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada were established jurisdictions. In 1841 the Canadas were combined as one colony with two halves, Canada East and Canada West. Cape Breton became a separate colony in 1784, but political dissent and attempts at imperial economy prompted the British government to reunite it with Nova Scotia in 1820. Newfoundland had long had more inhabitants than some colonies, but not until 1824 did a governor reside on the island year-round and oversee the institutionalization of a more comprehensive colonial government.

Rupert's Land, the Mackenzie Basin, and the Oregon Country were under the administration of the HBC after 1821. In 1811 the Scottish earl of Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, received a grant from the HBC of 116,000 square miles south of Lake Winnipeg to establish the colony of Assiniboia (or Red River). The arrival of Scottish and Swiss settlers prompted armed resistance from the North West Company and the local Métis community, that supplied pemmican and buffalo meat for the fur trade. The conflict contributed to the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, when Red River came under HBC governance. Although the settlement did not initially attract immigrants, it became a major settlement of Métis and retirees from the HBC.

Political culture in post–1783 British North America was strongly influenced by the decision of the British government to enhance the executive powers of governors. Colonists were soon agitating for greater access to political power. As noted above, the complaints of Loyalists in Quebec resulted in the division of the colony with the 1791 Constitutional Act and the establishment of assemblies in both Lower Canada and Upper Canada. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the coming of extended peace, colonists became outspoken, and at times militant, critics of executive powers. Governors and executive councils controlled contracts for public works—such as roads, canals, post offices, and schools—as well as the distribution of public lands, which became a significant issue with the surge in immigration after 1815. Gubernatorial control of executive council appointments also institutionalized biases, particularly ones based on ethnicity, religion, and family connections.

In Lower Canada and Upper Canada, political pressure for reform erupted in armed uprisings in 1837 and 1838. After the suppression of the rebellions and the transportation of some of the French Canadian rebels to Australia, the British government dispatched Lord Durham to the Canadas to investigate the causes of the uprisings and possible solutions. His famous *Report on the Affairs in British North America* (1839) recommended the legislative union of the Canadas, which occurred in 1841, with the untenable objective of assimilating French Canadians to Anglophone (English–speaking) culture. He also recommended implementing responsible government, in which the executive council would be appointed from elected members of the provincial assemblies. Nova Scotia received responsible government in 1847, the Canadas in 1848, Prince Edward Island in 1851, New Brunswick in 1854, and Newfoundland in 1855.

Movements for political change in British North America were more progressive than similar movements in Europe, and generally more conservative than movements in the United States. But in some respects the British North American colonies were more liberal than their neighbor to the south. Most particularly, they eliminated slavery before the empire abolished it in the 1830s and decades before the United States abolished it in the 1860s. Nineteenth-century British North Americans were also aware that their relevant standards of comparison for social change were in Britain, other white settler colonies in the empire, and the United States. Thus while societal changes in both the United States and British North America suggested that their development was converging, the particularities of their histories reaching back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often proved more determinative of distinctive identities than their shared occupation of North America.

See also **Acadians; Exploration and Explorers; French; Fur and Pelt Trade; Immigration and Immigrants: Canada.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bannister, Jerry. *The Rule of the Admirals: Law, Custom, and Naval Government in Newfoundland, 1699–1832.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

Baskerville, Peter A. *Ontario: Image, Identity, and Power.* Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Buckner, Phillip A., and John G. Reid, eds. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.

Bumsted, J. M. *The Peoples of Canada: A Pre-Confederation History.* 2nd ed. Don Mills, Ont.: Oxford University Press, 2003–2004.

Dickinson, John, and Brian Young. *A Short History of Quebec.* 3rd ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Friesen, Gerald. *The Canadian Prairies: A History.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985.

Gentilcore, R. Louis, ed. *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. 2: *The Land Transformed, 1800–1891.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Harris, R. Cole, ed. *The Historical Atlas of Canada*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginning to 1800.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Mancke, Elizabeth. "Early Modern Imperial Governance and the Origins of Canadian Political Culture." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique* 32, no. 1 (1999): 3–20.

Elizabeth Mancke

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT "You shall be hanged by the neck till you be dead" were the final words pronounced by the judge in capital cases where the jury delivered a guilty verdict. Newspapers recounted scenes of the individual, followed by a coffin, marched through town, often past crowds assembled for the public spectacle. The condemned ascended the steps of the scaffold, where a clergyman offered absolution before the noose was placed around the neck, and the floor dropped from beneath the feet of the hapless individual. The still-living body jerked and choked; the bladder and bowels evacuated upon death. Broadsides and pamphlets completed the execution, warning what awaited anyone who transgressed the rules of the new social order.

Capital punishment continued, despite the new nation's claims to a successful revolution that resulted in, among other things, independence from England's sanguinary penal code. Although the new states used the death penalty for fewer offenses than England, it continued in a nation that prided itself on being a republic ruled by reason and law. In virtually all cases, states, not the federal government, determined under what circumstances capital punishment was appropriate.

Some of the founding generation loathed seeing a body swinging from the gallows, and though they could not bring themselves to advocate its complete abolition, their voices prevailed in diminishing its use. The primary proponents of the death penalty were the clergy, who quoted the Old Testament in justifying it. The Society of Friends, however, was the first and most visible group to oppose capital punishment. In 1792 Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, published a treatise of considerable importance in the movement to reduce the use of capital punishment. He was followed in 1793 by William Bradford, attorney general for Pennsylvania, who wrote that hanging was an unnecessary deterrent. These thinkers and the Society of Friends had been influential in establishing the first prison in the United States, designed to replace corporal and capital punishment with rehabilitative incarceration.

After independence, there were fewer crimes for which an individual could be executed. After 1783 adultery, sodomy, and witchcraft were no longer capital crimes. Pennsylvania was at the forefront of the movement to reduce the number of capital offenses. In 1790 it started punishing lesser crimes with imprisonment instead, and in 1794 Pennsylvania became the first state to use the death penalty for first-degree murder only. Northern and Midwestern states followed Pennsylvania's lead, while southern states continued the death penalty for many offenses, especially those committed by enslaved people.

While every state provided for capital punishment, Virginia outstripped all other states in its use, officially executing 521 people, most of them enslaved, between 1754 and 1829. Through the colonies and then the states more men than women, and more black women than white women, received the ultimate punishment. Women were most frequently executed for committing murder, arson, and infanticide. Also executed were some of the few remaining Native Americans.

Every state inherited designated crimes for which only enslaved people could be executed. In the North, death penalty codes drew sharp distinctions along racial lines until 1780, when Pennsylvania began the process of abolishing slavery and in the process eliminated racially specific penal practices. In southern states, such as Virginia, whites were not usually condemned to death for theft, but enslaved people accused of the same crime fell victim to the hangman until 1785. Between 1785 and 1829 enslaved people constituted the vast majority of Virginians put to death.

Literature about the condemned came in a variety of forms. A few convicts sentenced to death told their stories from the gallows, though most did not. Their narratives were posthumously published and distributed by those desiring to ensure social order and assert the power of government in the new Republic. Execution sermons, which originated in colonial Massachusetts, initially served to edify congregations assembled in church on Sunday, or gathered on the day of the hanging where the condemned person stood before them. By the time the new Republic was established, execution literature had become increasingly secular and rather formulaic: the condemned confessing sins, thanking judges, warning others not to follow in their footsteps, praying for salvation, and describing tragedies they had encountered in life. The purpose of these tracts was to make available to readers of the early national period the authorities' perspectives on social conditions and social order. Unfortunately, one cannot know with certainty the true thoughts of the condemned, but recently some of their stories have been salvaged from court records and other documents.

Capital punishment continues into the twenty-first century, but by the end of the nineteenth century it had disappeared from public view, to be carried

out only behind penitentiary walls and before a selected audience.

See also **Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Law: State Law and Common Law; Law: Women and the Law; Police and Law Enforcement; Professions: Lawyers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banner, Stuart. *The Death Penalty: An American History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Bradford, William. *An Enquiry How Far the Punishment of Death Is Necessary in Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: Dobson, 1793.

Brown, Irene, and Richard Brown. *The Hanging of Ephraim Wheeler: A Story of Rape, Incest, and Justice in Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Davis, David Brion. "The Movement to Abolish Capital Punishment in America, 1787–1861. *American Historical Review* 63, no. 1 (Oct. 1957): 23–46.

Friedman, Lawrence M. *Crime and Punishment in American History.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Hindus, Michael. *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina, 1767–1878.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Masur, Louis P. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Rush, Benjamin. *Considerations on the Injustice and Impolicy of Punishing Murder by Death.* Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1792.

Vila, Bryan, and Cynthia Morris, eds. *Capital Punishment in the United States: A Documentary History.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1997.

Leslie Patrick

CARTOGRAPHY In North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was intense rivalry between France and Britain for possession of North America. The European description and representation of the New World was never innocent of political implications. Therefore, geographic representations of the New World were always tied to the claiming of the New World.

In 1718, the same year that a French merchant company founded the city of New Orleans, Guillaume Delisle (1675–1726), whose official title was premier geographe du roi (first royal geographer), produced his map, "Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi." In the map, "La Louisiane" is placed in broad letters across the entire Mississippi River basin. Delisle's map was immensely influential and was used as a template for almost fifty years. Thomas Jefferson had a copy of the map, and it was an important source of information for the Lewis and Clark expedition (1803–1806).

In direct response to Delisle's map of 1718, Henry Popple (d. 1743), clerk to the Board of Trade in Britain, was commissioned to make a new map of North America that reflected British interests. His huge map, printed in 1733, is one of the largest maps of the entire eighteenth century, measuring ninety-three by eighty-nine inches. As the rivalry between Britain and France increased, the Board of Trade in 1750 asked John Mitchell (1711–1768) to prepare a map of the British colonies in North America. Mitchell was a cartographer, physician, and botanist. He emigrated to Virginia in 1725, returning to England in 1746. The map was first drawn in 1750 but corrected and improved until it was published in 1755. Mitchell's map became a base point for subsequent British cartographic representations of North America. Twenty-one editions were published between 1755 and 1791. The fourth edition of Mitchell's map lay across the negotiating table for the Treaty of Paris (1783) and was used to draw up the boundaries between the United States and its neighbors. Later versions of the map were used by the Lewis and Clark expedition.

MILITARY MAPS AND MAPMAKERS
The maps of Delisle, Popple, and Mitchell provided only a general picture of geopolitical alignments and claims. Some of the earliest detailed maps emerged from the French and Indian War (1754–1763). The British sent a large number of surveyors and mapmakers to North America at the beginning of the war to prepare better maps and surveys. Military surveyors and engineers, such as Samuel Holland (d. 1801), John Montresor (1736–1799), and Francis Pfister, became part of a sustained cartographic endeavor. After the war ended they continued to produce accurate maps and detailed surveys, many of them subsequently printed by commercial publishers.

To conduct war, it is essential to have accurate maps. In 1777 Washington wrote to Congress that the lack of good maps was a great disadvantage to the Continental Army. Congress agreed, and later that year it appointed Robert Erskine (1735–1780) as geographer, who in turn employed Simeon DeWitt (1738–1834). Under Erskine's leadership many maps were drawn, consisting of almost three hundred separate sheets and accurate road maps. DeWitt

returned to New York to become the state's first surveyor general in 1784. In that post he had an illustrious career that involved producing a detailed map of the state in 1802, a map of the route of the Erie Canal (1808), and a map of Manhattan in 1811. The Manhattan map laid down the system of streets and avenues that guided the subsequent development of the city, giving it a distinctive grid alignment.

EXPLORING THE WEST

Before expansion could properly take place, the new nation needed to understand what lay in the blank space of the West, called "unexplored territory" on many maps published in the late eighteenth century. The answer was to conduct surveys and make maps. From 1800 to 1838, much of the mapping of the national territory was undertaken by the military on an informal, ad hoc basis. The resulting maps were essentially claims to territory, paper trails in a quest for imperial expansion.

Federal mapping of the unexplored territory was a spasmodic affair. Survey teams were sent out on an irregular basis with differing aims, methods, and agendas. The most famous is the Lewis and Clark expedition, sent out by Jefferson to find a trade route to the Pacific. The manuscript map by William Clark
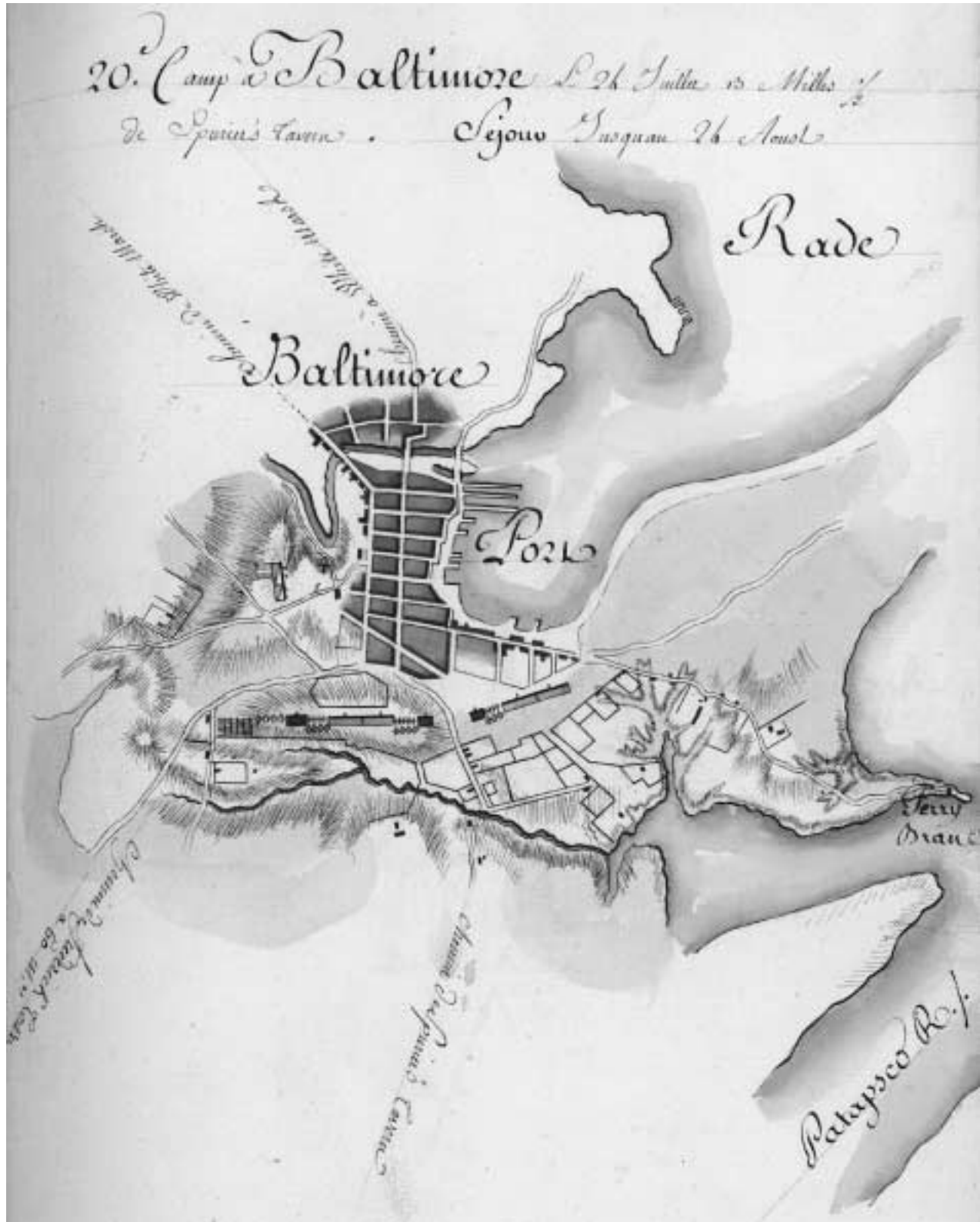
Camp à Baltimore. This ink and watercolor map of Baltimore, Maryland, was drawn in 1782 by French engineers accompanying troops under the command of the Comte de Rochambeau. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

(1770–1838) of the territory was engraved by Samuel Lewis in 1814, and this printed map became an important key to unlocking the territorial mystery of the American West. There were other mapping expeditions. Jefferson also sent out William Dunbar (c. 1750–1810) to Louisiana in 1804, and in 1819 Lieutenant Stephen Long (1784–1864) explored the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi in an eighteen-month expedition. His later expedition in 1823 traveled to the St. Peter's River in his exploration of the Red River, the forty-ninth parallel and the Rainy Lake district. In 1832 the Schoolcraft–Allen expedition went to search for the source of the Mississippi River. The western exploration was soon organized into a more rational pursuit when, in 1829, Colonel John James Abert (1788–1863) was placed in command of the Topographical Bureau in Washington. In 1838 the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers was established by Congress and charged with the exploration and development of the continent with particular attention to the problems of transportation and the construction of a scientific inventory of the vast territory.

MAPPING AND CLAIMING THE LAND

The mapping of land is essential for making legal claim to it. Maps justify, reflect, and embody deeds to land. Maps are essential for acquiring land and selling land. In May 1785, two years before the Constitution was drafted and proposed to the states, the Continental Congress passed the Land Ordinance, which covered the Northwest Territory (of the Ohio River). Its full title was "Ordinance for ascertaining the mode of disposing lands in the western territory." To sell the land, however, it first had to be surveyed. Always the mathematical rationalist, Thomas Jefferson proposed dividing the land into geographical square miles oriented north–south and east–west. A square division was simple, easily undertaken, and cheap to survey. Under the Land Ordinance and successive pieces of legislation, the land was surveyed into a rectangular grid that ran on a north–south (township) and east–west (range) system. The sheer size of the country meant that baselines had to be established; otherwise, the curvature of the earth would have caused the more northerly townships to be smaller. New baselines were established for every six to ten townships in lower latitudes and for every four to five townships in higher latitudes. Each township survey involved the compilation of field notes and the production of three manuscript maps: one copy was retained by the surveyor general, eventually becoming the property of the state; a second copy was deposited in Washington; and a third was used in the local land office. The maps in those offices became an important resource for land agents and for private sellers and buyers of land.

The very first surveys were not encouraging. Survey costs were high and receipts were disappointingly low. Better terms could be had from the private land companies. The need for revenue, however, forced the government back into the land-selling business in 1796, when the land parcel size was reduced so that in some places sections (640 acres) could be sold. Over the years the minimum size of a purchasable lot was reduced, in 1800 to a half-section (320 acres) and four years later to a quarter-section (160 acres). This steady reduction in size, along with liberal purchasing arrangements, democratized land sales—in principle if not always in practice. The appropriation of the vast new lands of the Republic was not restricted to the rich and the few. Land was opened up to the modest and the many. In the wake of the Land Ordinance and subsequent land legislation came the greatest transfer of land in the history of the world.

Mapping was also used to settle boundary disputes between the United States and its neighbors. Jay's Treaty of 1794 was an agreement between the United States and Britain to establish commissions to settle the northwest and northeast boundaries. The former never met and the latter fixed the boundary at the Saint Croix River. Pinckney's Treaty of 1795 fixed the border between Spanish West Florida and the United States at the thirty-second parallel.

But, maps were not always accurate. Land sales in upstate New York in the 1780s to people who had fought in the Revolutionary War used maps that cited nonexistent land. Maps marked areas as Great Desert that were in fact fertile. Maps were often used but not always to be trusted.

NATIONAL MAPS

The new Republic already had a popular geographical work, *Guthrie's Geography*, which was produced in England. This large text, first published in 1769, continued to be popular and appeared in successive editions until as late as 1842. However, *Guthrie's Geography* was written from the British perspective. The 1793 edition has a general map of North America including the United States, what became Canada, and part of Mexico. Although Canada is noted, the United States is not named. The latter is pushed up against a clearly depicted Canada and a vast wilderness beyond the Mississippi. The individual states have indistinct boundaries, with no obvious claims nor connections to the vast western lands, which

have Spanish or English names. The map depicts the United States as a ragtag group of small states clustering along the eastern seaboard. It exaggerates the size of Canada and the West and shrinks the new Republic to minor significance. The map is full of Indian names, especially in the West, which is depicted as peopled and filled with potential allies and trading partners. It is not an empty wilderness ripe for U.S. expansion but a populated land, a place already inhabited.

In 1794 Mathew Carey (1760–1839), an Irish immigrant to the United States, attempted to set the record straight by publishing *Guthrie's Geography* with a new text, one more favorable to the new Republic. He also had new maps drawn for the book, and these subsequently formed the basis of the first proper atlases of the Republic: Carey's *American Atlas*, published in 1795 with twenty-one maps, and *Carey's General Atlas*, published in 1796 with forty-seven maps. Both *Carey's American Atlas* and *Carey's General Atlas* contained maps of the different states, bringing them all together in one volume for the first time. It is not too fanciful to suggest that both books assisted in the unification of the newly independent states, placing the emphasis more on "united" and less on "states."

A central figure in the creation of a new national geography for the United States was John Melish. Born in Scotland in 1771, he settled in Philadelphia in 1811, where he remained for the rest of his life and became an important figure in the city's vigorous book and map publishing business. He published his first large map of the United States in 1813 at a scale of one inch to one hundred miles. In 1816 Melish produced another map of the United States. At one inch to fifty miles it was a massive map. Melish was the first mapmaker to show the United States in continental context from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The map was an act of geopolitical dominance; the new Republic had found its epic cartographic representation, which was to shape and inform subsequent westward expansion. In 1820 he produced a beautifully engraved map, designed to be hung on a wall, as a public statement of a nation in the making. This map depicts the national territory as a continent full of the promise of the new West: huge, vacant, and inviting. The general statistical table, located in the bottom left of the map, lists the population then as 18,629,903, yet Melish asserts that it is capable of supporting 500 million people. This map is not only a geographical description; it is a national celebration of a nation becoming a continental power, a map re-

flective of continental exploration and indicative of continental expansion.

See also **Exploration and Explorers; Geography; Land Policies; Northwest; Surveyors and Surveying; West.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cohen, P. E. *Mapping the West: America's Westward Movement, 1524–1890.* New York: Rizzoli, 2002.

Cumming, William P. *British Maps of Colonial America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

Goetzmann, William H. *Army Exploration in the American West 1803–1863.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1959.

Harley, J. B., Barbara Bartz Petchenik, and Lawrence W. Towner. *Mapping the American Revolutionary War.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Price, Edward T. *Dividing the Land: Early American Beginnings of Our Private Property Mosaic.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Ristow, Walter William. *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century.* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1985.

Schwartz, Seymour I., and Ralph E. Ehrenberg. *The Mapping of America.* New York: Abrams, 1980.

Short, John R. *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States.* London: Reaction, 2001.

Swift, Michael. *Historical Maps of the United States.* London: PRC, 1998.

Wheat, C. I. *Mapping the Transmississippi West.* 6 vols. San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957–1963.

John Rennie Short

CARTOONS, POLITICAL Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1775) defined caricature as drawings "intended as humour, satire, and comment." Political cartoons fit this bill as well. The first American-made example is credited to Benjamin Franklin. Originally produced to urge intercolonial union at the 1754 Albany Congress, this engraving of a dismembered snake emblazoned "Join, or Die" became the ubiquitous symbol of colonial unity during the Revolutionary period. Not until the ratification battle over the U.S. Constitution in the late 1780s did Americans begin to use cartoons as part of political discourse. Even though crudely drawn, these cartoons commented—at times through savagely direct dialogue, at other times by using pointed allegorical imagery, or both—on the intrigues, schemes, and decisions that shaped politics. For example, "Cong-ss em-

Join or Die. Benjamin Franklin's woodcut for the 9 May 1754, issue of Philadelphia's *Pennsylvania Gazette* became a symbol of colonial unity during the Revolutionary period. © CORBIS.

bark'd on Board the Ship Constitution of America," engraved in 1790, criticized attempts to locate the new nation's capital in Philadelphia. As their ship travels from New York, a devil lures members of Congress, led by Pennsylvania senator Robert Morris, toward certain death at the foot of a waterfall located just outside Philadelphia, while an unobstructed waterway leads to the proposed Potomac River location. Another contemporary cartoon depicts Morris carrying Congressional Hall on his head to Philadelphia.

British cartoons such as those produced by William Hogarth or, later, James Gillray clearly served as models for the American form. But it was the American tolerance for dissent that permitted political cartooning to flourish in the early nineteenth century. During the Adams, Jefferson, and Madison administrations, cartoons by the opposition grew particularly rancorous. Jefferson's alleged pro-French sentiments, for example, aroused his critics who portrayed him as a madman or worse. An illus-

tration entitled "The Providential Detection," dating from between 1796 and 1800, shows him on his knees before a fiery "Altar to Gallic Despotism," wrestling the Constitution away from the American eagle to consign it to the flames. A flood of negative cartoons attacked both the Americans and the British during the War of 1812. William Charles, an artist who emigrated to America from Scotland in 1806 and signed his early work "Ansell" or "Argus," created as many as three dozen cartoons during the war, many of which feature the figure of John or Johnny Bull to represent the English.

Cartoons sometimes appeared in newspapers or magazines but most often were printed as separate broadsheets and distributed in bookshops or by peddlers. With the advent of lithography in the 1820s, political cartoons were created in larger numbers and enjoyed a wider distribution. Reportedly, during President Andrew Jackson's scandal-plagued second term, as many as ten thousand copies of E. W. Clay's

"The Rats Leaving a Falling House" were produced in Philadelphia.

Few early cartoons survive, but examples can be found in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the New-York Historical Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the American Antiquarian Society.

See also **Humor; Newspapers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blaisell, Thomas C., and Peter Selz. *The American Presidency in Political Cartoons, 1776–1976.* Berkeley, Calif.: University Art Museum, 1976.

Hess, Stephen, and Milton Kaplan. *The Ungentlemanly Art: A History of American Political Cartoons.* Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1975.

Weitenkampf, Frank. *Political Caricature in the United States in Separately Published Cartoons: An Annotated List.* New York: New York Public Library, 1953.

Kym S. Rice

CATHOLICISM AND CATHOLICS Non-Catholic Americans have sometimes imagined Roman Catholicism ill-suited for the American experiment. Authoritarian, dogmatic, ritualistic, and tradition-driven, the Catholic faith for some has stood in the face of the liberalism and individualism of American culture. Such a dichotomy, however compelling in theory, does not do justice to the actual history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, particularly in the era of the American Revolution. Roman Catholics were among the nation's most ardent patriots. They not only celebrated America's democratic and republican culture, but also sought to adapt their religious practice to it. Faith in the holy Catholic Church did not diminish the passionate support of Catholics—both clerical and lay—for American ideals.

The earliest Roman Catholic growth in the New World principally followed Spanish and French colonization. In the St. Lawrence River Valley and in Florida, Louisiana, and the Southwest, Roman Catholic priests served as the religious arm of their respective empires. Although formidable in the seventeenth century, by the middle of the eighteenth century such mission work was drawing to a close owing to British supremacy in eastern North America, where the Roman Catholic presence was far weaker. Spanish Franciscan missions in Florida and French Jesuit missionary activity in Canada effactually ended in 1763 when the British gained control of these regions after the Seven Years' War. The Spanish retained a hold farther west for another half-century, allowing the Franciscans to establish dozens of missions stretching from Texas to San Francisco. But even this sovereignty ended in 1833 when an independent Mexico took over the region.

In contrast to the strategic and sometimes violent presence of the Spanish and French in the New World, English-speaking Catholic settlement in the mid-Atlantic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seems comparatively benign. Religious minorities who had found a small colonial niche in an increasingly Protestant empire, Catholic settlers would plant the seeds for a religious tradition that by the late nineteenth century emerged as the United States' largest. But growth was slow during the colonial and early national periods. On the eve of the American Revolution, Catholics comprised less than 1 percent of the European-stock population of British North America. They had clustered primarily in and around Maryland, the only colony founded by a Roman Catholic (Sir Cecil Calvert in 1634). Small pockets of Roman Catholic settlement also appeared in New York in the seventeenth century and Pennsylvania in the eighteenth. In general, Catholics settled wherever a commitment to religious liberty dampened the prevalent hostilities toward their faith.

The American Roman Catholic Church faced significant challenges in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As several scholars have shown, anti-Catholicism was a leading feature of British nationalism during this period. Not surprisingly, British Americans shared this prejudice. Despite the prominence of several leading Catholics in the Revolutionary generation, including Charles Carroll, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, they were unable to escape the opprobrium associated with their faith. Even Maryland was not immune, and periodically Protestants there had tried to place bans on public displays of Catholic devotion. Added to this persecution, a crisis in European Catholicism provoked Pope Clement XIV in 1773 to dissolve the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), an order responsible for training and supporting the vast majority of America's small body of clergy. This institutional crisis was ameliorated only when American independence allowed the European hierarchy to appoint John Carroll the "superior of the missions" in 1784, an appointment that Benjamin Franklin, a deist, had recommended.

The American Revolution, and the political independence it achieved, was a watershed for Roman

Catholics in America. Most, in fact, supported the Revolution, and some even helped to enlist the French in the Revolutionary cause. Like other marginal groups in the new American nation, Catholics looked to the new government for permanent provisions of citizenship. While the national polity did much to expand religious freedom, eventually leading to disestablishment in all the states, Catholics remained politically marginalized in most regions during much of the nineteenth century. Several of the early state constitutions, for example, contained anti–Catholic prescriptions, limiting office holding to Protestant "Christians."

The church experienced modest growth in the early Republic. To meet the needs of an expanding population, Georgetown University was founded in Maryland (in what later became Washington, D.C.) in 1789, and two years later St. Mary's Seminary was founded in Baltimore. For the first time, too, Rome allowed the election of an American bishop, John Carroll. Carroll helped articulate a distinct American Catholic identity, one that advocated Enlightenment ideals such as democracy, progress, and toleration as well as the relative self-governance of the national church. The historian Jay Dolan portrays this period in American Catholic history as one in which the American church shed its aversion to modernity. A chief exemplar of this Americanized Catholicism was Mathew Carey, a leading Philadelphia publisher responsible for many Catholic as well as Protestant books including the first U.S. edition of the "Catholic Bible," the Douay-Rheims version, in 1790. Carey's Catholic faith sought common ground both with Protestantism and with strains of Enlightenment thinking. So, too, the Catholic convert Elizabeth Ann Bayley Seton, America's first saint, mixed traditional Catholic practices with elements derived from her Protestant upbringing. From 1808 to 1810 Seton founded the Sisters of Charity as well as a Catholic school for girls that combined rigorous discipline with evangelical reformism.

The American Catholic hierarchy's commitment to republicanism was soon put to the test, however, when laity and clergy battled over the long-established trustee system of church management. The trustee system was a brilliant accommodation to a colonial situation in which resources were modest and clergy few. Ecclesiastical temporalities, in accordance with American law, were exclusively controlled by the laity, which meant that the laity had powers over church finances (including salaries) and the hiring and firing of employees. Thus empowered, the laity naturally pressed for the right to select their

pastors or dismiss them when it proved expedient. In the early nineteenth century, bishops and clergy successfully suppressed lay opposition by appealing both to American ideals of separation of church and state as well as to notions of authority in which power descended downward from Rome. Clerical victory was assured by the migration to America of French clergy and bishops with distinctly Old World Catholic sensibilities. In the end, the lay-trustee controversies stimulated both a tradition of nativism among American Protestants and a strong suspicion of lay authority within the Roman Catholic hierarchy both in America and Europe.

An increase in immigration to the United States after 1820 profoundly altered the shape of American Catholicism. New immigrants crowded together in cities and swelled the proportion of Roman Catholics on the American religious landscape. Many of the new arrivals were impoverished Irish and German Catholics, who practiced their faith in ways that struck both American Protestants and some Americanized Roman Catholics as dangerously foreign. Nativists would focus their anti–Catholic polemics on this new wave of Catholic immigrants in the 1830s and 1840s.

See also **Immigration and Immigrants: Ireland; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Professions: Clergy; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religion: Spanish Borderlands; Religious Tests for Officeholding.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dolan, Jay P. *The American Catholic Experience: A History from Colonial Times to the Present.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Hennesey, James J. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Light, Dale B. *Rome and the New Republic: Conflict and Community in Philadelphia Catholicism between the Revolution and the Civil War.* Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1996.

R. Bryan Bademan

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL In the colonies burial grounds were unsightly, haphazard places. They functioned solely as a means to dispose of the dead in which commemoration played no part. Most

tions of death's inevitability and life's ephemerality—*memento mori* (remember death), *tempus fugit* (time flies). Later, white marble markers declared themselves "Erected to the memory of" those who lay beneath. The traditional depiction of a death's head yielded to cherubs and then the weeping willow. By the end of the eighteenth century, the symbol of the urn and other neoclassical details represented death. Mourning pictures, embroidered or reproduced in varied artifacts, many with patriotic themes, depicted idealistic, naturalistic burial landscapes that simply did not exist. Thomas Jefferson designed his graveyard at Monticello to reflect the "picturesque" landscapes of great eighteenth-century English gardens, which featured ruins and monuments amid luxuriant plantings epitomizing an Enlightenment reverence for "Nature."

The desire to ensure the perpetuity of graves dates from after the Revolution, when Americans began to worry about the impermanence of property. The loss of farms or estates could result in private family graveyards being plowed under. James Hillhouse cited this concern in founding New Haven's New Burying Ground in 1796. He shared his era's desire to provide a more tranquil burial site away from the hubbub of daily life, where citizens could purchase "inviolable" family lots. However, in many growing cities graveyards took up valuable real estate. Many cities accepted the necessity of moving graves to peripheral sites. In 1806 Baltimore permitted the exhumation of the Eastern Burial Grounds in the city's center and reinterment at a site more than a mile away. By the 1820s most of Manhattan's old graveyards had been exhumed and reinterred elsewhere or simply built over.

Boston's population tripled between 1776 and 1825, prompting the city to ban burials in individual graves in 1816 and increasing building of brick-lined shaft tombs and chamber tombs. Elite families with tombs knew that their funerary property would probably be sold or given to another family. They often heard of unscrupulous sextons or gravediggers who "speculated in tombs," erasing names on markers, emptying vaults, or compacting decayed remains. Bostonian William Tudor complained in 1820 that New England graveyards left no room for enduring commemoration; burials were "indecently crowded together, and often, after a few years disturbed." Vagrants found shelter in tombs, harassing passersby. Even the remains of General Joseph Warren, hero of the Battle of Bunker Hill, had been lost—twice—in Boston's Old Granary Burial Ground. If such was the postmortem fate of a Revolutionary

Tombstone of William Wadsworth. This ornate stone marks the grave of William Wadsworth, who died in 1771 and was interred in the Old Burying Grounds in Hartford, Connecticut. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

burials were in earthen graves, although the elite began to construct chamber tombs above- or underground.

Because the Puritans refused to sanctify burials by placing graves next to a church, New England had few churchyards. Bostonians were outraged in 1688 when Edmund Andros, governor of the Dominion of New England after revocation of the Puritan Commonwealth charter, placed the Anglican King's Chapel on part of the first burial ground. Such sentiments lingered in New England for over a century. By contrast, in New York and Philadelphia Protestants and Catholics created denominational burial grounds.

Philip Freneau's long poem "The House of Night" (1786) was the first American literary celebration of new notions about death in the context of nature and human history. The iconography, style, and material of gravestones began to reflect changes in ideas about remembering the dead. Formerly, gray slate gravestones had been inscribed with stern admoni-

hero, how much worse was that of ordinary citizens?

Elsewhere in the nation, the graves of heroes as grand as George Washington were failing as permanent memorials. Washington's simple, rural Mount Vernon tomb (1799) was falling to ruin by the 1820s. The family refused to exhume and reinter the first president in the national Capitol; not until 1831 did Washington's executors direct construction at Mount Vernon of a simple brick family vault and neoclassical marble sarcophagus to which the hero's remains were moved in 1837.

The new sensibility regarding the importance of commemoration was not the only reason for the reform of burial methods and sites. Such reform was also spurred by public health concerns. In early-nineteenth–century New York, many believed that "malignant epidemic fevers" were spread by "noxious effluvia" emanating from churchyard cemeteries. Trinity (Episcopal) Churchyard held 120,000 bodies by 1822, some in graves less than two feet deep, with the stench obvious for blocks, causing mass evacuation of the living. Burials in Manhattan's dense tip were eventually banned, owing more to economics—space was at a premium—than to mistaken theories about disease.

The term "cemetery" entered American usage with the founding and design of Mount Auburn Cemetery (1831), a "rural" Massachusetts burial ground that was at the same time a nondenominational urban institution. Designed as a pastoral, picturesque setting close to the city of Boston, Mount Auburn sold family burial lots, establishing the "rest-in-peace" principle with legal guarantee of perpetuity of burial property. It served as a model for the creation of many other "rural" cemeteries in urban and suburban locations in the next decades. Many families moved remains to them from older graves and tombs through the antebellum era.

See also **Death and Dying; Health and Disease; Widowhood.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Benes, Peter. *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689–1805.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.

Dethlefsen, Edwin, and James Deetz. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." *American Antiquity* 31, no. 4 (1966): 502–510.

Linden-Ward, Blanche. *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989.

Schorsch, Anita. *Mourning Becomes America: Mourning Art in the New Nation.* Clinton, N.J.: Main Street Press, 1976.

Vinovskis, Maris A. "Angels' Heads and Weeping Willow: Death in Early America." *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 86 (1976): 273–302.

Blanche M. G. Linden

CHARACTER   In the world of the early Republic, every man active in politics worried obsessively about his "character," although not in the sense in which one would use that word in the twenty-first century. In the eighteenth century, character referred almost entirely to one's public reputation—an extrinsic, rather than intrinsic, quality. Character was something that one fashioned and held, so that one would speak of "acquiring" a character. In the early years of the new nation, the word took on tremendous political importance as leaders attempted to construct a distinctly American political tradition.

The founders' political reliance on notions of character was the product of the American Revolution, which had tarnished their most important political model, Great Britain. After spending much of the century striving to become more like their English cousins, Americans found themselves thrust into a political wilderness of their own making. The Revolution added a further stumbling block to their efforts to create a new political world. The unity of the Revolutionary cause, always problematic given that roughly a third of the population remained loyal to England, at least at the beginning of the war, had given way to the bickering and squabbling of thirteen individual states with differing and sometimes conflicting ideas about what sort of nation they were creating. But the founders still clung to the ideal of unity and continued to have exalted ideas about the necessity of working toward the public good. This Revolutionary legacy gave them a repugnance for politics as usual. Politicians and party politics were anathema to their ideas of good government, and they expressed disgust with the idea that they had risked their lives to found a nation that would become the tool of self-interested and self-serving politicians.

ACQUIRING CHARACTER

In this atmosphere, character became inordinately important as a means of insuring that only the right sort of men would stand at the helm of the ship of state. But how did one gain the proper character? That in itself was part of the problem. There really

were no clear standards or codified rules. At the most basic level, political leaders were supposed to be gentleman, but even this standard proved problematic in an American context. Unlike their British counterparts, who could count on the aristocracy to provide a continuous standard to which other British gentlemen aspired, American society was much more fluid, and the differences between the highest and lowest of society were not that large. Because of this, young, ambitious, talented men such as Alexander Hamilton (a penniless newcomer who was an illegitimate child) could rise to prominence in just a few short years through their service during the war and could be accepted as men of character. Even as men such as Hamilton were accepted into the political leadership, though, many, including Hamilton himself, began to complain that the door had been thrown open too wide and that men without the proper character were becoming political leaders. In addition, people argued about which qualities constituted the proper character. At stake was nothing less than what sort of political world they were trying to create as well as how inclusive the political realm would be.

Losing one's character was as problematic an issue as gaining it. One could certainly lose one's character through obvious acts of corruption, such as stealing public money, although even areas like this were more ambiguous than might be imagined. At the time, there was no clearly established boundary between public and private life, which is one of the reasons why character itself was so important and yet so problematic. Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance for the Continental Congress during the early 1780s, used his position for both the public good and private profit, something that loose eighteenth-century notions of conflict of interest allowed.

Despite their abhorrence of politics as usual, political leaders necessarily became enmeshed in political activities, such as organizing allies, attacking foes, counting votes, and contesting elections. Yet even as they strayed from their ideals in their own actions, the founders would have bridled at the suggestion that they were politicians. For most, this tension between word and deed led them to cling to and insist on their own characters even more fiercely and to denounce the characters of their enemies even more viciously. One of the reasons that other founders repeatedly criticized Aaron Burr as a scoundrel unfit for public life was that he not only dirtied his hands in politics but reveled in it and did not even make an attempt to hide his delight.

NATIONAL CHARACTER

Further complicating the issue, when the founders talked about character, they were talking not only about their own personal character but about the character of the nation as well. The founders were obsessed by the challenge of how to establish a proper character for the nation. They believed that the success of the nation hinged on these efforts. As George Washington warned in 1783 after the Treaty of Paris had ended the war, "this is the moment to establish or ruin . . . national Character forever. . . . It is yet to be decided, whether the Revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse: a blessing or a curse, not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn Millions be involved."

Eventually, this reliance on character gave way to an acceptance not just of politics but of politicians and even political parties. Character came to be seen as largely dependent on one's actions in private life. And politicians would be rewarded or punished by how well they served the party's interest. Common origins were celebrated, not shunned, and the door to political life was thrown open to all—at least ostensibly.

See also **Fame and Reputation; Politics.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adair, Douglass. *Fame and the Founding Fathers.* Edited by Trevor Colbourn. New York: W. W. Norton, 1974.

Freeman, Joanne. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

Trees, Andrew S. *The Founding Fathers and the Politics of Character.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Andrew S. Trees

CHARLESTON Founded in 1670, Charleston—spelled Charles Town in the colonial era—was the only major city south of Philadelphia during the colonial period. Ideally situated upon the Atlantic coast at the mouths of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Charleston grew steadily, achieving a population of approximately six thousand by 1740. This population had doubled by the early 1770s, making Charleston the fourth-largest city in British North America.

More impressive than the population growth was the demographic and economic rise of the city. Originally settled by the English, Charleston's eco-

nomic opportunities and tolerant religious and political policies attracted significant numbers of French, Scots, Irish, Germans, Catholics, and Jews, establishing it as the most cosmopolitan city in British America. Crucially, the most important source of population was Africa, as black Charlestonians—slave and free—always represented a significant proportion of the population and were a majority by 1750.

By 1770 Charleston was arguably the wealthiest city in British America. Benefiting from British policies and bounties, rice and indigo production made fortunes for the planters who produced the crops and for the Charleston merchants who marketed them. The institution of slavery provided a major cornerstone of this wealth and the leading Charleston merchants and planters were among the wealthiest men in the colonies. Charleston was the critical entry point in the North American slave trade, as hundreds of thousands of Africans landed there before being sold to the interior plantations, where they contributed their expertise and labor to rice, indigo, and, later, cotton cultivation.

Despite the economic benefits of the British connection, Charlestonians were generally supportive of the Revolutionary movement and, led by Christopher Gadsden and John and Edward Rutledge, were active in opposition to British policy from the time of the Stamp Act of 1765. Indeed, a major American victory was recorded at Charleston on 28 June 1776, when a combined British expedition under Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Sir Peter Parker was defeated before the defenses of Sullivan's Island. Charleston, however, would later be the site of the greatest American defeat of the war, when on 12 May 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered the city and over 5,500 men to Clinton to conclude a forty-two day siege. Charleston suffered under British occupation for the next two and one-half years, before the British evacuated the city on 14 December 1782.

Charleston's joy at American independence and the end of the occupation was tempered by a series of new and difficult problems. Devastated by a vicious civil war, South Carolina prepared to rebuild without the labor of the approximately twenty-five thousand slaves whom the retiring British had carried off. Additionally, during the occupation, the mercantile leadership of the city had swung to Loyalists and British merchants, as the British had allowed only those who took the oath of loyalty to engage in trade. That these merchants now stood to monopolize the windfall profits from reconstruction caused serious rioting in the city. Finally, the collapse of the price of indigo, which had relied upon British boun-

ties, now withdrawn, for its profitability, contributed considerably to the postwar depression of the 1780s.

With indigo in decline, planters turned their attention to the production of cotton. The development of the cotton gin in 1793 allowed the mass production of cotton and the revival of the fortunes of mercantile Charleston, bringing to the city a prosperity which surpassed even that of the earlier rice and indigo boom. Unfortunately, however, the cotton boom also contributed to future problems. As cotton production became "king" in the Deep South, the need for a cheap and unskilled labor force made slavery "queen." White Charlestonians had always been concerned by the large numbers of black residents who had dwelt among them. Nevertheless, from 1803 to 1808 the city was the main port of entry for the African slave trade, and approximately 40,000 slaves were imported during this brief period. Now, as the slave proportion of the population continued to grow and as the northern states abolished slavery and grew increasingly critical of the institution, Charlestonians grew more suspicious of the black population, particularly the free black seamen who visited from the North and regaled black Charlestonians with stories of their lives in the northern seaports. Thus, the hysterical reaction to the Denmark Vesey conspiracy of 1822 is more easily understandable, as is the transformation of Charleston from the most open and tolerant to the most closed and intolerant of American cities.

As Charleston found itself increasingly upon a collision course with the developing northern commercial interests after 1820, it also witnessed its own decline as a major port. Geographically, Charleston was not well situated to control the cotton trade as the plantations expanded westward. Increasingly closed-minded and suspicious of outsiders, Charleston lagged in the development and utilization of new opportunities and technologies in business and trade. For example, Charleston built a railroad line to the interior in 1830, yet instead of running the railroad directly to the wharves, the line was built only to the city limits, necessitating an expensive transfer to wagon transport to the docks. With the advantage of rail transport negated, Charleston soon saw itself eclipsed by New Orleans, Mobile, and Savannah in the export trade.

See also **City Planning; Cotton; Revolution: Military History; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; South Carolina; Vesey Rebellion.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fraser, Walter J., Jr. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Rogers, George C., Jr. *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Walsh, Richard. *Charleston's Sons of Liberty: A Study of the Artisans, 1763–1789.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1959.

Daniel McDonough

CHEMISTRY   The birth of the new American Republic and the origins of modern chemistry both occurred in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Although these two revolutionary transformations seem very different, there are a few connections.

The immigrants who settled the North American colonies brought with them a broad range of chemically based arts and crafts. These included cooking, tanning, dyeing, brewing, metallurgy, and the manufacture of ceramics, glass, soap, cosmetics, medicines, and potash. But these technologies were largely based on experience and tradition, with little understanding of or interest in the scientific principles involved.

In the colonies, chemistry could not compete with natural history. Most of the investigators mentioned in Raymond P. Stearns's *Science in the British Colonies of America* (1970) focused on the botany, zoology, geology, and geography of the New World. The strongest motivation for studying chemistry apparently came from physicians, and the first professor of chemistry in the colonies was Dr. Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) of the College of Philadelphia. Rush, who had received his medical training in Edinburgh, analyzed various American mineral waters and reported on their medicinal properties. He was also one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose chief author, Thomas Jefferson, called chemistry "among the most useful of sciences, and big with future discoveries for the utility and safety of the human race."

It is ironic that the American Chemical Society has adopted as its icon Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), who lived in the new nation only for the last ten years of his life. Priestley, who was born in Yorkshire, was a Unitarian clergyman who wrote voluminously on religion, history, rhetoric, law, education, politics, philosophy, and chemistry. His contributions to chemistry include the isolation and characterization of at least ten gases, most of them previously unknown. The most noteworthy of these was oxygen, which he first prepared in August 1774. The name he chose, "dephlogisticated air," reflects his adherence to the phlogiston theory, which held that combustible materials contain a principle of flammability called phlogiston.

Priestley's support of both the American and French Revolutions and his unorthodox religious beliefs made him a victim of verbal and physical attack. Finally, in 1794 he fled England with his family for the United States. He declined an invitation to become professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and instead settled in Northumberland, a small town on the Susquehanna River. There he did little original chemistry, rather concentrating his scientific writings to a defense of the phlogiston theory. His influence probably slowed American acceptance of the new "French chemistry."

Although the founder of this new chemistry, Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), never visited America, he is linked to the New World and to Joseph Priestley. Lavoisier learned of Priestley's new gas from its discoverer, and after some investigations of his own, the French chemist concluded that the gas was what today is called an element. He named it "oxygen" and included it in the list of thirty-three "simple substances" that appears in his *Traié elementaire de chimie* (1789), arguably the first modern chemistry book. Lavoisier correctly interpreted burning as the combination of the fuel or elements in the fuel with oxygen, not the loss of phlogiston. Thus, oxygen was literally a key element in what came to be known as the Chemical Revolution.

Lavoisier, like Priestley, was a man of wide-ranging intellect and interests. Among his many public duties was membership in the Gunpowder and Saltpeter Administration. As a commissioner, he had an apartment and laboratory in the Paris Arsenal near the Bastille. From Lavoisier's laboratory came a series of brilliant chemical discoveries; from the Arsenal came gunpowder of unprecedented quality, some of which was used by the American colonies to win their independence. One of Lavoisier's assistants was Éleuthère Irénée du Pont, the son of a family friend, Pierre-Samuel du Pont (1739–1817). Lavoisier was a member of the Ferme-Generale, a company of investors that contracted with the French government to collect taxes. Not surprisingly, this organization was unpopular, and participation in it proved fatal during the Reign of Terror that accompanied the French Revolution. Lavoisier and his fellow "tax farmers" went to their deaths on the guillotine on 8 May 1794. In 1799 Pierre du Pont and his two sons fled

their troubled native land for the young United States. Éleuthère brought with him the principles of Lavoisier's new chemistry and his procedures for making munitions. He put both to use in the gunpowder factory he started on the banks of Brandywine Creek in Delaware, and proposed to call "Lavoisier Mills." That factory became E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company or, more familiarly, DuPont—one of the world's great chemical manufacturing corporations. Thus, it can be argued that chemistry contributed more to shaping the new American nation than the young country contributed to chemistry.

See also **Science.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hindle, Brooke. *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

Newman, William R. *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Stearns, Raymond Phineas. *Science in the British Colonies of America.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970.

Struik, Dirk J. *Yankee Science in the Making.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1948.

A. Truman Schwartz

CHEROKEES   *See* **American Indians: Southeast.**

CHESAPEAKE AFFAIR   On 22 June 1807, off the Virginia Capes, the *Leopard*, a fifty-gun ship of the British navy, opened fire on the *Chesapeake*, a forty-gun frigate of the U.S. Navy. During the previous summer, two French warships had sought refuge in the Chesapeake Bay, and British ships had then taken up station off the coast. The proximity of their ships to land led a number of British seamen to desert, and some found their way aboard U.S. Navy ships, including the *Chesapeake.* British authorities were aware of this and complained to American authorities to no avail.

On the morning of 22 June 1807, the *Chesapeake*, under Commodore James Barron, commander designate of the U.S. Mediterranean Squadron, departed Hampton Roads for the Mediterranean. Barron had visited the *Chesapeake* only twice prior to its sailing,

and Master Commandant Charles Gordon had actual responsibility for the ship and preparing it for sea. Barron and Gordon were certainly not expecting any trouble.

As the *Chesapeake* tacked to get off shore, HMS *Leopard* came up and hailed the American ship. Its captain, Salusbury Humphreys, said he had dispatches for the Americans. As it was common at the time for ships to carry mail of other navies, Barron did not become suspicious, even though the *Leopard* had its gun ports open and the tompions out of the guns. Barron failed to call his crew to quarters upon the British ship's approach as regulations required, but such practice was not regularly observed.

The "dispatch," presented to Barron by a British lieutenant, turned out to be a general circular from Vice Admiral Sir George Berkeley, the British commander in North America, ordering his captains to search for deserters from specified British warships. Humphreys did his best to avoid confrontation but insisted on the right to muster the *Chesapeake*'s crew for deserters. Barron said that all his seamen were Americans, and he rejected the search of a U.S. Navy warship.

After some forty minutes of discussion, Humphreys recalled his lieutenant and ordered his men to open fire. The *Chesapeake* was wholly unready for combat. Equipment was piled high on the gun deck and guns were unprimed. The British fired at least two broadsides into the American ship, killing three of its crew and wounding Barron and seventeen others (one of whom later died). The crew of the *Chesapeake* managed to fire only a single shot before Barron ordered the colors struck to spare further bloodshed. Humphreys refused Barron's surrender of the *Chesapeake* as a prize of war, but he mustered the crew, took off four men identified as deserters, and sailed away. The badly damaged *Chesapeake* then limped back into port.

An explosion of indignation in the United States followed the event, and some legislators called for war. President Thomas Jefferson opposed war and merely ordered British warships from American waters. Barron was made the scapegoat. Court-martialed, he was found guilty only of neglecting to clear his ship for action and suspended from the navy for five years.

The affair led to a U.S. Navy order ending the recruitment of foreigners on its ships. It also soured U.S.-British relations. Ultimately London admitted that a mistake had been committed and returned the two survivors of the four crewmen taken off the *Chesapeake* (one man had already been tried and

hanged and the other had died in captivity). Although the U.S. Navy achieved a measure of revenge in the encounter between two other ships, the *President* and the *Little Belt*, on 18 May 1811, the *Chesapeake-Leopard* affair continued to rankle, increasing Anglophobia in the United States. Soon after, anti-British sentiment intensified, leading to the War of 1812.

See also **Naval Technology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Emmerson, John Cloyd. *The Chesapeake Affair of 1807: An Objective Account of the Attack by HMS Leopard upon the U.S. Frigate Chesapeake off Cape Henry, Va., June 22, 1807, and Its Repercussions.* Portsmouth, Va.: Privately printed, 1954.

Tucker, Spencer C., and Frank T. Reuter. *Injured Honor: The Chesapeake-Leopard Affair, June 22, 1807.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 1996.

Spencer C. Tucker

CHESAPEAKE REGION   The region of the Chesapeake Bay is located along the mid-Atlantic coast and is bordered by the states of Maryland and Virginia. The Chesapeake hosted the first permanent settlement by the British in the New World—Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607—and other early settlements, such as St. Mary's, Maryland, in 1634. Those early settlements were the first on the North American mainland to use, justify, and become dependent upon the institution of racial slavery. In the nineteenth century, the Chesapeake (also known as the Upper South) became a middle ground between North and South, between free and slave.

The Chesapeake Bay is the largest estuary, where fresh and salt water mix, on the North American continent and provides more crabs and other fresh seafood to the United States than any other body of water. Though the bay itself comprises just under 3,230 square miles of water, the Chesapeake ties together a vast geographical area through its watershed, which covers sixty-four thousand square miles spread over six states—Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York—and the District of Columbia.

ECONOMIC DIVERSITY

During the eras of the Revolution and the early Republic (1754–1829), the Chesapeake was an economically, politically, and strategically important region. In the eighteenth century, its main economic activity was the cultivation of tobacco. Tobacco shaped many of the characteristics of Chesapeake society, including the prominence of its landed gentry, the dispersed settlement pattern organized around plantations, the limited number of towns and cities, and the reliance on enslaved labor. Between 1690 and 1770, planters imported 100,000 people of African descent to the Chesapeake to work in the tobacco fields. By the 1740s, planters were less reliant on the slave trade as the size of the enslaved population became large enough to reproduce itself naturally. The African American population in the Chesapeake was therefore probably the most acculturated plantation society, meaning that the enslaved peoples adapted to and adopted aspects of the dominant Anglo culture.

Although the Chesapeake had what one historian has called a "tobacco culture," tobacco was not the Chesapeake's only economic activity. By the 1750s, the Chesapeake was also an important producer of grains, especially wheat. Virginia alone exported 600,000 bushels of wheat annually by 1774. In addition, the Chesapeake annually exported tons of iron to England. Plentiful and accessible deepwater shipping, waterpower provided by falls, and abundant raw materials combined to make the Chesapeake the leading exporter of iron during the eighteenth century. This diversity before the Revolution helped the Chesapeake feed and arm the Continental Army during the war, earning the region the nickname of "the breadbasket of the Revolution."

THE REVOLUTION: UNDER ATTACK

The region's wealth, population, political activism, and location made it a target of constant raiding and fighting by the British during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783). In 1774 residents of Annapolis, Maryland, staged their own tea party and Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, dissolved the House of Burgesses for criticizing Britain's punitive policy in Boston. Chesapeake political leaders like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington, among others, led the Revolutionary effort and organized associations, boycotts, and the Continental Congress. These leaders played key roles in declaring independence on 2 July 1776 and forming a new nation. The Chesapeake saw heavy fighting and raiding in 1777 and between 1779 and 1781. Campaigns by Lord Dunmore and General Sir William Howe in 1777, Admiral Richard Howe in 1779, and Benedict Arnold in 1780 and 1781 resulted in the burning and plundering of the Virginia towns of Portsmouth, Suffolk, Norfolk, Pe-

tersburg, and Richmond, among others. The Revolutionary forces achieved victory in two crucial battles that took place in the Chesapeake. The Battle of the Chesapeake was a naval battle that occurred near the mouth of the bay on 5 September 1781 between Rear Admiral Thomas Graves's British fleet and Rear Admiral Comte de Grasse's French fleet. The French were victorious, preventing the Royal Navy from resupplying Lord Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, and ensuring that George Washington would receive reinforcements from New York through the Chesapeake. As a result of this defeat, the British under Cornwallis were compelled to surrender at the Battle of Yorktown on 19 October 1781 and to recognize the independence of the United States. In 1783 Congress ratified the Treaty of Paris ending the war while convened in Annapolis, seat of the new federal government.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

After the war, citizens of the new nation began to build the institutions and infrastructure necessary for a new nation. The region's inhabitants continued to deemphasize tobacco, especially in Maryland, in favor of grains and industry; built a variety of internal improvements; and developed more towns and cities. Though slavery remained important, wheat agriculture required fewer laborers than tobacco. Virginians therefore played a significant role in the development of the internal slave trade with the Deep South. Due to the region's strategic importance, shipbuilding became an even more prominent industry after the Revolution. The Norfolk Naval Shipyard, founded in 1767 and burned by the British in 1779, became the Continental Navy Yard in 1801, two years after the creation of the Navy Yard in the new national capital of Washington. Fells Point and St. Michaels in Maryland were important centers for building the famous Baltimore clipper ships.

Trade stimulated urban growth and internal improvements after the war. Baltimore (founded 1729, incorporated 1796), Norfolk (founded 1682, incorporated 1736), and Richmond (founded 1737, incorporated 1742, and became Virginia's capital in 1780) grew significantly and became leading supply centers. Smaller towns, like Chestertown in Maryland and Alexandria, Charlottesville, and Leesburg in Virginia, also expanded. Entrepreneurs and investors built new roads, turnpikes, and canals, like the James River and Kanawha and the Potomac in the 1780s and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in the 1820s.

After tense debates, Congress followed President Washington's suggestion to place the capital of the new nation on the Potomac River on lands donated by Maryland and Virginia. In 1791 the planning, surveying, and construction of the District of Columbia began. The federal government moved from Philadelphia to Washington City in 1800. Hostilities once again erupted between Great Britain and the United States in 1812, and in 1814 British troops burned Washington's public buildings and besieged Baltimore. The burning of Washington helped cement the federal government's home there and the city was quickly rebuilt and expanded. The British shelling of Fort McHenry in Baltimore Harbor was the last time a foreign navy fired in the Chesapeake region; the attack prompted Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner," which later became the national anthem.

See also **Agriculture: Overview; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Naval War; Shipbuildng Industry; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Slavery: Overview; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of; Washington, D.C.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bowling, Kenneth. *The Creation of Washington, D.C.: The Idea and Location of the American Capital.* Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1991.

Breen, T. H. *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of the Revolution.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.

Carr, Lois Green, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds. *Colonial Chesapeake Society.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Crothers, A. Glenn. "Agricultural Improvement and Technological Innovation in a Slave Society: The Case of Early National Northern Virginia." *Agricultural History* 75 (2001): 135–167.

Grumet, Robert. *Bay, Plain and Piedmont: A Landscape History of the Chesapeake Heartland from 1.3 Billion Years Ago to 2000.* Annapolis, Md.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000.

Kulikoff, Allan. *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.

Middleton, Arthur Pierce. *Tobacco Coast: A Maritime History of Chesapeake Bay in the Colonial Era.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Muller, Charles G. *The Darkest Day: The Washington-Baltimore Campaign during the War of 1812.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Laura Croghan Kamoie

CHILDBIRTH AND CHILDBEARING When the English settled in North America, they brought with them English birthing traditions. The most prominent of these customs was the midwife, who relied on the camaraderie of laboring women's female neighbors and relatives for assistance. Historians refer to this longtime practice of women gathering for hours and days under the auspices of a midwife as "social birth." Birth was not a private medical event during the colonial and early national periods, but a quasi-public social event albeit for women only. Birth networks were not universal, however. In isolated rural areas, women often found themselves alone during birth or with only their husbands for support.

Prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, women customarily excluded husbands as well as physicians from the birthing chamber. Midwives summoned doctors only during difficult deliveries. Eventually prompted by the interest and expertise of men like William Shippen, who trained in Europe and taught the first midwifery classes for physicians in the North American colonies, women in urban areas began to invite physicians to attend births in the 1760s. Physicians' presence at normal births increased gradually throughout the nineteenth century, although other childbirth traditions remained static. Women often gave birth in birthing chairs (a chair with a hole in the seat), or leaning against another woman in either the sitting or standing position. Until birth moved from women's homes to the hospital in the twentieth century, it remained an event controlled by women even in the presence of a male physician.

As long as birth remained in the home, midwives and physicians treated birth in virtually identical ways: they spent the bulk of their time comforting laboring women and waiting for babies to be born. Medical interventions were minimal, although doctors, unlike midwives, did have at their disposal a greater array of obstetric instruments, most notably forceps. The first British record of forceps use appeared in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Despite the availability of these instruments, however, most doctors (and all midwives by law) limited their medical activity to periodically examining the cervix, lubricating the perineum to aid stretching and avoid tearing, "catching the baby" ("catching babies" was the trademark phrase used by midwives to describe their vocation), and tying the umbilical cord.

Birth was a communal female affair in the South as well as the North. It was common in the South for black and white women to attend each other's births. In letters and diaries, white women occasionally expressed appreciation for a slave's assistance during birth, and white women apparently reciprocated when slaves were in similar need. Unmarried sisters appear to have been the most valued birth attendants in the South, although birth networks were large and bonded married women to each other.

Following the example of women in the urban Northeast, some wealthy southern women began to rely on male physicians before the Civil War, although this change in primary birth attendant occurred more slowly in the South than in the North. Physicians and midwives also probably cooperated to a greater extent in the South; even when physicians were present at a birth, their casebooks indicate that a midwife was usually there too.

Pregnancy, childbearing, and breast-feeding dominated most women's lives during the colonial and early national periods. In 1800 white women of childbearing age gave birth to an average of 7.04 children, and women often wrote of the strain of unrelenting childbearing. As Abigail Adams observed in 1800 of a young relative, "It is sad slavery to have children as fast as she has." Partly as an effort to space pregnancies, mothers customarily breast-fed their children for several years. Lactation tends to suppress ovulation; in an era without readily available contraception, prolonged lactation often served as the only method of birth control. Women who did not breast-feed, or who breast-fed minimally, gave birth annually. Women who practiced extended breast-feeding gave birth every two to five years.

Extant midwives' records indicate that the maternal death rate in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries was one maternal death for every 200 births, or one-half of 1 percent of births. Although this is 62 times higher than the maternal death rate in the early twenty-first century, it is vastly lower than early Americans' notions of the maternal death rate. Women believed the possibility of death during birth was so great that they spent considerable time worrying about and planning for that possibility. Some historians speculate that women feared birth as "potential death," despite the small number of actual deaths, because Puritan ministers stressed the chance of death in childbirth. When women did die in childbirth, either hemorrhage or postpartum infection usually caused the deaths.
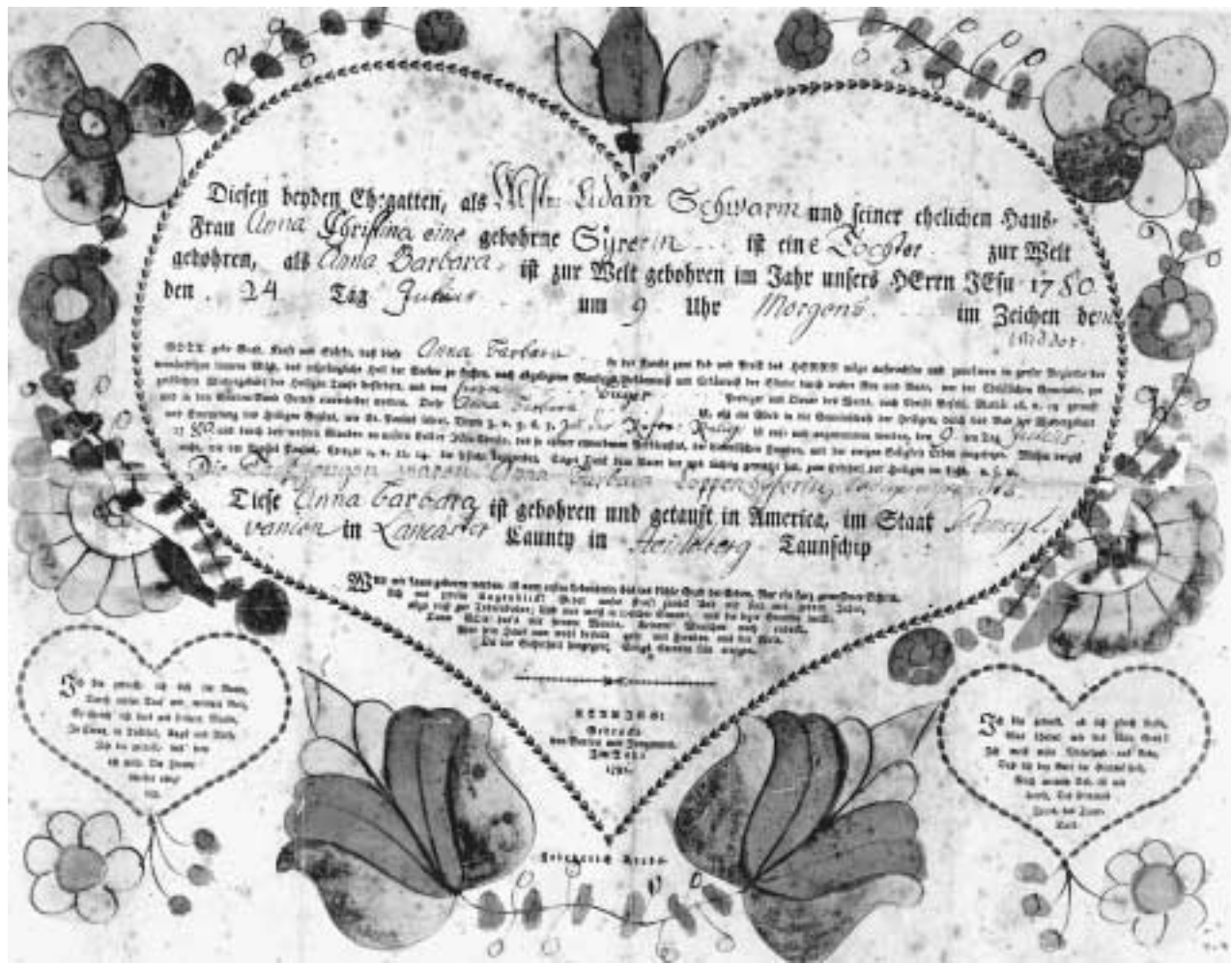
Birth Certificate for Anna Barbara Schwarm. This watercolor and ink drawing by German-American artist Friederich Krebs marks a birth that occurred in 1780 in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Native American families were considerably smaller than white families, and the fewer pregnancies experienced by Native American women likely translated to significantly lower maternal mortality. Indian women gave birth to roughly half the number of children that white women had, probably owing to heavy physical labor, diets low in fat, and lengthy periods of breastfeeding, all of which contributed to fewer menstrual cycles. There is also evidence that Native Americans had knowledge of herbal abortifacients (substances that induce abortion)—juniper berries, slippery elm bark, pennyroyal, tansy, peppermint, spearmint, rosemary, and catnip—and probably shared that knowledge with white women whose birth rate declined throughout the nineteenth century. Native Americans also practiced infanticide to limit their numbers, and some tribes forbade sexual intercourse with lactating women, effectively limiting population in these ways. African American slaves also seemed consciously to limit births. Physicians occasionally reported that slaves miscarried more often than white women, either because of excessive work or, as plantation owners complained, because slaves deliberately aborted fetuses as a form of resistance.

English observers often remarked on the apparent ease with which Native American women gave birth. According to white observers, Native American women preferred giving birth alone (and largely in silence), although there is evidence that relatives closely monitored the progress of women's labors. A host of herbal remedies also seems to have been available to Indian women to reduce pain during labor. Given their knowledge of pain remedies, cultural prohibition on expressions of pain, and relaxed attitudes toward childbirth, Indians deemphasized the pain of childbirth. In sharp contrast, European

Americans considered pain the salient characteristic of birth.

The varied experience of women living in North America during this era is evidence that birth is an event influenced as much by culture and cultural expectations as by biology and medicine.

See also **Biology; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Marriage; Medicine; Sexual Morality; Sexuality; Women: Overview.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hibbard, Bryan. *The Obstetrician's Armamentarium: Historical Obstetric Instruments and Their Inventors.* San Anselmo, Calif.: Norman Publishing, 2000.

Kass, Amalie M. *Midwifery and Medicine in Boston: Walter Channing, M.D. 1786–1876.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002.

Leavitt, Judith Walzer. *Brought to Bed: Childbearing in America, 1750–1950.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

McMillen, Sally G. *Motherhood in the Old South: Pregnancy, Childbirth, and Infant Rearing.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990.

Plane, Ann Marie. "Childbirth Practices among Native American Women of New England and Canada, 1600–1800." In *Women and Health in America: Historical Readings*, 2nd edition. Edited by Judith Walzer Leavitt. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999.

Scholten, Catherine M. "'On the Importance of the Obstetrick Art': Changing Customs of Childbirth in America, 1760–1825." *William and Mary Quarterly* 34 (1977): 426–445.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Vintage Books, 1990.

Jacqueline H. Wolf

CHILDHOOD AND ADOLESCENCE   It is hardly an exaggeration to observe that the character of a nation is formed in its nurseries. What is so striking about the nurseries of America are the differences among them. At least three distinct childhood cultures can be discerned, sources of intranational conflict as well as whatever richness such diversity may contribute to the country.

INDIAN CHILDHOOD
Indian children were born at approximately four-year intervals as a result of protracted breast-feeding, prohibitions on sexual relations while nursing, and abortion. A 50 percent death rate among the children, partly due to infanticide, stabilized the size of the population.

The aim of Native American parents was to train male hunter-warriors, who would be required to act individualistically yet always conform to the demands of a communal, conservative, homogenous society. Females were instructed as planter-gatherers and had to possess wilderness survival skills as keen as the males.

An Indian mother fondly cared for her child. For three years or even longer she nursed, and in the case of her death the father might be expected to assume the feeding. She kept her offspring close to her, usually transported on a cradle board. In these early years the child was unlikely to experience the intrusion of a sibling.

The world of young Indians changed dramatically at the age of three, when they were thrust onto their own resources and expected to discover their own ways, neither coerced by parents nor struck by them, a permissiveness that Europeans found amazing. Nevertheless, these young children must have remained under the watchful eyes of their parents and, probably, of the whole village community. With the mother as a secure base, the child could explore any strange situation, which is what it was expected to do by way of building confidence and moving toward autonomy.

Along the way, children were fit into clearly defined gender roles. Girls learned games that led to the performance of household duties, while boys' activities—ball games, archery, and fishing—were antecedents to a hunter-warrior occupation. Scantily clad in winter, boys hardened their bodies as they did their minds; their elders expected of them self-control and absence of womanly emotion. The example of parents, especially warrior-fathers, repudiating corporal punishment must have contributed to the exercise of restraint by their children, particularly sons.

In a social environment that placed a premium on the ability to withstand suffering without flinching, pain could not be used as a coercive force. Not only did children thus feel protected from punishment by their families, but—being specially linked to the spiritual world—they received kindness and respect. Furthermore, the patience and stoicism fostered by an infancy in the cradle board made the Indian child receptive to an indulgent early training.

Self-restraint and stoicism were closely linked to the development of autonomy, a major adult goal. In the Indian cosmos, power was invisibly gained and lost; it was best to avoid others for fear of antag-

Children of Commodore John Daniel Danels. A portrait of the children and two servants of John Danels, a Baltimore merchant, ship owner, and naval officer (c. 1826). THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

Portrait of Ann Proctor. Six-year-old Ann Proctor displays her favorite doll in this portrait, painted in 1789 by Charles Willson Peale. Ann's doll was later exhibited with her portrait in the Hammond-Harwood House in Annapolis, Maryland. © KEVIN FLEMING/CORBIS.

onizing. Thus, the presentation of a stoical exterior was linked to autonomy. Psychological literature at the turn of the twenty-first century leaves no doubt that the absence of corporal punishment nurtures autonomy.

Education of the young was not only imparted by the example of elders but also was explicitly transmitted by storytelling. This oral literature was entertaining, but more important it conveyed cultural beliefs and practices.

The transit from childhood to adulthood was well defined. For girls there were sometimes rituals surrounding the onset of menstruation. For boys, whose passage through puberty was less biologically evident, there were more elaborate ceremonies: the huskinaw and the vision quest. Both involved isolation as well as sensory deprivation and stimulation. The purposes were to begin life on a new course, though without forfeiting the training of childhood,

or to locate through visions the spirits that dominated the young person's life.

EUROPEAN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD

The Europeans who settled along the Atlantic seaboard in the seventeenth century were mostly English. They established themselves in villages and on isolated farms. New England was distinguished by a patriarchal religion that was duplicated by the commanding presence of the father in a large, stable nuclear family. In the Chesapeake region a high mortality rate led to constant reshaping of the household in a smaller form. In both regions the neonate was swaddled for about three months, whereas breastfeeding continued through the first year. When it ceased, conception became easier and probably occurred within the next several months.

Until the baby walked it was carried in the arms of its parents, one or both of whom could be expected to die early in the life of the Chesapeake child. The trauma of parental loss in the Chesapeake was paralleled in New England by the drama of breaking the child's will, a systematic suppression of early attempts at self-assertion accomplished by a mental manipulation of the youngster that was sanctioned by religious ideology.

Corporal punishment, an English inheritance, was pervasive in both regions, administered to boys and girls by either parent. Clothing was a badge of age and sex. At seven or eight years old, boys moved from skirts into breeches, marking their entrance to manhood as well as into the workforce. Girls remained skirted, symbolizing their continuing—indeed, lifelong—subordination to males; they were also initiated into chores appropriate to their gender. Church membership was customarily not granted until young adulthood, though the age was lowered as church elders became worried about the salvation of youth and the future of the church.

Apprenticeship was directed at older children, and so was education. Masters, like fathers, were required to feed and clothe as well as teach their charges. Among the New England Puritans, reading was considered a necessary complement of childhood, since it provided access to Scripture. Such issues as spirituality, leaving the home, and education, focused as they were on youth, helped to create a transitional stage between childhood and adulthood that, by the late seventeenth century, can be called adolescence.

The eighteenth century was characterized by the growth of population and wealth, the latter contributing significantly to the lengthening of childhood.

Non-English immigrants—Dutch, German, and Scots-Irish—flowed into the colonies, another development that altered childhood.

Those colonists who remained deeply influenced by religion, most typically members of nuclear families living in isolated rural areas, can be labeled Evangelicals; they persisted in believing that children were depraved and in attempting to break their wills. A new secularism, often associated with the Enlightenment as well as the emerging world of commerce, enabled other mothers and fathers, more moderate than the Evangelicals and most often found in affluent farming villages and commercial towns, to deal in a gentler way with the young, expecting responsibility without demanding submission. Yet a third group of parents, genteel in their circumstances with a prosperity based on landownership and slaveholding, indulged their children, not in order to nurture them, but out of indifference to them.

But all European American households shared the belief that children must be controlled, even if the War for Independence both reflected and contributed to some loosening of household authority. Far more than the American Revolution, the industrial revolution altered domestic life in the United States. During the early nineteenth century, the movement from traditional agricultural communities into industrial towns and cities was characterized by the emergence of two distinctly different sorts of childhoods—middle-class and working-class—a process that was only beginning in 1829, primarily in the Northeast.

The urban middle-class household was characterized by the absence of the father, now at his office or factory, and the dominance of the mother. Her emphasis was less on corporal punishment than on internal control of her children, often enough through the employment of guilt (whereas shame had been the instrument of social control in traditional rural society). Insular though this family was in the new mass society, upward social mobility was a goal to be accomplished through education outside the home. Schooling took on a new urgency, and the age-graded classrooms that emerged in the cities reflected and intensified division in all aspects of a society once organically unified.

In the working class, the factory replaced the home as the place of employment. Children had always toiled as part of the household. Now they became wage earners and major supporters of families struggling simply to survive. Although still dominated by their parents, they were less susceptible to control, especially in immigrant families where children grasped American culture unburdened by the

Old World past and, thus, appeared wiser than their parents.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD

Most of the Africans brought to North America originated in west and west-central Africa, where women nursed their children for two to three years and abstained from sexual intercourse until weaning was complete, yielding a birth interval of three to four years in the manner of Native Americans. There were few African American children until several decades into the eighteenth century, when the slave population began to reproduce itself naturally. Then nursing lasted only a year, suggesting that slaves acculturated to European American practices or were forced by work requirements to adjust.

On the plantation, only one of several slave experiences, mothers were expected to return to work soon after giving birth. They had either to take their infants into the fields or return to the slave quarters three or four times a day to feed them. The death rate of black infants was exceptionally high compared to that of their white counterparts.

Once weaned, babes were under the watch of other children, frequently siblings, only a few years older than themselves. (Babysitting chores usually ended at seven or eight.) This child-care practice was sanctioned by African tradition. But while in Africa these child caretakers were part of the village social structure, in America they were largely unsupervised and cannot have been trustworthy.

On the plantation, then, the mother was frequently inaccessible to the African American child. Such separation must have engendered fear in the youngster, although the presence of a familiar companion-caretaker in a recognizable place probably mitigated the bad feelings.

In the Chesapeake area, mothers appear not to have been separated by sale from their young children and so could expect to see them in the evenings. On large plantations, over half the fathers might also be present. Other fathers and older, working children were likely to reside on nearby farms. Furthermore, a kinship network appeared during the course of the eighteenth century similar to that in Africa, allowing most children to live in the presence of familiars.

The games slave children played were the consequence of a dawning recognition of their enslaved condition. Whipping and auction provided ways of acting out so as to neutralize the real events. Also a portent of the future was the way meals were served to them: in troughs, as though they were animals.

The diet was poor and did not improve until they were adult workers. The master treated them less as stock than as his little pets (though he treated his own children similarly), spoiling them while their parents attempted to enforce discipline by whipping them in anticipation of their future.

African American parents were training chattel slaves to be submissive workers, conforming (at least in appearance) to the demands of house mistresses, drivers, and owners who felt free to interfere in the child-rearing process. Some historians believe that parents were able to instill self-esteem in children, but given the limited time old and young spent together, this seems unlikely.

Despite the beatings and perhaps because of the patronizing attitude of the master, childhood did not demand more than light work until about the age of twelve, when many of the children left home and the harsh field life began. Even the cushioning effect of the kinship system could not protect the young at this point, which surely marked the movement from childhood into adulthood. It was an abrupt change. The separation of the child from his or her family as a pre-adolescent could only intensify the fears of early childhood, a situation that served the interest of the slaveholder if only by investing the alternative, escape, with terror. Separation would have served as an obstacle to the normal socialization of a young person.

Of the three separate childhoods described here, it was the European American variety that changed most from 1754 to 1829, and that transformation was prompted by shifting economic conditions. The European Americans were dominant in North America, not only due to their numbers but also their economic, social, and political power. Their culture flourished, and they consciously suppressed the cultures of the Indians and the African Americans. The model of domination-submission was learned in the nursery.

See also **Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Domestic Violence; Farm Making; Education: Education of African Americans; Industrial Revolution; Parenthood.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Axtell, James, ed. *The Indian Peoples of Eastern America: A Documentary History of the Sexes.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Bremner, Robert H., et al., eds. *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History.* 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970–1974.

Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600–1900.* Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Greven, Philip J. *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America.* New York: Knopf, 1977.

Hawes, Joseph M., and N. Ray Hiner, eds. *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985.

Illick, Joseph E. *American Childhoods.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Schwartz, Marie Jenkins. *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Joseph E. Illick

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE American children's literature was an embryonic concept in early America. As an outpost of the British Empire, colonial children principally read works imported from England. In the absence of copyright laws, colonial and early American printers freely borrowed whole titles or parts of books and bowdlerized British works liberally. Authentic American texts written exclusively for child entertainment did not appear until the 1820s. Seventeenth-century classics like John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and popular advice books such as Lord Halifax's *The Lady's Gift, or Advice to a Daughter* (1688) or Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622) remained popular imports in the eighteenth century. Williamsburg bookshops sold chapbooks (small illustrated stories), advice books, and Anglican prayer books and catechisms to wealthy families. In New England the *New England Primer* and a variety of Protestant catechisms sold well in the eighteenth century. By the 1780s such children's classics as the *Tales of Mother Goose*, *Little Red Riding Hood*, and *Cinderella* were being printed in Boston by Isaiah Thomas.

English-language children's literature underwent significant redefinition in the works of London printer John Newbery (1713–1767). He closely adhered to the learning theories of John Locke, which stressed the ease with which children could soak up information rationally presented. Newbery reworked familiar folktales into instructive moral lessons like *A History of Little Goody Two-Shoes* (1765) or *A Little Pretty Pocketbook* (1744). Newbery often

introduced his books with a short essay directed to parents, admonishing them to use every daily event and life experience as a teaching moment. American printers imported Newbery books, but Hugh Gaine of New York and Isaiah Thomas also produced their own versions of his popular titles, adding maxims or additional stories to known titles at will. Not until 1790 did the U.S. Congress pass a copyright law giving authors the exclusive right to their own work for fourteen years, an act that stimulated American publications.

Regardless of legislation in colonial Massachusetts requiring that schools be established in all towns (1642), schooling and literacy remained sporadic and was the responsibility of parents or masters. The *New England Primer*, first published about 1690, remained the principle instructional text, whether children memorized it at home or in a school setting. It introduced children to the alphabet through memorized couplets, then presented simple phrases and proverbs, until students could read the Apostle's Creed and a catechism. Some versions of the *Primer* included a lengthy dialogue among Christ, the Devil, and a young man.

American printers accommodated to the changing political tenor of the New World by changing British references in the *Primer*. For example, "Our King the good" became "Kings should be good"; after the Revolution, that same line became "The British King / Lost States thirteen." Parents, tutors, and schoolroom teachers all relied on the *New England Primer* or one of the lesser known dissenting church primers, such as the one written by Quaker activist John Woolman in 1766, which focused on nature themes rather than biblical ones. Two English authors compiled grammar exercises that sold well in America: *A New Guide to the English Tongue*, by Thomas Dilworth, and *English Reader*, by Lindley Murray.

With the boycott of British imports during the 1770s and beyond, American booksellers were thrown upon their own devices to supply the classroom and the small market of book buyers. American civic leaders like Benjamin Rush, Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams began to call for increased educational opportunities for children so as to ensure the success of the new Republic. Arguing (in a letter to John Canfield in 1783) that America "must be as independent in literature as she is in politics," Noah Webster produced a set of progressively difficult volumes for reading instruction that emphasized republican virtue, proper behavior, and standardized spelling. The first work in this series, the *American Spelling*

Book (1783), was affectionately dubbed the "blue back speller." It remained a standard in the American classroom for several generations. Webster's *The Little Reader's Assistant* (1790) included a question and answer section called the "federal catechism" that provided a basic civics lesson. Mason Locke Weems also stressed republican virtues in his *Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (1800), the first account to include the myth of George Washington and the cherry tree.

The first American to produce bona fide children's literature was Samuel Goodrich (1793–1860), who wrote under the pen name Peter Parley. Goodrich began his career as a printer in Boston and published *Tales of Peter Parley about America* anonymously in 1827. In it the elderly Parley conversed with children on their level, in simple sentences, while relaying tales about Indians or battles of the American Revolution. Later works profiled famous Americans from Captain John Smith to Benjamin Franklin. Goodrich drew a moral tale from every story and, like Noah Webster, replaced dependence on biblical injunctions with a generic civic morality, an approach that lingered in children's literature through the nineteenth century.

See also **Games and Toys, Children's; Patents and Copyrights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Avery, Gillian. *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books, 1621–1922.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

Murray, Gail S. *American Children's Literature and the Construction of Childhood.* New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998.

Rosenbach, A. S. W. *Early American Children's Books.* New York: Kraus Reprint Corp, 1966; New York: Dover, 1971.

Gail S. Murray

CHINA TRADE   The China trade formally began on 22 February 1784 with the voyage of the *Empress of China*, owned by a consortium led by Robert Morris. The ships carried a cargo mainly consisting of ginseng. In August, the *Empress of China* became the first American ship to reach Canton. The ship returned to New York on 11 May 1785 carrying tea, nankeens (Nanking cotton cloth), chinaware, and silk. Those items subsequently made up the bulk of Chinese exports to the United States. Samuel Shaw,

the supercargo, was appointed consul at Canton in 1786. All trade was conducted at Canton through the *cohong*, native Chinese merchants with a monopoly on foreign trade. The largest export item from Canton was tea. American merchants shipped between three and five million pounds per year during the late 1790s and reached over ten million pounds per year after the War of 1812. Most of the tea was reexported. New York became the center of the tea business. Silk was also a major export, surpassing tea in the trading seasons of 1822–1823 and 1830–1831. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the search for a product to sell to China ended with the introduction of opium. James and Thomas H. Perkins of Boston began trading in opium in 1806, and by 1825 their company was the largest opium dealer in China, dominating the American China trade along with Archer and Jonas Oakford of Philadelphia and T. H. Smith of New York.

See also **Foreign Investment and Trade.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Downs, Jacque M. *The Golden Ghetto: The American Commercial Community at Canton and the Shaping of American China Policy, 1784–1844.* Bethlehem, Pa.: Lehigh University Press, 1997.

Dulles, Foster Rhea. *The Old China Trade.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

Robert W. Smith

CHISHOLM V. GEORGIA *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793) was the first important decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, and during the early national period the most controversial. Reaction to the decision was so strong, and so negative, that it led to the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, which prevented the Supreme Court from ever hearing such a case again.

The facts behind *Chisholm* are relatively mundane. During the Revolution, Robert Farquhar, a South Carolina businessman, sold various goods to the state of Georgia, which then refused to pay its bills. Complicating this case was the fact that while he sold goods to Georgia, Farquhar himself was a Loyalist, which may explain why Georgia refused to pay him. This fact, and the fear that other Loyalists would sue the states, may also explain Georgia's adamant hostility to the Supreme Court taking jurisdiction in the case. Alexander Chisholm, who was Farquhar's executor, sued Georgia to recover the money. He brought suit under the clause in Article III, section 2 of the U.S. Constitution, which gave jurisdiction to the federal courts in suits "between a State and Citizens of another State." Georgia refused to send counsel to the Supreme Court to even argue the case. Georgia simply denied that the Supreme Court had jurisdiction over the matter.

Justice James Iredell of North Carolina agreed with Georgia that the federal courts had no jurisdiction to hear the suit of a private citizen brought against a state. The rest of the Court disagreed. Justice James Wilson believed the case went to the heart of what a nation was. He rejected the idea that the states were sovereign, and thus they could not be sued against their will. Chief Justice John Jay agreed, asserting that the Constitution "recognizes and rests upon this great moral truth, that justice is the same whether due from one man to a million, or from a million to one man."

The Court found in favor of Chisholm and entered a default judgment for him. This set the stage for a trial on the actual damages. But that trial never took place. Even if it had taken place, Georgia's governor, Edward Telfair, made it clear that his state would never submit to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court on this matter. However, Georgia ultimately settled the case out of court, and the legislature appropriated money to Chisholm.

The most important result of the case was not Georgia's initial refusal to abide by a Supreme Court decision but the almost universal rejection of the holding by American politicians. The Supreme Court issued its decision on 17 February 1793. Within two days of the decision U.S. senators were considering an amendment to the Constitution to prevent citizens of one state from suing other states in federal court. Within a year of the decision both the House and Senate had voted in favor of such an amendment. By 7 February 1795, almost exactly two years after the decision, the amendment had received the support of three-fourths of the states and was thus in theory ratified. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear, the amendment did not officially become part of the Constitution until 8 January 1798. This was the first change in the Constitution since the adoption of the Bill of Rights. But unlike the first ten amendments, the Eleventh Amendment dealt with the restructuring of the original Constitution. The amendment simply declared that the judicial power of the federal courts did not "extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State."

See also **Bill of Rights; Constitution: Eleventh Amendment; Supreme Court.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Orth, John V. *The Judicial Power of the United States: The Eleventh Amendment in American History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Paul Finkelman

CHOLERA *See* **Health and Disease.**

CHURCH AND STATE *See* **Disestablishment.**

CINCINNATI Cincinnati's beginnings can be traced to 1788, when a New Jersey judge and speculator, John Cleves Symmes, purchased one million acres of land north of the Ohio River, between the Great and Little Miami Rivers. Losantiville, one of the three settlements planted on Symmes's purchase, derived its name from Greek, Latin, and French words meaning "village opposite the mouth" in reference to its location on the northern bank of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of Kentucky's Licking River. Losantiville's strategic location offered great commercial promise, and it eventually became the most significant of the three settlements. But before that promise could be realized, Losantiville settlers would have to contend with the Ohio Indians for rights to the land.

In the dawn of its days, Losantiville had an uncertain existence. Residents lived under the constant threat of attacks by Native Americans. Not even Fort Washington, built by the U.S. government around the village in 1789, could protect or stabilize the community. It was only after General Anthony Wayne defeated the Native American confederation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 that the walls of Fort Washington came down, signaling the end of all significant challenges to white settlement on the land. The name of the village was promptly changed to Cincinnati—a name borrowed from the Society of the Cincinnati, a renowned Revolutionary War veterans group. With the new name came a new destiny. What had begun as a humble garrison settlement became a symbol of western, if not American, aspirations by the 1820s.

Cincinnati is slightly older than the state of Ohio, which was admitted to the Union in 1803. In 1790 the governor of the Northwest Territory, General Arthur St. Clair, made Cincinnati the seat of Hamilton County, organized its civil and criminal courts, and appointed judges. The first courthouse, church, and school all opened at around the same time. A newspaper appeared before 1800, and by 1807 the city had its first bank. Cincinnati was recognized as a township by the territorial legislature in 1802 and incorporated as a city in 1819. Residents received municipal services, including water, city lights, and fire and police departments in the 1810s.

EARLY GROWTH

Early Cincinnati was a city of many faces. It was a northern city in its geography, a southern one in its culture, and a western city by its economic aspirations. It was the southernmost northern city, the northernmost southern city—all while being, as it was known, the Gateway to the West. These simultaneous, multiple identities created a distinct character and tone and also defined the destiny of the young city.

Cincinnati's early history and development cannot be divorced from its relationship to the Ohio River. The young city's extraordinary economic growth in its first fifty years can be attributed to its strategic location along this critical waterway. As the primary access route to the West in early America, the Ohio River linked the city to principal markets east and west. Because the river also fed into the Mississippi, Cincinnati additionally had access to southern markets and eventually became a major provider of goods to southern slave owners. Furthermore, the construction of the Miami and Erie Canal (1825–1845) created a faster way to convey goods between Cincinnati and other Ohio cities. The intersection of all these commercial highways near Cincinnati facilitated extraordinary economic growth. Although the port city had benefited from a relatively robust commercial economy since the days of its pioneers, the steamboat revolution in the 1820s ushered in an era of unparalleled prosperity in commerce and manufacturing. The advent of faster, more efficient transportation dramatically increased the volume of goods moving to, from, and through Cincinnati. The city emerged from the decade as the national leader in steamboat production and pork packing. In fact, the pork-packing capital was given the nickname Porkopolis—a name that could also refer to the great numbers of pigs that freely roamed the streets of Cincinnati. Reflecting its position as the leading man-

ufacturing and commercial power in the West, Cincinnati was also known as the Queen City of the West by 1830.

The Queen City's economy offered unbounded opportunities, drawing thousands of migrants each year. The city had about 500 residents in 1795; by 1810 its population had multiplied five times to over 2,500. Ten years later, 9,841 persons were living in Cincinnati. By 1830, after just four decades of existence, Cincinnati's population had ballooned to 24,831, eclipsing that of every other major western city. In 1840 its population of 46,339 was more than twice that of Pittsburgh and almost three times the population of St. Louis. In fact, by then Cincinnati was also the sixth-largest city in the nation.

POLITICAL HISTORY

Cincinnati politics were driven by economics for decades. City leaders, careful to maintain delicate trading relations with southern states, sometimes made decisions that were decidedly proslavery. Until the antebellum era, slaveholders had free rein to bring slaves with them as they did business in Cincinnati. The culture in Cincinnati not only tolerated slavery, but often tried to repress activity that might jeopardize relations with the South, including abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. Cincinnati had one of the strongest anti-abolitionist communities in the country, and for years city officials ignored their activities.

Much of the city's business and leadership class was affiliated with the National Republican and, later, the Whig Party. The National Republican Party hoped to use national institutions like the national bank to encourage the acquisition of private capital. The party attracted merchants, bankers, large retailers, and others who favored a robust market economy. The Tafts, Beechers, and Longworths were leading Republican families in the city.

As demographics changed in Cincinnati, so too did its political bent. The influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840s broadened the Democratic foothold, and the subsequent rise of the Democratic journal the *Cincinnati Enquirer* signaled an end to Whig dominance in city politics.

THE PEOPLE OF CINCINNATI

Most striking about the population demographics of early Cincinnati is its relatively high number of northeastern- and foreign-born residents. Germans were the largest immigrant group in Cincinnati between 1830 and 1870 and also comprised a significant portion of the city's total population. For exam-

ple, in 1840, 28 percent of the population was German. As the German population increased, so did its influence on the political and social culture of the city. As a testament to that influence, the German language was spoken and taught in many of Cincinnati's schools throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Another group, significant in spirit if not numbers, was Cincinnati's African American population. In a state that prohibited slavery, the Queen City offered many incentives for African Americans to settle there, not the least of which was jobs. The black population hovered between 3 and 4 percent until 1829, when it spiked to over 9 percent. Despite the implicit promise of freedom from slavery and racism, a riotous, anti-black, anti-abolitionist spirit gripped the city, many of whose white residents after 1829 tormented African Americans and, at times, their allies. For example, in the summer of 1829 the threat of an impending riot directed against the black community precipitated a mass exodus of over one thousand African Americans. In 1836 anti-abolitionist rioters destroyed the press of an abolitionist weekly, *The Philanthropist.* Despite such a climate, after 1836 Cincinnati was home to one of the most effective branches of the Underground Railroad and hailed as one of the nation's strongest abolitionist communities.

Because so much of the city's economy was invested in its waterways, it was natural and inevitable that the bright star of Cincinnati dimmed once railroads and national roads replaced steamboats as the principal conveyers of goods through the West in the 1850s. Shortly thereafter, the Queen City of the West was forced to relinquish the crown—although not the name—to other western cities like Chicago and St. Louis.

See also **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; American Indians: Old Northwest; Antislavery; Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Immigration and Immigrants: Germans; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Ohio; Steamboat.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aaron, Daniel. *Cincinnati: Queen City of the West*, *1819–1838.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1992.

Drake, Daniel. "Memoir of the Miami Country, 1779–1794." *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 18, nos. 2 and 3 (1923): 39–117.

Federal Writers' Project. *Cincinnati: Highlights of a Long Life.* Cincinnati: Cincinnati Office of the Works Progress Administration, 1938.

Ford, Henry A., and Kate B. Ford. *History of Cincinnati, Ohio with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches.* Cincinnati, Ohio: L. A. Williams, 1881.

King, Rufus. "When, and by Whom Was Cincinnati Founded?" Address presented to the Pioneer Association of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, 7 April 1882.

Taylor, Nikki. *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community, 1802–68.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005.

Trotter, Joe William. *River Jordan: African American Life in the Ohio Valley.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998.

Wade, Richard C. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Nikki Taylor

CIRCUSES   The first recognizably modern circus, with its defining combination of horse trick riding, juggling, clowning, and acrobatics, was born in London in 1768 under the direction of an ex-cavalryman, Philip Astley. The circus traveled rapidly, however, to the United States through the figure of John Bill Ricketts, a Scotsman who had worked primarily with Astley's rival, Charles Hughes. By the time Ricketts set up his first American shows in 1792 in New York and Philadelphia, the circus had organized various disparate but long-standing forms of popular street and fairground entertainment into a distinctive theatrical genre. The founding act for the circus was equestrian trick riding, and indeed the parameters of the circus ring itself have always been set at forty-two feet in diameter because Hughes had found this to be the optimum size within which enough centrifugal force could be generated to keep a rider in the saddle.

Before Ricketts, John Sharp in Boston and New York (1771) and Jacob Bates in Philadelphia (1772) had both pioneered equestrian displays. Yet the rapid development from this to circus was initially hamstrung in the United States during the Revolutionary years, the Continental Congress having put an injunction on all manner of public shows. Once this ban was revoked (after the Revolution), however, Ricketts's performance—a series of burlesque acts and horse-riding stunts—laid the grounds for a form of circus that, though it may have begun with a European template, was to develop in new and distinctly American ways. As though to seal the importance of the form to the developing nation, President George Washington, an enthusiastic horseman, attended Ricketts's wooden amphitheater in Philadelphia on 22 April 1793.

In the early nineteenth century, the American circus developed its most distinctive form: the tented traveling show. Where European circuses had mainly moved between limited numbers of fixed wooden amphitheaters, in 1825 J. Purdy Brown of Delaware was the first of many circus entrepreneurs to see the economic advantage of transporting the circus by horse and wagon and setting up tents in many more small and far-flung rural locations than had previously had access to a circus. Therefore, the "rolling" circus, though frequently based in Somers, New York, can be seen as a response to and an outgrowth of the dispersed and itinerant American nation in its early years. In the same period, the traveling menagerie also became integrated into the sense of what a circus was. Although Captain Jacob Crowninshield had brought a Bengali elephant to display in New York on 12 April 1796, it was Hackaliah Bailey who invented the concept of the animal as star performer. He named his African elephant Old Bet and displayed her from town to town between 1815 and her death (by gunshot) in 1816. The fact that Bailey was an early inspiration for P. T. Barnum and that Old Bet was the first star of the tented shows of Bailey's partner, Nathan Hewes, demonstrates her centrality to a preeminent American entertainment, shaped during this period.

See also **Fairs.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chindahl, George L. *A History of the Circus in America.* Caldwell, Ohio: Caxton, 1959.

Culhane, John. *The American Circus: An Illustrated History.* New York: Holt, 1990.

Davis, Janet M. *The Circus Age: Culture and Society under the American Big Top.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Stoddart, Helen. *Rings of Desire: Circus History and Representation.* New York: Manchester University Press, 2000.

Thayer, Stuart. *Annals of the American Circus, 1793–1860.* Vol. 1: *1793–1829.* Manchester, Mich.: Rymack, 1976.

Helen Stoddart

CITIZENSHIP   Citizenship meant much to first-generation Americans who had consciously cast off their identities as subjects of the British monarch and declared themselves members of a republic. This would, however, intersect with traditional notions of status that defined privileges and duties locally and hierarchically. Citizenship, with its suggestion of a

national, egalitarian identity was thus a concept central to the Revolutionary enterprise yet often subjugated in the early Republic to local determinations of status that doled out privileges and duties unequally.

SUBJECTSHIP IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

American colonists at the close of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) thought of themselves as subjects of the British monarch. The legal doctrine of subjectship had been articulated over a century earlier by English jurists. Only subjects of the king could own property and bring suits in the king's courts. Aliens may have owed temporarily allegiance by their residence in England, but they lacked the privileges of subjects unless Parliament naturalized them. All those born in the realm of England were natural-born subjects, immediately enjoying the protection of the monarch and owing allegiance in kind. This doctrine of allegiance was a reflection of divinely ordained hierarchies, similar to the filial bond of a child to a parent, and was as such natural and perpetual. Although allegiance involved reciprocal rights and duties, it was not a contractual bond. Neither subject nor monarch nor both together could, of his or her own volition, cast off the bond.

John Locke challenged this notion in his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (1690). Rather than hierarchical inequality enshrined in feudal bonds of allegiance, Locke argued that the bond between governors and governed stemmed from man's perfect freedom in the state of nature and was thus a consensual bond. This implied that governors were limited in their power, which left to the governed the absolute rights to life, liberty, and property that they had not consented to turn over to the government. Independent of Locke's natural rights were the political rights of freeborn Englishmen, which included the right to petition the king with grievances, to hold free elections, to have recourse to the writ of habeas corpus, to receive a trial by jury, and to consent to taxation, along with a host of other privileges. These rights were repeatedly asserted during the seventeenth century and became a centerpiece of the constitutional settlement of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in the English Bill of Rights.

Elements of both these theories worked their way into British law. William Blackstone separated the reciprocal rights and duties of subjects and monarch from the absolute rights of people in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769). Absolute rights, however, did not govern the law of persons. More important in determining someone's status was the common law relations of husband and wife, master and servant, parent and child. Corresponding duties of protection and obedience marked each of these relationships, enforcing a patriarchic legal regime.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the 1750s and 1760s, the question of subjectship in the British Empire arose. Notions of the rights of freeborn Englishmen collided with the ascendancy of the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty and the reality of administering an empire, particularly during war with France. To deal with a rebellion in the Scottish Highlands, the British Parliament in the Militia Act of 1757 deprived all Scots of the right to raise and regulate a militia. The Stamp Act of 1765 established an internal tax on the colonists to which they had not directly consented. The Massachusetts Government Act—part of the Intolerable Acts of 1774—annulled its charter and put the colony under military rule. While these actions of Parliament engaged a number of complicated constitutional issues, they impacted broadly the question of what kinds of privileges and immunities were enjoyed by British subjects outside the realm of England.

The thirteen colonies responded in 1776 to the imperial crisis by withdrawing their allegiance and drawing up independent constitutions. This had the revolutionary effect of changing subjects into citizens by transforming allegiance from an incident of feudal relations to an expressly consensual bond. This doctrine of consent suffered practical difficulties with the large number of British Loyalists resident in every state who did not elect to join the new polity in wartime. The states responded by treating Loyalists as citizens or as conquered subjects. Eventually, however, every state adopted a legal doctrine of elective membership in the polity.

NATURALIZATION LAWS

The U.S. Constitution made almost no mention of citizenship other than to guarantee that the "Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States" (Article IV, section 2) and to require a uniform rule of naturalization. The First Congress moved quickly to provide this rule, passing a naturalization act in 1790 that set a minimal residency requirement of two years. Congress raised this to five years in 1795 and limited jurisdiction over naturalization to U.S. district and territorial courts. Heightened anxiety during the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) prompted the Federalist Congress to pass a new naturalization act

in 1798 that raised the waiting period to fourteen years.

In 1802 the Democratic Republican–controlled Congress repealed the 1798 act and restored both the five-year residency requirement and the jurisdiction of any common law court, state or federal, over the naturalization process. This was, however, a Democratic Republican triumph over Federalist centralization rather than a commitment to freer immigration and naturalization. It was the states, not the national government, that placed restrictions on immigrants crossing their borders. In 1787 Georgia prohibited the immigration of any convicted criminal from either a foreign country or another state, and many states passed similar laws. After 1820, Massachusetts required shipmasters to provide security for passengers that might become paupers, and most states passed quarantine or registration laws that allowed them to refuse entry to foreigners deemed undesirable.

U.S. law stipulated in every case that naturalization was open only to "any alien being a free white person," a condition that eliminated Native Americans from consideration. While many agreed that Native Americans did not qualify as citizens of the new Republic, no single reason was cited. Some considered Native Americans' tribal allegiance as a barrier while others argued that Indians would forever be dependent on the superior intelligence of white men for their protection. Still, several treaties with Native Americans contemplated the possibility of future Indian citizenship. None of these treaties, however, achieved this goal.

Federal courts and officers generally concurred that Native Americans could not be naturalized under normal circumstances. Chief Justice John Marshall declared in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) that Indian tribes were not foreign states in the sense meant by the Constitution. Instead, they were "domestic dependent nations," an ambiguous term suggesting that tribes were like wards and that the United States was their guardian.

REPUBLICAN CITIZENSHIP

The naturalization debate of the 1790s triggered anxieties about the nature of republican citizenship. Many congressmen argued that America needed to encourage immigration but some worried that an influx of European immigrants would undermine republican simplicity. James Madison argued as early as 1790 that it was not immigration that Congress needed to encourage, but attachment to the Republic. While everyone agreed with Madison in principle,

there was little agreement about how to accomplish it.

The stakes were high. Republics rose and fell, Americans believed, based on the interplay between virtue and corruption. America's ability to survive would depend on the general intelligence, public virtue, and moral worth of its citizens. Religion, the traditional guardian of public morality, was fractured into many different churches. The push by dissenters for disestablishment further complicated the ability of religious institutions to communicate a common message.

To correct this, republicans stressed education as the means of securing the proper values in citizens. Noah Webster (1758–1843), Benjamin Rush (1745–1813), and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) all worked to establish elementary and higher education that would not only train people in the practical arts, but also prepare young people for the duties of civic membership in a republic. Education also promised a kind of equality based on independence and mobility. Educated citizens had the ability to improve themselves and this would, as Thomas Jefferson stressed, contribute to an equality of opportunity.

Women played a crucial role in education. Motherhood took on new meaning when it became infused with the duty of instilling the republican values of public virtue, integrity, and self-reliance—traits that women were now prompted to exhibit by example rather than just passively teach. This grafting of liberal civic duty onto traditional roles had revolutionary potential. Although they were duties exercised in the private home, they gave women new duties of citizenship. Still, women's status as citizens in the early Republic was unclear. Hampered by coverture, the legal doctrine that a woman's status was "covered" by her husband, married women had no independent legal identity and thus could not own property or bring suit in a court of law. In addition, most states barred women from officeholding, jury service, and voting regardless of their marital status.

While republic citizenship did redefine roles for men and women in the polity, loyalties throughout the Republic remained primarily local. Because the law defined people's rights and duties in terms of their membership in village, town, and state, United States' citizenship did not carry with it a host of privileges guaranteed by national law. Congressmen made clear during the naturalization debate that the Constitution's call for a uniform rule of naturalization did not grant uniform privileges. States separated civil protections, property holding, and suffrage

and distributed these privileges to their residents at their own discretion.

DEMOCRATIC EXPANSION AND RESTRICTION

Despite the absence of a national policy, patterns in the course of citizenship emerged during the early Republic. One was the democratic expansion of suffrage. Jefferson's optimism about the abilities of the common man challenged classical republicanism's insistence that only the propertied and wealthy exhibited the independence necessary to direct affairs of state. Classical republicans held that wage earners, artisans, and servants would be dependent upon their employers and easily corrupted or controlled. Hence, every state at the time of the Constitution's signing had some kind of property qualification for suffrage.

The Democratic Republican victory in the election of 1800 signaled the end of this regime. With Jefferson's support, Democratic Republicans in the states worked to repeal property requirements for suffrage. Maryland passed a universal white male suffrage bill in 1801 and other southern states quickly followed suit. After the admission to the Union in 1820 of Maine, with its constitution guaranteeing universal white male suffrage, Massachusetts and New York dropped their property qualifications. By 1829 only Virginia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had not adopted universal white male suffrage.

Despite these liberal tendencies, the legal regime of the early Republic retained the status distinctions inherent in the common law. This meant that one's relative privileges, immunities, and duties flowed from the law of persons. In addition, states retained through their police power wide discretionary authority over their inhabitants, including the ability to adjudge status and apply relative rights and duties. For instance, many states passed vagrancy laws after the Revolution that allowed justices of the peace and town overseers summarily to commit people deemed common vagrants, drunkards, and prostitutes to workhouses without benefit of a formal judicial hearing. In these cases, local status trumped any notion of universal citizenship.

Liberal democratic expansion had its own limits as well. Women found any voting rights that they possessed extinguished by universal manhood suffrage, as when New Jersey took away the right of propertied, single women to vote in 1807. Most southern states had forbidden free blacks from voting and performing civic duties such as serving on juries. Those states that granted privileges to free blacks revoked many of them after 1800, as Maryland did when it disenfranchised free blacks in 1810. Tennessee and North Carolina would restrict their generous provisions for free blacks in 1834 and 1835, respectively. Conditions in the North were little better. Outside New England, most northern states denied free blacks the suffrage. New York's revised constitution of 1826 both eliminated property qualifications for whites and increased them for blacks. As a result, only sixteen African Americans of a free black population of nearly thirteen thousand qualified to vote.

African Americans, enslaved and free, faced other impediments. In the North, free blacks not only found their commercial and political rights diminished, but also had their access to education restricted. Most northern and western states segregated schools by law or custom, and many appropriated no money for black schools. Conditions in the South were worse. Missouri's state constitution of 1820 forbade the immigration of free blacks. North Carolina required free blacks to wear a patch reading "FREE" on one shoulder and also to register with authorities, a policy adopted by other southern states. Free blacks throughout the South were required to carry proof of their status; blacks without papers were presumed fugitives from slavery. Some states denied blacks any kind of citizenship out of hand. Georgia's superior court declared in *Ex parte George* (1806) that "free negroes, persons of colour, and slaves, can derive no benefit from [Georgia's] constitution." James Monroe's attorney general, William Wirt, concluded in an 1821 opinion that free blacks could not be citizens because no person could be considered "in the description of citizen of the United States who has not the *full* rights of a citizen in the State of his residence." Wirt's logic implied that neither women nor minors were citizens, although he did not intend to draw this conclusion. What his position revealed was not so much doctrinal inconsistency, but rather that a variety of statuses existed at the state level and that they, rather than appeals to universal citizenship, determined membership, rights, and duties.

See also **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Alien and Sedition Acts; Education: Overview; Immigration and Immigrants: Immigration Policy and Law; Law; Politics: Political Thought; Voting; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1974.

Horton, James Oliver, and Lois E. Horton. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community, and Protest among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Kerber, Linda. *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.

Kettner, James H. *The Development of American Citizenship, 1608–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978.

Neuman, Gerald L. *Strangers to the Constitution: Immigrants, Borders, and Fundamental Law.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Novak, William J. "The Legal Transformation of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America." In *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History.* Edited by Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Shklar, Judith N. *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Smith, Rogers M. *Civic Ideals: Conflicting Visions of Citizenship in U.S. History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997.

H. Robert Baker

Population of Leading American Cities

1760	1830
Philadelphia 23,750	New York 202,589
New York 18,000	Philadelphia 161,271
Boston 15,600	Baltimore 80,620
Charles Town 8,000	Boston 61,392
Newport 7,500	New Orleans 46,082

CITY GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT   In the popular understanding of the early United States, what began as a republic of farmers became, within a century and a half, a metropolitan nation of cities. There is a measure of truth in this view. The first United States Census of 1790 classified only 5.14 percent of the total population of 3,929,214 as urban; there were only twelve places with 5,000 or more people. But the first American cities and towns did not grow as in Europe from agricultural villages or early military sites. Founded during the worldwide commercial revolution, they served the European powers as bases for the organization of the trade and commerce of empire. Regardless of their small size, they exercised complex economic and urban functions nearly from the start.

The four ports of Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Charleston provided the major urban centers of early America and contained the bulk of the urban population. Boston was settled in 1630 by Puritan migrants led by John Winthrop, who sought to establish a "city on a hill" that would be a beacon to the world. The city represented in part a religious effort to reestablish the true Christian church. But capitalistic enterprisers were a part of the Puritan effort. The growth of transatlantic trade made Boston the "mart town" of the Western Hemisphere and undermined the New England way of the small community organized around the church. Boston merchants early amassed the capital that financed much of the later rapid economic expansion of the United States.

William Penn, a Quaker, founded Philadelphia in 1682 as a holy experiment to establish a "green country town" that would provide a new ideal of commonwealth for the world. But as Philadelphia grew rapidly, Penn was disillusioned with his effort. In the eighteenth century Philadelphia became a thriving metropolis in the midst of a vast agricultural and town and village hinterland. By the time of the American Revolution it had also become a major cultural center of the British Empire.

In 1624 the Dutch had founded a trading center and named it New Amsterdam; in 1664 England seized it and changed its name to New York. Charleston, characterized by its large slave population, was established in the Carolinas (as Charles Town) in 1670 as a major port facility for the export of southern agricultural products. Newport, Rhode Island, also served as a major urban center but later declined in importance. Numerous smaller sites were tied to the new nation's four major cities as part of regional and metropolitan networks of trade.

Much of the unrest and agitation after the end of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) that led to the American Revolution centered in the cities. After 1763 towns that had achieved considerable governmental independence were threatened by the new British policies. British tax and trade measures particularly affected urban merchants. In their efforts to organize resistance to British policies, colonial leaders were able to capitalize on the class unrest that had developed among the lower classes of the towns and cities.

The United States Constitution of 1787, which permitted Congress to establish a capital district,

eventually created an important American city, Washington, D.C. A series of compromises in the early years of the new government resulted in a southern site for the capital. Southern leaders, who feared that the location of a capital permanently in a northern center such as Philadelphia would threaten the institution of slavery, may have influenced this decision.

The transportation revolution and settlement of the trans-Appalachian west sharply affected urban growth. The Erie Canal, built between 1817 and 1825 from Albany to Buffalo, contributed to New York City's first rank among American cities and led to the transformation of the villages of Rochester, Buffalo, and Cleveland into cities. Baltimore, the first American boom town, embraced the new technology of the railroad with the start of the Baltimore and Ohio in 1828. Steamboats on the interior Mississippi River system, following Robert Fulton's launching of the *Clermont* in 1807, contributed to the rapid rise of New Orleans. Contemporary authorities often viewed Baltimore or New Orleans as the potential American metropolis, but Baltimore was unable to exploit its early transportation advantage. The eventual pattern of the urban network following east-west lines of transportation continued to benefit the eastern ports. By contrast, New Orleans was tied to the interior river system, which had been the site of the first cities of the west such as Cincinnati and St. Louis.

By 1830 American manufacturing had begun to move from the countryside into the heart of cities. The diverse, compact city of small shops and tradesmen had begun to disappear. This change led to greater segregation and a more defined urban class structure.

See also **Boston; Charleston; Erie Canal; New York City; Philadelphia; Steamboat.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bridenbaugh, Carl. *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743–1776.* New York: Knopf, 1955.

Glaab, Charles N., and A. Theodore Brown. *A History of Urban America.* 3rd ed. New York: Macmillan, 1983.

Pred, Allan R. *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Charles N. Glaab

CITY PLANNING City planning methods in colonial and post-Revolutionary America followed the European-inspired grid pattern of streets bisecting at right angles, a form made popular by William Penn in his pre-packaged city layout for Philadelphia in 1682. Most colonial cities of the era followed Penn's plan. A standard set by this style was the creation of parklike spaces designed for public recreation and, occasionally, marketplaces.

Savannah, Georgia, is considered a remarkable example of city planning that uses a more aesthetically appealing approach while facilitating traffic flow. Founded in 1733, Savannah was laid out by General James Edward Oglethorpe on a bluff overlooking the Savannah River approximately eighteen miles from the coast. What distinguishes this plan from previous ones is its repeated pattern of connected neighborhoods or wards consisting of picturesque squares amid grid street patterns with public spaces surrounded by private dwellings. The public squares were connected via main avenues laid out east to west from the banks of the Savannah River, with pedestrian and horse-powered traffic moving counterclockwise around each square. This design and the inclusion of Savannah's numerous public squares within its layout gave the city the distinction of having the most open space of any urban plan in colonial America.

The District of Columbia, which became the nation's capital in 1800, initially was one hundred square and swampy miles along the Potomac River donated by Maryland and Virginia. In 1791 Pierre Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), a former engineer under General Marquis de Lafayette, won the commission to design the federal city in the District of Columbia after entering his plan in a competition. L'Enfant was difficult and short-tempered with the people surrounding him, and he was removed in 1792. Upon leaving, he took his plans along with him.

Following his resignation, Benjamin Banneker (1731–1806) took over the surveying of the capital. Banneker, a talented African American mathematician, astronomer, and surveyor, had assisted L'Enfant. Banneker was able to reproduce most of L'Enfant's plan from memory.

The layout of Washington, D.C., is notable for its network of wide boulevards radiating like spokes from connecting focal points that were the sites of significant public buildings. Open spaces and a grid pattern of streets oriented along the cardinal points of the compass proved an efficient enough plan that it remains the standard by which contemporary proposals for Washington, D.C., land-use changes are considered.

See also **Architecture: Public; Philadelphia; Washington, D.C.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bacon, Edmund N. *Design of Cities.* Rev. ed. New York: Viking, 1974.

Mullins, Lisa C., ed. *Colonial Architecture of the Mid-Atlantic.* Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1987.

Savannah Guidelines Steering Committee. *Manual for Development in the Savannah Historic District; and Historic District Zoning Ordinance.* Savannah, Ga.: Chatham County–Savannah Metropolitan Planning Commission, 1997.

Shaun-Marie Newcomer

CIVIL ENGINEERING AND BUILDING TECHNOLOGY The decades surrounding the American Revolution, from the 1760s until about 1820, saw few advances in building technology. Where change occurred it was often small, local, and incremental. The buildings of the early nineteenth century look different from their colonial counterparts, a product of new republican sensibilities that stripped down the ornate detail of the classical Georgian style and replaced it with the simpler lines of the Federal style. Despite the change in appearance, though, buildings of the new American nation were constructed with the same traditional techniques that had been in use for generations.

BUILDING MATERIALS

The availability of timber and the early development of sawmills made wood the construction material of choice in early America. By the mid-eighteenth century, standardized conventions for size and quality of lumber facilitated long-distance transactions, and a complex system of sawyers, agents, and board yards moved wood from timber lot to the towns and cities where construction was taking place. Most builders fashioned their buildings from quick sketches and traditional mental templates, substituting creativity, intuition, and experience for more formal written drawings and designs. In the 1760s architectural design books from England became available in the colonies and encouraged a greater level of uniformity and standardization in high-style elite urban buildings. By the 1790s the patterns were being used by tradesmen of all classes, and English architectural conventions increasingly influenced vernacular building techniques and designs in the countryside as well.

Most wooden structures were framed with heavy hand-hewn posts and beams joined together by hand-carved mortise-and-tenon joints, covered over with sheathing and clapboards and roofed with hand-split wooden shingles. Frames were often fit together into subassemblies at the mill or carpenter's yard, then marked, disassembled, and shipped to the building site. At the site, builders would reconstruct the subassemblies, then supervise the raising, in which local townspeople would come together for a day to pull the sides up into place and attach the roofing frame. Raising a frame was dangerous business, so it was important that all involved understood how the framing was supposed to go together. Consequently, the house-raising tradition worked against innovations in framing. With advances in sawmill technology in the 1790s, sawn framing members increasingly replaced hewn timbers and helped fuel the building boom of that decade. Machine-cut nails, a cheap alternative to the hand-forged nails that had been in use for centuries, also became widely available in the first decade of the nineteenth century. The availability of both sawn lumber and nails resulted in a more economical braced-frame style of construction, which replaced some of the heavy timber framing with smaller, standardized studs attached by nails rather than hand-carved joints.

In the mid-Atlantic and the South, a significant amount of brick construction took place, particularly in cities like Philadelphia and Baltimore, where bricks were used to build whole blocks of residential row houses. There were few brick structures in the Northeast, largely due to the lack of the limestone that was necessary for both mortar and plaster. The exception was in chimney construction, where brick was in use everywhere from the late seventeenth century. Brick vaults, which had replaced rubble-stone foundations beneath chimney stacks by about 1800, provided both a stronger foundation and a built-in cellar storage area. Brickmaking was an ancient art, and this period saw few departures from the traditional production process, the only real innovation coming in 1815 with the burning of anthracite coal and wood in the kilns. The combination created slightly inferior bricks and mortar but greatly reduced the time and cost involved.

Most eighteenth-century foundations were constructed either of packed earth or loosely fitting stones and boulders bound together by mortar. In the 1790s improved quarrying and splitting techniques allowed builders to cap foundations with hewn granite slabs that greatly enhanced durability

and stability. Techniques for milling and cutting stone were also perfected in this decade, resulting in the increased use of granite and marble for both structural and decorative purposes.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The 1820s and 1830s witnessed a dramatic transformation in building technology. Sawmills began to replace old up-and-down saws, which only cut on the down stroke, with the new and more productive continuously cutting circular saw. As a result, sawn frames, shingles, and lath for plaster all became much more inexpensive and widely available than their hand-fashioned antecedents. Steam-driven sawmills began to free sawyers from their dependence on seasonal water flow. New nailheading machinery made cut nails even more economical, and the invention of planing machinery greatly reduced the time and skill necessary for sizing boards and producing finish work. Carpenter-builders shifted from the scribe rule system of measurements, where individual framing members were trued up and fitted with respect to each other, to the square rule, which emphasized standardization and the interchangeability of framing elements. These technological developments, coupled with the need for fast and cheap construction on the expanding American frontier, led to the invention of balloon-frame construction. First used at Fort Dearborn, near Chicago in 1833, the balloon frame replaced the posts, beams, and braces with rows of smaller, lighter studs, rafters, and joists, wholly held together by nails rather than hand-carved joints.

Steam machinery facilitated hoisting and cutting operations in quarries, and slate became an increasingly popular roofing material, particularly in cities, where wood-shingled roofs had proven to be dangerous fire hazards. Mechanized brick making, the use of poured cement in construction, and iron-framed structures all began to appear in the late 1820s. The development of practical cast iron stoves in the early 1830s freed builders from the limitations on floor plans imposed by the earlier need for a fireplace in each room. More choices were available to builders, but the technology and the construction practices of the 1820s and 1830s were also transforming building from a traditional craft trade into a factory-style operation. Though in many places, particularly in the countryside, vernacular and hand-crafted building practices continued for much of the nineteenth century, the industrialization taking place at the end of the early national period produced more efficient and standardized building technologies that fit the needs of the rapidly growing nation.

See also **Architecture; Housing; Technology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Condit, Carl W. *American Building: Materials and Techniques from the First Colonial Settlements to the Present.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

Garvin, James L. *A Building History of Northern New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001.

Larkin, Jack. *The Reshaping of Everyday Life: 1790–1840.* New York: Harper and Row, 1988.

McAlester, Virginia, and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Knopf, 2000.

Rilling, Donna J. *Making Houses, Crafting Capitalism: Builders in Philadelphia, 1790–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

David R. Byers

CLASS

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Overview*, *Development of the Working Class*, and *Rise of the Middle Class*.

Overview

During the colonial period, Euro-Americans found themselves bound together in vertical networks of patronage and dependence. Living in patriarchal households and engaged in face-to-face economic exchange, most colonists experienced social stratification in direct and personal ways: fathers controlled children's economic prospects via inheritance and dowries; masters exacted violence upon servants, apprentices, and slaves; freeholders governed on behalf of women, transients, and propertyless men; landlords, shopkeepers, and merchants used credit to establish clientage relationships with poorer neighbors. For many Euro-American colonists, radical inequalities of wealth attested less to the competition of social classes or the impersonal workings of the economy and more to the proper functioning of what Gordon Wood, in his *Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), has called "a monarchical society"—a world where the only meaningful horizontal division separated commoners from the gentry.

But with national independence and the intellectual dismantling of hereditary privilege, an increasing number of Americans refused the distinction between themselves and their superiors. Deference gave way to the celebration of republican equality among adult white male property owners. With the demise

of certain kinds of legal inequality (e.g., indentured servitude), the expansion of the franchise (the abolition of property requirements), and the opening of western lands to white settlement (thanks to the dispossession of native peoples), American political culture emphasized a generic equality rather than the specific and direct inequalities of colonial society. Even as the vertical dependencies of patriarchal households and local economies persisted and differences of wealth inevitably divided society into distinct classes, adult white men would celebrate their potential to transcend the rank of their birth. The American Revolution presumably created a society where orphans could become presidents or where impoverished immigrants could die as millionaires. Rare as such occurrences were, they enabled many commentators—then and now—to credit the American Revolution with the creation of a "classless" society.

Relative to Europe, the United States did offer adult white men greater opportunities for upward mobility. As the majority of adult white men would own land at some point in their lives, the United States remained overwhelmingly rural and was slow to develop the urban proletariat that had become the alarming characteristic of English cities. Karl Marx's tripartite class structure of European society (a politically powerful class of rural landlords, a rising class of urban entrepreneurs, and a great number of dispossessed agricultural and industrial laborers) did not apply in the United States. By many accounts, the typical American worker was a landowning farmer whose business acumen rivaled that of any urban merchant and whose independence mocked the degraded state of the European husbandman. This favorable comparison also helped to enshrine the notion that the United States was a classless society.

Regardless of the myth's origins, the early United States was not a classless society. The new nation may not have had an urban proletariat, but by 1810 it did incorporate 1.2 million enslaved African Americans whose coerced labor enriched the 33 percent of southern white households who owned human property. The United States had no legal aristocracy, but its political leaders—Federalists and Democratic

Republicans alike—overwhelmingly came from the ranks of the wealthy, staked their authority on the size of their landholdings, and legislated in their own financial interest. Common people may have had prospects of upward mobility, but the downward mobility of urban artisans generated a stream of strikes, riots, and political organizing that culminated in the workingmen's parties of the 1820s and 1830s. Cliometric data reveals growing wealth stratification among white men in the decades after 1790 and class fixity, not fluidity, as characteristic.

The most important class development in the early Republic was the emergence of the familiar tripartite structure of an upper, middle, and working class. Less a reflection of a vastly reorganized economy or real competition between groups for material resources, these horizontal strata were the creation of a self-conscious middle class whose champions touted the values, ambitions, and manners that made them different from the "improvident" poor below and the "decadent" rich above. Situated in communities immersed in the market relations of capitalism, members of the middle class valorized a private family realm where women guarded morality from the corruption of the public sphere and made the home a center of sentimental culture, child rearing, and tasteful consumption. This new middle class was so successful in universalizing its virtues of self-improvement and self-control that the vast majority of Americans ever since have identified themselves as middle class. Indeed, if the American class structure remains as obscure today as it was two hundred years ago, the best explanation is not a structural "classlessness," but rather the power of middle-class ideals to channel working-class discontent toward individualistic, not collective, expression and to mask upper-class privilege behind the presumption of a meritocratic society.

See also **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Politics: Political Culture; Slavery: Overview; Wealth; Wealth Distribution; Women: Overview; Work.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bushman, Richard L. The *Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Cott, Nancy F. *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Pestana, Carla Gardina, and Sharon V. Salinger, eds. *Inequality in Early America.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999.

Soltow, Lee. *Distribution of Wealth and Income in the United States in 1798.* Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Wood, Gordon. *Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1992.

Young, Alfred F. *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1999.

Seth Rockman

Development of the Working Class

When George Washington's administration took power in 1789, the United States had only a small working class in a structural sense, meaning free people whose only valuable possession was their ability to perform wage labor. Most of these were seafarers and urban laborers. But in Atlantic ports from Boston to Charleston, there were "workingmen" who were conscious of themselves as distinct from the rest of society. Many were artisans who expected in their own lifetimes to master the "mysteries" of a trade and, eventually, to own their shops, their tools, and the goods they produced until those goods were ready for sale.

CRAFT PRIDE

These workingmen were heirs to English and European craft pride and craft organization, and they possessed a proud Revolutionary record. They celebrated both themselves, as craftsmen, and the history they had helped to make in great parades that marked the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, which most of them heartily favored. They knew that even the world-famous Benjamin Franklin still called himself a printer, though he had left his type and press behind decades earlier for the life of a gentleman intellectual and politician. In Boston they honored Paul Revere much more for his mastery of silverwork, his Revolutionary-era political engravings, and his latter-day copper foundry than for the ride he made to Concord in 1775 with the news that the British "regulars are coming out." Like Franklin, Revere was becoming a wealthy man. A blacksmith, house carpenter, or cobbler never would reach their heights, but such a person could see that these were men much like himself.

OUTSIDE THE CRAFT SYSTEM
Among African Americans there were similar success stories, most notably, perhaps, that of the Philadel-
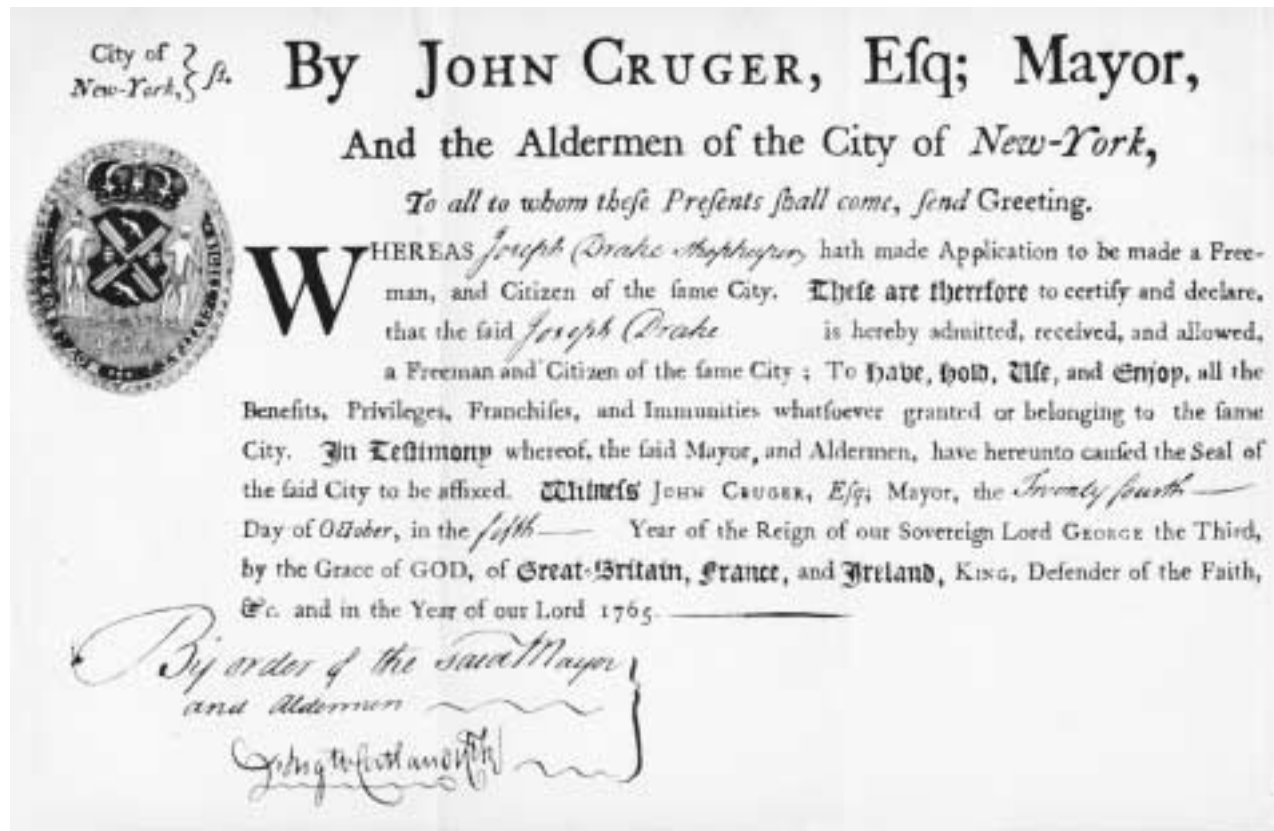
Certificate of Joseph Drake. In the colonial period freemanship entitled a member to operate a business, usually an artisan shop, which in turn allowed him to vote, thus giving artisans a significant say in politics. COLLECTION OF HOWARD ROCK.

phia sail maker James Forten. Forten, however, was an exception. Slavery was dying in his Philadelphia, but only in Boston among the major cities was it actually dead when Washington assumed the presidency in 1789. Many of the master artisans who paraded behind their craft banners owned slaves and intended to keep them, offering no hope that the slave would follow the owner's route from apprenticeship through journeyman status to full mastery. In the 1830s the young Baltimore slave Frederick Bailey learned the skills of shipbuilding. After he escaped and changed his name to Frederick Douglass, he found that nobody in New England shipyards wanted his skills.

A person did not have to be black to be permanently excluded from the full life course of a Franklin or a Revere. Shipbuilding was a complex business, which no single person could master. However skilled the shipwright, he could not expect to own his own yard. A man might master the art of smelting iron, but he was unlikely to amass the capital needed for his own foundry. In the 1790s the furniture maker Duncan Phyfe employed many woodworkers as skilled as himself. Unless they were slaves, such

workingmen were free to quit, but they could not expect to emulate Phyfe. Shoemaking remained a skilled craft until the mid-nineteenth century, but in the leather capital of Lynn, Massachusetts, craftsmen found themselves increasingly committed to contract work for others, often at deteriorating rates. Vast numbers of American women spun their own thread, wove it into cloth, and cut and sewed their families' clothes. Some, such as the Maine midwife Martha Ballard, made weaving into a business, hiring "girls" to work for them. Ballard worked hard all her lifetime, but as with almost all women, what she did was within the framework of the household.

FACTORIES

When New York State completed construction of the Erie Canal in 1825, much of these circumstances endured, but major changes were under way. The canal was a major part of the market revolution that brought, or promised to bring, goods produced at a far distance to people who consumed whatever they could buy. Beginning in 1791 in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, power-driven mills began to turn the spinning of thread from a household task into paid work,

often performed by women and children. Adopted New Englander Samuel Slater, who provided the knowledge for the first such American mill, had escaped in disguise from England, breaking its monopoly on emergent technology. In 1811 native New Englander Francis Cabot Lowell toured Britain's factories, memorizing the details of their much more advanced machinery. By 1825 American entrepreneurs were building large-scale factories of their own, often employing single women. Those women found new personal freedom, but their task was simply to tend the owners' machines. They were workers in the modern sense, and they were beginning to think of themselves that way. By the 1840s they had organizations and leaders of their own. They understood both strikes and political campaigns for better wages and shorter hours.

Large power-driven factories in newly built towns were only one form of emerging industrial America. In the ports and inland towns metropolitan industrialization meant reorganizing the rhythm and direction of old skills rather than ending those skills with new technology. Shoemaking would not become mechanized until the mid-nineteenth century. But well before the introduction of sewing machines, shoemakers were working for wages in central shops and some of the tasks were being put out on consignment to distant villages and isolated farms. Factory-made cheap cloth led to "sweated" labor by whole families laboring to turn consignments of fabric into finished goods. By no means was this transformation complete. In 1825, as in 1790, most white Americans still worked within a format of household production. Most still hoped for the "competency" (meaning the ability to meet their families' needs and stay out of debt) that owning their own shop or farm would bring. But a different future was taking shape around them.

WORKERS AND POLITICS

Workingmen were political from the very beginning of the Republic. In 1829 New York workers organized their own Working Men's Party and sought political office. It proved short-lived, merging rapidly into the Democratic Party of Andrew Jackson. Jackson promised small government and equal opportunity, which most workingmen wanted, but he was a major Tennessee slaveholder. The coalition that he assembled had no room for either the idea that slavery was wrong or that free black people, or women of any race, should be equal participants in what America offered. Structurally, a working class was taking shape. Worker consciousness that transcend-

ed craft, race, gender, and the confines of local community was another matter.

See also **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Shipbuilding Industry; Textiles Manufacturing; Work.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blewett, Mary H. *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Dawley, Alan. *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Laurie, Bruce. *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1989.

Rock, Howard B., Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher, eds. *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750–1850.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Wilentz, Sean. *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Edward Countryman

Rise of the Middle Class

The middle class simultaneously emerged out of and contributed to a complex, uneven, and contradictory process of political, economic, and social change. Although the middle class owed much to a Revolutionary legacy that attacked rank and privilege, it also contributed decisively to the hierarchies that came to mark the antebellum United States. It was defined not simply by its members' income or occupations, but also by their culture. Indeed, by the 1830s the definitive feature of the middle class may have been its insistence that class, defined as a set of permanent, hierarchical, social and economic categories did not exist at all. And while historians have begun to locate the emergence of an American middle class in a transatlantic context, eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century women and men insisted upon its distinctly American, republican character.

ORIGINS OF THE MIDDLE CLASS

Eighteenth-century American society was marked by rank and deference. The middling rank, which formed a rough precursor to the middle class, included artisans and small proprietors along with professionals and semiprofessionals, who took their places in a strictly ordered social hierarchy. While particular individuals might rise beyond their beginnings, the vast majority were expected to remain within

their rank. Strivers were viewed with enormous suspicion; indeed, the hallmark of successful striving was the ability to hide it altogether. But following the American Revolution (1775–1783), some men and women challenged the primacy of rank and deference by extending assertions of political equality to social and economic activities. Consequently, the early national period was marked by wide-ranging disputes over deference and hierarchy. These conflicts manifested themselves in battles between Federalists and Democratic Republicans over the degree of ceremony due the president. Such conflicts also registered among hired laborers who rejected the label "servant," insisting instead on new job titles free from degrading associations with dependency and servility.

WORK AND DOMESTIC LIFE

Such political and cultural conflicts assumed greater urgency and significance in the context of economic development. The quickening pace of commerce, combined with the expansion of manufactures, created new opportunities for men of ambition and talent. Scores of farm boys, no longer content to follow in their fathers' footsteps, sought new careers, working as poorly paid clerks and schoolteachers while hoping for brighter futures. In cities, some master craftsmen transformed themselves into white-collared businessmen who supervised laborers and pored over account books. But the ranks of the middle class also included men who mixed farming with entrepreneurship and small businessmen whose daily work encompassed both managerial and productive labor. All these careers demanded literacy and numeracy; most of them also demanded at least a degree of refinement. More important, they required both initiative and risk taking. Certainly, middle-class Americans disagreed about the boundaries of respectable entrepreneurship, about the degree of ambition and the kinds of risks that were socially and morally acceptable. But in elaborating and celebrating the self-made man—a mythic figure who triumphed over a volatile market through the exercise of skill and wit—nineteenth-century Americans rehabilitated striving. Ironically, historians have discovered that the vaunted self-made man typically depended upon his natal family, whose members worked together to finance his early career. The money required for education and vocational training resulted from years of careful saving as well as from the supplemental income generated by mothers and sisters.

The celebration of the self-made man signaled more than the creation of new occupations. Instead, it was part of a broader transformation of the ways that early national Americans imagined the relationship between productive and nonproductive labor and between the public and private spheres. The transformation of the economy gradually undermined older barter systems and increased the importance of cash for daily transactions. Productivity became synonymous with paid work, which diminished recognition of the economic value of women's unpaid cooking, cleaning, nursing, and sewing. These tasks, which involved both making and saving, remained critical to middle-class families' economic strategies. But by the 1830s, the importance of women's domestic labor, once acknowledged as a crucial component of economic security, was eclipsed both by the ascendance of waged work and a new domestic ideal that emphasized families as affectional rather than as productive entities.

These kinds of distinctions were reinforced by a transatlantic domestic ideology that emphasized the separation of public and private spheres as an extension of the fundamental differences between women and men. Men's intellect, ambition, and vigor suited them to the public sphere and the worlds of work and politics; women's affect and innate piety suited them for the roles of wife and mother. If middle-class women were excluded from the public sphere, they were enshrined within homes that were imagined not as productive enterprises but as arenas for family life. Maternal influence gradually replaced patriarchal authority as the centerpiece of the domestic ideal. By casting new forms of work and family as the inexorable effect of masculinity and femininity, domestic ideologues on both sides of the Atlantic helped naturalize a radically innovative set of social arrangements and ideals. They also deflected attention away from the uneven correspondence between ideology and practice.

THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The emergent middle class reshaped the public sphere along with the private. Both men and women, notwithstanding the latter's association with the private sphere, created a rich civic culture. Voluntary associations sprang up throughout the North. This flourishing associational life owed much to the evangelical fervor of the Second Great Awakening. Members of the middle class joined groups to ameliorate poverty, instill temperance, eradicate vice, and dispense Bibles and religious tracts. Taken together, these efforts reveal both a desire for self-control, which was necessary for success in middle-class parlors and workplaces alike, and a desire for social control, which

aimed to shape the behavior and values of immigrants and the working class. Early national civic culture was also shaped by the quest for self-cultivation. An expansive print culture, like the lyceum circuit, expanded the intellectual horizons of urban and rural Americans. At the same time, countless literary societies, debating clubs, and singing schools satisfied their penchant for refinement. These voluntary associations complemented the expansion of both public and private education in the North and helped consolidate the cultural hegemony of the middle class.

See also **Clothing; Furniture; Housing; Voluntary and Civic Associations; Women: Professions; Women: Women's Voluntary Associations; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Middle-Class Occupations.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bledstein, Burton J., and Robert D. Johnston, eds. *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class.* New York: Routledge, 2001.

Blumin, Stuart M. *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Kelly, Catherine E. *In the New England Fashion: Reshaping Women's Lives in the Nineteenth Century.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Ryan, Mary P. *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865.* Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Catherine E. Kelly

CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND AMERICAN POLITICS   The American founders were steeped in the classics of ancient Greece and Rome. The Western educational system that trained them emphasized a classical curriculum that changed little from the medieval period to the late nineteenth century. Boys typically began studying Greek and Latin at around age eight, reading Cicero (106–43 B.C.), Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Homer (eighth century B.C.), Xenophon (c. 431–c. 352 B.C.), and the Greek New Testament. The founders' classical training generally continued in college, where two or three out of the four years were devoted to further study of the classics. As a result, most of the founders developed both reverence and affection for them, urging their own children to study them and soundly defeating the efforts of those who sought to eliminate the classical language requirement in the schools. Many of the founders continued to read the classics even in retirement.

CLASSICAL SYMBOLS
The founders used classical symbols to communicate, to impress, and to persuade. The existence of a classical canon facilitated communication among the educated men of the Western world. With a single classical pseudonym or allusion, a gentleman could be certain of generating a chain of associations within the mind of his audience. These symbols also served a powerful legitimating function. To appropriate such emblems was to claim social status for oneself and the support of venerable authorities for one's cause. Classical symbols provided badges of class, taste, wisdom, and virtue. The most common classical symbol was the pseudonym. Drawn largely from the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch (c. A.D. 46–after 119), Alexander Hamilton's pseudonyms were carefully selected to reinforce the central arguments of his essays. For instance, Hamilton used "Phocion" for a 1784 open letter to the citizens of New York opposing a state law that would confiscate Tory property. Phocion was a fourth-century B.C. Athenian general famous for his decent treatment of prisoners of war. Hamilton was suggesting that his fellow New Yorkers emulate Phocion's wise magnanimity. Similarly, anti–Federalists adopted the pseudonyms "Brutus," "Cassius," and "Cato," in order to insinuate that the supporters of the Constitution were Monarchists.

Thomas Jefferson was a leader of the neoclassical movement in American architecture, combining the Greek column with the Roman dome in his designs for such structures as the Virginia Capitol, the U.S. Capitol, Monticello, and various buildings on the University of Virginia campus.

MODELS OF CONDUCT
Ancient history also provided the founders with important models of personal behavior, social practice, and government form. George Washington modeled himself after Cincinnatus (fl. mid–fifth century B.C.), the Roman hero who defeated the Aequians, a Latin tribe that threatened Rome, in sixteen days and then promptly resigned his dictatorship and retired to the plow. Proud of his position as the first president of the Society of the Cincinnati, an association of Revolutionary War veterans, Washington demanded reforms when popular fears of the hereditary nature of the organization threatened to destroy the image associated with its name. Washington also admired

Cato the Younger (95–46 B.C.), who died defending the Roman republic against Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.). Washington memorized various lines from *Cato*, a play by Joseph Addison (1672–1719) based on Plutarch's lives of Cato and Caesar, and employed them aptly at crucial moments in his career. John Adams emulated Cicero, the other great martyr of the Roman republic, throughout his life. Cicero's unwillingness to engage in party favoritism was especially influential for Adams.

In general, the founders embraced the classical theme of the lone-wolf hero (e.g., Socrates [470–399 B.C.], Demosthenes [d. 413 B.C.], and Cicero) who sacrifices short-term popularity, which can be purchased only by vice, for long-term fame, which can be purchased only by virtue—the aristocrat who saves the masses, often at the cost of his own life, from themselves. The founders also admired Spartan frugality, courage, and patriotism and Athenian freedom of speech. During the American Revolution they noted that the Greeks, unlike the British, had allowed their colonies complete independence. The founders were encouraged by the fact that a tiny band of Greek republics had defeated the greatest power of their own day, the seemingly invincible Persian Empire. Like his colleagues, Jefferson also frequently compared the United States with the early Roman republic, adding that Great Britain resembled the corrupt commercial city of Carthage. The founders were excited at the opportunity to match their ancient heroes' struggles against tyranny and their sage construction of durable republics—to rival the noble deeds that had filled their youth.

ANTIMODELS

The founders' classical antimodels, those ancient individuals, societies, and government forms whose vices they wished to avoid, were as significant as their models. The most prevalent antimodels were Philip II of Macedon (382–336 B.C.), Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.), Catiline (c. 108–62 B.C.), Julius Caesar, Tiberius (42 B.C.–A.D. 37), Caligula (A.D. 12–41), and Nero (A.D. 37–68)—men who had either overturned the revered Greek democracy and Roman republic or had ruled tyrannically following their demise. Some founders considered Greco-Roman slavery a model, others an antimodel. While Charles Pinckney based his defense of southern slavery on the Greco-Roman model, George Mason and John Dickinson emphasized the deleterious effects of slavery on the Roman republic. During the debates at the Constitutional Convention, Federalists repeatedly cited ancient Greek confederacies, such as the Amphicty-onic and Achaean Leagues, as examples of federal systems destroyed by decentralization, while anti-Federalists referred to the Roman republic as an example of a republic ruined by centralization.

The founders' scrutiny of the ancient republics frequently resembled autopsies, the purpose of which was to save the life of the American body politic by uncovering the cancerous growths that had caused the demise of its ideological ancestors. Unfortunately, the antimodels the founders encountered everywhere in their classical reading left them obsessed with conspiracies against liberty. The same visceral fear of conspiracies that instilled in the founders a passionate love of liberty and a proper recognition of its fragility also fueled the tendency to see a conspiracy behind every well-intentioned blunder, a conspirator in every opponent. For this reason, the early republican period was filled with acrimony between the political parties, each of which considered the other not merely mistaken but treasonous.

MIXED GOVERNMENT AND PASTORALISM

In addition to symbols, models, and antimodels, the classics also provided the founders with mixed government theory. Referring back to the theory of Plato (c. 428–348 B.C.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), Polybius (c. 200– c. 118 B.C.), and Cicero that the best form of government balanced power among the one, the few, and the many, the framers of the U.S. Constitution balanced power among the one president (a powerful executive selected by the electoral college), an aristocratic chamber of senators (selected by the state legislatures for lengthy, six-year terms), and a democratic house of representatives (directly elected by the people for brief, two-year terms). Recognizing the theoretical basis of the Constitution, anti-Federalists either assaulted mixed government theory or denied its applicability to the American context. During the early national period, the Republican Party of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison abandoned the theory in favor of representative democracy. Even then, most Republicans responded to the near-unanimous judgment of ancient political theorists against majority rule by resorting to the equally ancient and august tradition of classical pastoralism. Jefferson argued that it was safe to entrust the majority with the predominant power so long as the majority consisted of farmers, whose frugality, temperance, and independence made them the backbone of the republic. Following the lead of the poets Hesiod (eighth century B.C.), Theocritus (c. 310– 250 B.C., and Virgil, the historian Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17), and the philosopher Aristotle, Jefferson considered the rural, agricultural

existence morally superior to the urban lifestyle. For this reason, Jefferson was willing to violate strict construction of the Constitution, one of his core principles, by purchasing the Louisiana Territory. In Jefferson's mind, the expansion of American territory was vital to the virtue and longevity of the republic because it supplied the land necessary for the maintenance of a society of Virgilian farmers.

NATURAL LAW

The Greek theory of natural law also influenced the U.S. Constitution. This theory hypothesized the existence of a universal code of morality that humans could deduce from nature. The theory was suggested by the Pythagoreans, expanded by Plato, and emphasized by the Stoics. From it modern republicans deduced the theory of natural rights, which held that humans were born with unalienable rights to life, liberty, and property. (Jefferson's substitution of "the pursuit of happiness" for "property" in the Declaration of Independence was intended not to restrict the right of property but, rather, to broaden natural rights in general.) The theory of natural rights furnished the intellectual foundation of both the state bills of rights and the U.S. Bill of Rights.

The classics exerted a formative influence on the founders of the United States. Classical ideas provided the basis for their conceptions of government form, social responsibility, human nature, and virtue. The authors of the classical canon offered the founders companionship, solace, and a sense of identity and purpose. Classical republican ideology allowed them to cast the English king George III as Nero or Caligula, Washington and Jefferson as Cato and Cicero—in other words, to portray the king as the real rebel, the violator of that natural law which lawful patriots would die to defend. Without this sense of belonging to an ancient and noble tradition in defense of liberty, it is unlikely that the founders could have persuaded themselves and many other Americans to rebel against the mother country. The American Revolution was a paradox: a revolution fueled by tradition.

See also **Architectural Styles; Architecture: Public; Constitutional Convention; Education: Grammar, Elementary, and Secondary Schools, Education: Colleges and Universities; Natural Rights; Politics: Political Thought.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gregg, Gary L., II, ed. *Vital Remnants: America's Founding and the Western Tradition.* Wilmington, Del.: ISI, 1999.

Rahe, Paul A. *Republics Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Reinhold, Meyer. *Classica Americana: The Greek and Roman Heritage in the United States.* Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 1984.

Richard, Carl J. *The Founders and the Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Roberts, Jennifer Tolbert. *Athens on Trial: The Antidemocratic Tradition in Western Thought.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Sellers, M. N. S. *American Republicanism: Roman Ideology in the United States Constitution.* New York: New York University Press, 1994.

Wills, Garry. *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984.

Wiltshire, Susan Ford. *Greece, Rome, and the Bill of Rights.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992.

Winterer, Caroline. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life, 1780–1910.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Carl J. Richard

CLOTHING   The heterogeneous mixing of cultures in America produced a rich tapestry of clothing styles. An individual's garments expressed cultural and religious affiliation, status, and personal style. But fashion aroused heated debate, for it could be manipulated to challenge social hierarchies and contest the boundaries of identity, provoking political protest and social unrest.

NATIVE AMERICANS

Before European contact, the clothing of Indian groups in North America varied widely, but all had in common the use of animal skins, furs, body paint, and jewelry made of metal, beads, or bone. Hides rendered soft and wearable by laborious rubbing and smoking were the preferred material for clothing. The basic wardrobe of Indian men included buckskin breechcloths, fringed shirts, and leggings; women wore wraparound skirts and embroidered shirts. Northeast Indians, like the Abenakis, dressed in deerskin or moose hide, often elaborately dyed and quill embroidered, whereas Plains Indians, like the Sioux, relied heavily on buffalo for their clothing needs. Both sexes wore moccasins, hair jewelry, and headdresses, as well as furs and brightly colored woolen blankets as outerwear.

From the beginning of European settlement, Indians traded furs for European- and, later,

American-manufactured cloth. The introduction of these new products into Indian society resulted in intertribal economic competition that often led to war. Improved transportation networks like the Santa Fe Trail (1821) and the Erie Canal (1825) made factory-produced cotton and woolen cloth readily available to Indians, further affecting their style of dress. Indians adapted European garments to their own use, decorating shirts, shifts, hats, and coats with beadwork, embroidery, and other elements of Indian design. Native dress in turn influenced Hispanics and Anglos, who took to wearing moccasins, snowshoes, deerskin hunting shirts, and leggings on the frontier.

Dress became an important political issue for Indians struggling for autonomy against encroaching white settlers. Reform movements advocating resistance to Anglo-American influence emerged among groups like the Creeks and Cherokees in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Responding to the loss of their land, the rise of excessive alcohol consumption among the tribes, and missionaries bent on "civilizing" native society, some Indians rejected the white man's clothing and other articles. Most Indian groups, however, continued to blend Indian aesthetics and needs with Anglo-American materials.

AFRICAN AMERICANS

Forced migration and enslaved labor left African Americans few opportunities to develop a sartorial identity. The clothing of slaves differed regionally and individually according to situation and occupation, but for the most part it was meager, coarse, and dull in color. Rough linen from Osnabruck, Germany, and coarsely woven woolens from Britain, known as "Negro cloth," were the distinctive fabrics worn by slaves. Garments were allocated seasonally and included loose, untailored goods such as wool jackets for winter, linen jackets for summer, and breeches for men, and short gowns, petticoats, shirts, and shifts for women. Palmetto straw hats and calico head-wraps were distributed along with crude brogan shoes produced in New England. Cheap cotton cloth became increasingly important by the turn of the century, and many slaves preferred this cool, breathable material over uncomfortable, rough wool. Sunday provided an exception to drab, daily wear, and slaves went to great lengths to acquire special "go-to-meeting" clothes such as calico dresses, ribbons, and soft leather shoes.

Slaves enlivened their appearance by using dyes made from bark and herbs, altering and patching their clothes, and supplementing their attire using money earned from labor, agriculture, or trade. This was far easier for skilled slaves and free blacks than for field hands and led to dramatic differentiation between these groups. Skilled or free blacks, especially in urban areas, were able to acquire fine cloth, felt hats, metal shoe buckles, shawls, lace caps, and other high-style items from purchase or owners. The clothing of field slaves became increasingly restricted over time; in places like South Carolina, slaves went nearly naked in summer. Masters manipulated African Americans' desire for individuation by using clothing as a reward for hard work or good behavior. Others, like George Washington, dressed their personal slaves in elaborate livery.

Cloth provision for slaves varied by circumstance and location. Many large plantations simply imported or purchased cloth for slaves, whereas on others the white women supervised slave weavers and seamstresses. Some owners preferred to let slaves sew their own garments, providing them with cloth, needles, and thread. Slave women bore the brunt of responsibility for maintaining the family wardrobe.

Like other oppressed ethnic groups, African Americans imbued their garments with individual and cultural meaning that challenged white control. They invented unique ways to wear standard-issue garments and produced contrasting colors and offbeat patterns that reflected an African American aesthetic. Through the artful tying of a head kerchief or a cloth wrapper, blacks used European textiles to fashion African American styles.

WHITE WOMEN

Whether living on a farm or in a city, Anglo-American women's daily wear reflected their domestic and social roles as well as their economic status. Their standard garments included a linen shift, boned stays, petticoats, an apron, and a jacket-type garment called a shortgown. Some of these items might be homespun, especially during the boycotts of the American Revolution, or they might be imported from Europe. In public or among guests, women wore a gown of wool, cotton, or silk; hoops; a kerchief; and some sort of head covering, such as a cap. As the eighteenth century wore on, East Indian calicoes, chintz, and muslin became the preferred fabric for women's garments.

Women's dress in America changed dramatically after the French Revolution. Inspired by the fashions of ancient Greek and Roman republics, high-waisted, short-sleeved gowns made of white muslin, a lightweight cotton, became the vogue. Wide hoops and bold prints went out of style. Hairstyles, powdered

and voluminous in the colonial period, became short and frizzed. Women's fashion came under conservative fire, for the popular fabrics immodestly exposed both women's bodies and America's dependence on foreign countries for cloth.

By the second decade of the nineteenth century women's dress returned to formality and structure. Corsets became tighter, skirts widened, and sleeves inflated to balloonlike proportions. Although fashion now idealized a restricted, ornamental female body, many women challenged such constructions, becoming increasingly involved in reform movements, religious revivals, education, and wage labor during the 1820s and 1830s.

WHITE MEN
In a world where the cut and cloth of a suit differentiated gentlemen from laborers, men paid careful attention to how they dressed. Powdered hair, breeches buckled at the knee, vests, tailored coats, and bleached white linen at the throat and wrists marked middling and elite men. Suits were cut to enforce an erect torso and made in a variety of bright colors. After the French Revolution romanticized the sans-culottes (radical republicans so named because they were "without breeches"), men began wearing tight-fitting trousers, previously the domain of sailors and the working class. Coats fit more closely to the body and emphasized fine tailoring over fabric, hair was worn without powder, and middle-class business standards led men to renounce color in favor of sober black.

Advertisements seeking runaway indentured servants in early national newspapers depicted the distinctive garb of male laborers—loose trousers, short jackets, and felt hats. Their clothing tended to be old and made of durable material like leather. Absence signified, too, for workingmen left off the tight coats, cravats, and soft shoes of the upper classes. Sunday church clothes broke the monotony of working wardrobes; suits and hats made of finer materials were prized and bequeathed to subsequent generations.

The nineteenth century placed increasing emphasis on uniformity in dress as a response to urbanization and social disorder. Just as middle-class men began to adopt the dark three-piece suit en masse, prisons, almshouses, and houses of refuge broke with the colonial precedent of allowing inmates to wear their own clothes. Beginning in the 1790s, residents were issued uniforms and had their hair cropped short. The imposition of monochromatic or striped suits allowed authorities to regulate behavior and identify escapees from public institutions.

IMMIGRANTS AND RELIGIOUS SECTS
Immigrants to North America enlivened the fashion landscape with unique styles and color patterns. Rural German and Dutch women wore black aprons, short petticoats, round-eared caps, and conical hats. Scottish immigrants sported Highland tartans with checked patterns and Scots bonnets. Religious sects like the Quakers were known by their wide-brimmed hats and toned-down versions of dominant styles. On Shaker settlements, members gave up their worldly clothes and adopted a uniform dress as a way to express spiritual unity and social equality. Although most immigrants eventually adopted the dress of the region in which they lived, they preserved their ethnic traditions in quilts and embroidery.

See also **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; American Indians: Overview; Cotton; Domestic Life; European Influences: The French Revolution; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Immigration and Immigrants: Overview; Manners; Quakers; Slavery: Slave Life; Wealth; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Baumgarten, Linda. *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in association with Yale University Press, 2002.

Copeland, Peter F. *Working Dress in Colonial and Revolutionary America.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977.

De Marly, Diana. *Dress in North America.* Vol. 1: *The New World, 1492–1800.* New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990.

Lapsansky, Emma Jones, and Anne Verplanck, eds. *Quaker Aesthetics: Reflections on a Quaker Ethic in American Design and Consumption.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Smith, Billy. "The Material Lives of Laboring Philadelphians, 1750–1800." In *Material Life in America, 1600–1860.* Edited by Robert Blair St. George. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1988.

White, Shane, and Graham White. *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Wolf, Stephanie G. *As Various as Their Land: The Everyday Lives of Eighteenth-Century Americans.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000.

Linzy A. Brekke

COERCIVE ACTS *See* **Intolerable Acts.**

COINAGE ACT OF 1792 The Coinage Act of 2 April 1792, establishing both a coinage system and the National Mint, was the culmination of coinage activity that had taken place in the colonies and states for many years. Although discussions of a national mint had taken place earlier and pattern coins had been produced in 1783, no legislation had been put in place for an actual coinage facility.

The coinage system established by the 1792 legislation was expressed in dollars and decimal points. The weight and fineness (metallic purity) of each denomination was also established, from the copper half cent to the gold eagle ($10). These statutory specifications remained in effect until superseded by the another law passed on 28 June 1834. In later years they were modified numerous additional times. Also, other denominations were added and branch mints were established (beginning in 1838 with facilities in New Orleans; Dahlonega, Georgia; and Charlotte, North Carolina); many other changes were made as well. However, the Coinage Act of 1792 set the stage for the coinage system as it is known today.

On 31 July 1792, a small ceremony was held in Philadelphia, then the seat of the federal government. A foundation stone for the new Mint building was laid in the presence of the Mint director, David Rittenhouse, and President George Washington. By that time fifteen hundred silver half dismes (*disme* being the early designation for dime) had been struck on the request of Thomas Jefferson, using Mint equipment set up temporarily in the workshop of John Harper.

On 2 April 1992, a special bicentennial observance of the original Coinage Act was held. The location was the Philadelphia Mint (by then in a modern building occupied in 1967). Displays and historical discussions were part of the observance.

See also **Currency and Coinage.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bowers, Q. David. *The History of United States Coinage, as Illustrated by the Garrett Collection.* Los Angeles: Bowers and Ruddy Galleries, 1979.

Breen, Walter. *Walter Breen's Complete Encyclopedia of U.S. and Colonial Coins.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday. 1988.

Bressett, Kenneth E., ed. and comp. *Guide Book of United States Currency: Large Size, Small Size, Fractional.* 3rd ed. Atlanta, Ga.: Whitman, 2004.

Q. David Bowers

COLONIZATION MOVEMENT Led by the American Colonization Society, an organization founded in 1817 and predicated on the notion that free blacks and whites could not live together peaceably in the United States, a colonization movement arose to alleviate the problem of racial conflict by promoting African American emigration. Colonizationists argued that the experience of slavery and the corrosive power of white prejudice had so debased the character of African Americans as to render them unfit for citizenship. Rather than challenging racial prejudice directly, which they considered too deeply rooted in human nature, colonizationists advocated the voluntary emigration of free blacks to a territory on the West African coast, a benevolent enterprise, they believed, that would unburden the United States of an allegedly degraded population while offering African Americans a place to develop free of the damaging effects of racial discrimination. They promised that the colony would bring additional benefits as well, such as the promotion of transatlantic commerce, the spread of Protestant missions, the weakening of the slave trade, and the clearing of America's guilty conscience for its past maltreatment of Africans and their descendents.

ORIGINS AND OBJECTIVES

Black emigration schemes, whether voluntary or coercive, had existed since the beginning of the Republic, but the proposals of men like Samuel Hopkins, William Thornton, Thomas Jefferson, St. George Tucker, and Paul Cuffe had failed to gain a popular audience until the post–War of 1812 era. By this time white Americans were expressing considerable anxiety about the rapidly expanding and often poor free African American population, a group that had grown dramatically as a result of both legislative gradual emancipation in the North and a spate of manumissions in the South during the Revolutionary era. By then as well, antislavery advocates real-

ized that the southern states had rejected northern-style gradual emancipation as a model for their own region and that some new solution to the problem of slavery, which took into consideration anxieties about freed blacks, ought to be pursued. In addition, with the end of both the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815) and the Anglo-American War of 1812, and the resulting peace on the high seas, colonization ventures in the Atlantic world suddenly seemed more viable. Finally, religious developments played an important role in generating support for colonization. The proliferation of evangelical benevolent societies associated with the Second Great Awakening gave colonizationists a model for raising money, spreading their message, and enacting their plans.

The American Colonization Society was established in December 1816 by Robert Finley, a New Jersey Presbyterian minister who won the early backing of such prominent politicians, clergy, and philanthropists as Speaker of the House Henry Clay, Supreme Court Justice Bushrod Washington, Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford, Washington lawyer Francis Scott Key, and the Episcopal minister William Meade. Within a decade the society, a thoroughly respectable and strongly evangelical organization, had scores of auxiliaries throughout the nation. By 1822 it had helped persuade the federal government to establish the West African colony of Liberia as a haven for both African American emigrants and Africans liberated from the illegal slave trade.

In keeping with their self-consciously moderate, intersectional, and philanthropic approach, promoters of colonization sought to attract the support of a wide variety of groups, despite the fact that the interests of these groups often differed dramatically. Colonizationists reassured southern planters that the removal of free blacks would eliminate a dangerous population within the slave states and thereby render the institution of slavery more secure. To antislavery northerners they offered colonization as a solution to the problem of slavery itself—a colony to absorb freed blacks, they argued, would relieve southern anxieties about manumission and emancipation. To free African Americans they trumpeted Liberia as a future Christian black republic, a place where settlers and their children, emancipated from white prejudice, would finally fulfill their promise as a people.

CRITICS

If the American Colonization Society enjoyed considerable support among whites, who tended to view free blacks as a troublesome and debased population,

African Americans typically rejected colonization. There were some exceptions, however. Evangelical zeal, entrepreneurial ambition, white prejudice, and the occasional promise of manumission contingent on emigration led nearly fifteen hundred free blacks and recently manumitted slaves to set sail for Liberia in the 1820s (with approximately fifteen thousand sailing there in the entire pre–Civil War era). During this same decade others expressed support for small-scale, black-led, voluntary colonization schemes to the Haitian republic. But most African Americans had good reason to distrust the American Colonization Society. In newspapers, pamphlets, and resolutions, African Americans like James Forten, Richard Allen, and David Walker pointed to the strong presence of southern planters within the organization, the high mortality rate among settlers in Liberia, and the disturbing fact that the emigration of free blacks would ultimately reinforce the peculiar institution by leaving enslaved people bereft of their closest allies. More significantly, free African Americans developed an incisive critique of what they considered the proslavery logic—intentional or not—of the colonizationist program: as long as colonizationists continued to argue that white prejudice was inevitable and that free blacks had no real future in the United States, they reinforced racial chauvinism and undermined the cause of general emancipation. Such arguments left a deep impression on some of the white antislavery advocates who had briefly flirted with colonization such as William Lloyd Garrison and Amos Phelps, and thus helped lay the foundation for the emergence of a biracial, radical abolitionist movement in the antebellum era.

But if the American Colonization Society faced growing opposition from African Americans, it also aroused the ire of proslavery southerners in the 1820s. After the contentious Missouri debates of 1819–1821, ultra–states' rights advocates vigilantly monitored any activity that might, even if unintentionally, open the door to federal interference with slavery in the southern states. While these critics welcomed the removal of free blacks, they condemned the vaguely antislavery sentiments of many colonizationists and their periodic requests for federal assistance.

In retrospect, African Americans rather than their proslavery counterparts more accurately grasped the essential character and thrust of the colonizationist movement. Even the most well-intentioned antislavery advocates within the American Colonization Society tended to view the presence of free African Americans, more so than the existence

of slavery, as the nation's greatest problem. Furthermore, the antislavery elements within the American Colonization Society seriously underestimated the economic, political, and logistical obstacles to a program coupling emancipation with removal—the huge southern investment in an extremely profitable and efficient slave labor force, the disciplined opposition of slaveholders to any policies negatively affecting their property rights, the clear absence of alternative sources of labor to fill the vacuum created by the removal of black workers, the sheer financial and humanitarian costs of compensating masters and relocating such a large number of enslaved people, and the strong attachment of most African Americans to their place of birth. As African Americans frequently argued, the promotion of this unworkable scheme directed attention away from the more pressing agenda of racial reconciliation and general emancipation. The American Colonization Society continued its work well into the nineteenth century, but by the 1830s the colonizationist program had been eclipsed by more radical agendas—abolitionist and proslavery—that would ultimately come to have a greater impact on the nation's future.

See also **Abolition Societies; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Liberia.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

American Colonization Society. *The Annual Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States.* Vols. 1–91. 1818–1910. Reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969.

Clegg, Claude A., III. *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Freehling, William W. *The Road to Disunion.* Vol. 1: *Secessionists at Bay, 1776–1854.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Garrison, William L. *Thoughts on African Colonization.* Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832. Reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1968.

Staudenraus, P. J. *The African Colonization Movement, 1816–1865.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1961.

Walker, David. *David Walker's Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World.* Boston: David Walker, 1829. Reprint: Edited by Peter P. Hinks. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Anthony A. Iaccarino

COMMUNITARIAN MOVEMENTS AND UTOPIAN COMMUNITIES

Early America provided enough freedom and geographical space to allow communitarian movements and utopian communities to experiment with alternative social constructions. The communitarian impulse existed in America at least from 1663, when a group of Dutch Mennonites led by Peter Cornelius Plockhoy (c. 1600–c. 1674) founded Plockhoy's Commonwealth on the Delaware River. These communities represented responses to social, cultural, and religious concerns. Whereas most Americans chose to respond in ways that preserved a strong sense of individualism, for others a communitarian response offered more hope. Of those opting for the latter, however, many did not remain permanently within their chosen groups, and most movements could not sustain themselves for long periods of time. Although every group formulated their own responses to societal issues, they all resorted to the utopian community as the mechanism for bringing about reform. Religion, especially among groups founded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, played a major part in the various groups' motivations and actions. Anabaptism and Radical Pietism were particularly influential, and millenarian tendencies often manifested themselves. In *Backwoods Utopias* (1950), the historian Arthur Eugene Bestor Jr. aptly defined each group as "a small society, voluntarily separated from the world, striving after perfection in its institutions, sharing many things in common, and relying upon imitation for the spread of its system—such was the sectarian community" (Bestor, p. 7). Among the most significant of these early American communitarian groups were the Ephrata Cloister; the Shakers; and the Rappites, or Harmonists.

EPHRATA CLOISTER

The Ephrata Cloister was the most noted communitarian group during the colonial period. Founded by Conrad Beissel (1691–1768) after he separated from a Pennsylvania Dunker congregation in 1728, Ephrata was a Protestant movement characterized by celibacy, mysticism, and the observance of Saturday as the Sabbath. After choosing a site located about ten miles northeast of what later became Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Beissel organized the community around celibacy, which he considered to be the true sign of a believer. While only celibate men and women were considered full members, married couples could join as "householders." Members had to surrender their private property, although householders could retain their farms. The community

was known for its mystical poetry and hymns; printing and publishing businesses; and masterful, hand-decorated illuminated manuscripts. It reached its peak in the mid-eighteenth century with about 350 members and also gave birth to sister societies. After the Battle of Brandywine (11 September 1777), Ephrata served as the hospital for about five hundred troops under George Washington. Typhoid broke out, killing about one-third of the membership, and the community was never able to rebound. It ceased to exist in 1814, when the final four members incorporated themselves into the Seventh Day German Baptist Church.

Communitarian societies like Ephrata did not exist in isolation, but interacted with other groups. In 1720 Beissel had planned to join a group led by Johannes Kelpius (1673–1708) called the Society of the Woman in the Wilderness (also known as the Contented of the God-Loving Soul or Chapter of Perfection). Anticipating the inauguration of the divine millennial kingdom, the group gathered in the wilderness of America and settled near Germantown, Pennsylvania. By the time Beissel planned to join them, however, the community had disbanded. The following year, Beissel visited the Labadist colony at Bohemia Manor in Maryland. Followers of the teachings of a former Roman Catholic priest, Jean de Labadie (1610–1674), who had converted to Protestantism, the members lived an ascetic life. Nonmembers often confused them with Quakers. In the 1740s Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), leader of the Moravian movement, attempted to unite the various religious groups in Pennsylvania in a spirit of ecumenism. Members of Ephrata participated briefly in these efforts, and Zinzendorf visited them. Beissel, however, would not cooperate, and the relationship between the two groups turned hostile.

SHAKERS
The Shakers, founded by and based on the teachings of Ann Lee (1736–1784), constituted a group that has existed since the late eighteenth century (although only a few members remained in the early years of the twenty-first century). Believing "Mother Ann" to be the female manifestation of the Christ (just as Jesus was the male manifestation), the group formed celibate communities throughout the nation and developed religious services characterized by rhythmic dancing. They initially suffered great persecution, being driven from many towns, but eventually their membership grew to several thousand. Shaker members came from a diverse cross-section of the nation. Like the Ephrata Cloister, the Shakers had contact with other communitarian groups, in particular the Rappites or Harmonists, a celibate group founded by George Rapp (1757–1847).

HARMONY SOCIETY AND NEW HARMONY
Reacting against what he considered corrupt practices of the Lutheran Church and persecution by officials in the German duchy of Württemberg, George Rapp led a group of Separatists to the United States, the new Israel, in 1804. Forming the Harmony Society, the group adopted celibacy, abandoned private property, developed a thriving farm community, and awaited the arrival of the millennium. In 1814 the group moved from Pennsylvania to Indiana and developed one of the largest towns in the state, called New Harmony. In 1824, however, Rapp returned to Pennsylvania, and founded a settlement located near Pittsburgh called Economy, a name reflecting the new order Rappites believed would be ushered in by the millennium. Rapp sold New Harmony to Robert Owen (1771–1858), who attempted to build there a secular utopian community based on reason, gender equality, communal ownership of property, social and economic equality, fair treatment of workers, and the elimination of organized religion (although Owen embraced religious freedom). It failed, however, within a few years. Owen later influenced Frances Wright (1795–1852), who in 1825 established a short-lived community based on racial equality at Nashoba, Tennessee (near Memphis).

Communitarian groups, while typically small in numbers, illustrate the great diversity within early American culture. They also reflect dissatisfaction with gender roles, established religion, and economic injustice. The freedom offered by life in the United States enticed these groups to leave the persecution of Europe, but ironically they often encountered similar responses in the new country. Still, they usually managed to carve out communities, often after several moves, with nonmembers commonly appreciating the value of the goods produced by these communities. Typically located on the fringes of mainstream society, communitarian groups did more than merely challenge early American values. They modeled alternative ways of organizing American society.

See also **Millennialism; Moravians; Pietists; Shakers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY
Bach, Jeff. *Voices of the Turtledoves: The Sacred World of Ephrata.* University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.

Bestor, Arthur Eugene, Jr. *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America: 1663–1829.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

Pitzer, Donald E. *America's Communal Utopias.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Sutton, Robert P. *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Religious Communities, 1732–2000.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2003.

_____. *Communal Utopias and the American Experience: Secular Communities, 1824–2000.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2004.

Taylor, Anne. *Visions of Harmony: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Millenarianism.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987.

Scott M. Langston

CONCEPT OF EMPIRE

CONCEPT OF EMPIRE   The precise meaning of important political terms such as *empire*, *republic*, or *democracy* is always ambiguous. Conceptions of empire have served radically different and sometimes contradictory purposes. Some historians (and many lawyers) interpret a contested word by reducing it to a single meaning, even though the speaker or writer may have used that word either for its more general intimations and/or for one of its more precise, technical functions. There is always the risk of anachronistically imposing present definitions on past terms, as well as the opposite fallacy of concluding that earlier speakers did not use particular words in ways that are consistent with modern understandings. This essay explores these interpretive complexities by demonstrating how various conceptions of the word *empire* (and what is often seen as its alternative, *republic*) played a major role in American history prior to the American Revolution and during the Republic's early years. The first step is to perceive that people have used the word in four different ways—analytic-descriptive, empirical, emotive, and normative—to generate numerous definitions. (See Wilson, *Imperial Republic*, pp. 17–21.)

Analytic-descriptive usages are circular and clear-cut, leaving little disagreement about meaning and application. For example, the seventeenth-century republican theorist James Harrington employed the word *empire* as a synonym for *imperium*, using it to denote any form of political jurisdiction. Under that approach, every sovereign nation is an empire. The word sometimes signifies a nation that is expanding its boundaries, a definition that applied to the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not subsequently. Or it can be a struc-

tural proposition. Edmund Burke wrote, "An empire is the aggregate of many states under one common head, whether this head be a monarch or a presiding republic." Empirical definitions are more contestable than analytic ones. If one characterizes an empire as a "powerful nation," how strong must a nation be before it is an empire? One must define "power" and compare the particular nation's strengths and weaknesses with the vigor of its neighbors and rivals. By 1760, during the French and Indian War, the British and their colonial allies had adopted an emotive conception of empire that encompassed feelings of unity, glory, conquest, and expansion. The most famous normative example came in the 1980s, when U.S. president Ronald Reagan castigated the Soviet Union as an "evil empire."

RIVAL CONCEPTIONS OF EMPIRE

In 1774 John Adams wrote a brief history of the "quarrel" between the colonies and the crown, titled *Novanglus; or, a History of the Dispute with America from Its Origin, in 1754, to the Present Time.* To rebut the pro-Parliament argument that the phrase *British Empire* implied parliamentary sovereignty over the colonies, Adams utilized two definitions of empire. He first limited "empires" to those regimes in which tyrannical emperors ruled their populace; he concluded that only the Russian, German, and Ottoman Empires fell within that structural definition, which was loaded with negative normative implications. Obviously, the British did not see themselves as the equivalent of the Turks. The British Empire was a "limited monarchy," limited by its republican aspects. Adams defined a republic as "a government of laws, and not of men." Next, Adams seemingly applied Harrington's analytic definition of empire as "government, rule, or dominion." Adams then, however, stripped those powerful words of much substantive content. He concluded that the colonies are under the "dominion and rule" of the *King* of Great Britain but are neither part of the *Kingdom* of Great Britain nor one of the king's "dominions." According to Adams, a person can only be part of a mixed, partially republican government like Britain's when that person is able to elect representatives. Because the colonists could not elect members to Parliament, he concluded that they were not within the realm of England.

Adams reformulated these two definitions of empire into one of the colonists' basic constitutional arguments: Parliament had no general jurisdiction over the colonies because Britain's republican principles required colonial representation within the legis-

lative process, while the king retained no vast prerogative powers over the colonies because he would thereby have the powers of a tyrant. Adams distinguished Parliament's well-established power to regulate colonial commerce on the high seas by asserting that the colonies had consented to that power as a necessary part of the imperial connection. He provided numerous examples of the colonies' refusal to consent to any other parliamentary powers. If King George III sought additional revenues from America, he would have to persuade the colonial legislatures to raise taxes. The king had no legislative authority over the colonies; he needed consent from their legislatures before acting. However, Adams conceded that the king could order all British subjects to protect the empire.

In addition, Adams rejected the argument that Parliament retained sovereignty over the colonies under the long-standing political axiom of the indivisibility of sovereignty. Acknowledging that assumption's validity, Adams turned it against the defenders of British power: if Parliament had sovereignty, that body could do whatever it wished to the colonists, taking their life, liberty, and property and turning them into slaves. The only constitutional solution consistent with the British Empire's republican principles was for England to acknowledge that the colonies had become legislatively sovereign when they received their royal charters, which did not contain clauses reserving powers to Parliament. Furthermore, the British adopted the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty—the absolute power of any legislation that was passed by the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the king—as a result of the Glorious Revolution in 1688, several decades after the king had entered into contracts with the colonists by granting royal charters. In other words, parliamentary sovereignty was not coextensive with the British Empire, because the colonies were not part of Parliament's legal "empire" or of the king's "realm."

Although Adams's refutations of parliamentary sovereignty are internally consistent, his arguments limiting the royal prerogative are not entirely persuasive. How could the colonies be completely sovereign while retaining obligations to the king? (Adams conceded royal "dominion.") How could Adams agree with his opponents that the king was still "sovereign" and that the colonists were subordinate to the king, yet later assert that the king could not have independent power in the colonies since his power must either be total or nonexistent? If the king could order all subjects to defend the British Empire, must

he first obtain their assent before drafting them into combat? Adams arguably reduced the crown to a figurehead without enforceable powers. It is hard to believe that the king knowingly contracted away all his coercive powers when he granted royal charters to various private entities that eventually evolved into the thirteen original colonies. This fundamental constitutional controversy—like the slavery issue almost a century later—could only be resolved militarily.

Long after the Revolution, James Madison described Benjamin Franklin as having been the leading Revolutionary theorist. Even though Adams was jealous of Franklin's international fame, Adams dated his arguments in *Novanglus* from the year 1754, the moment when Franklin warned the British not to tax the colonies because the latter were not represented in Parliament. While Adams's arguments were always learned and sometimes complex to the point of convolution, Franklin simply asserted in 1768 that the colonists should not be "subjects of subjects." All British subjects must be loyal to the king, but they could not be subordinated to other subjects in other parts of the British Empire. That is, the king's subjects in England had no constitutional authority to subjugate the king's subjects in America. To guarantee the fundamental rights of life, liberty, and property of all Englishmen throughout the empire, the English constitution required political equality throughout the British Empire. In 1774 Thomas Jefferson brilliantly popularized these arguments in *A Summary View of the Rights of British America*, the same year that Adams wrote his far more sophisticated history. Jefferson's eloquence brought him to the attention of other Revolutionary leaders, generating so much admiration that they gave him primary responsibility for drafting the Declaration of Independence (with important assistance by John Adams, additional support by Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston, and a brief, late involvement by Franklin). Like Franklin, Jefferson spent less time than Adams worrying about the colonies' problematic relationship with the crown, focusing instead on the constitutional principle of equality throughout the empire:

> [England should] no longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another; but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no act be passed by any legislature that may infringe on the rights and liberties of another. This is the important post in which fortune has placed you, holding the balance of a great, if a well poised empire.

This debate about the proper structure of the British Empire probably explains why the Declaration of Independence addressed only King George III, not the British Parliament. (Scholars cannot be sure of the beliefs underlying the drafters' choice of words, because they did not keep minutes.) The king had breached his fiduciary duty by directly oppressing the colonists and by supporting tyrannical laws made by a Parliament lacking colonial representation. The Parliament (and its doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty) was, quite simply, constitutionally irrelevant.

THE EMPIRE OF EQUALITY

The Revolutionary principle of political equality throughout the geographical empire endured for over a hundred years. Thomas Jefferson's report providing the blueprint for the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 extended his "empire of liberty" by permitting the new territories easily to become equal partners in the republican system. Once they could prove they had twenty thousand "free inhabitants," they could draft a permanent constitution and petition Congress to be full and equal parts of the Union. Of course, Jefferson's equality of citizenship was limited to "free [white] males of full age." During the Constitutional Convention, Madison successfully defeated two efforts by Gouverneur Morris to place conditions on territories seeking to join the Union. Morris sought to require any new state to pay off part of the national debt upon entry and also wanted to create disproportionate representation that would permanently favor the old colonies, particularly those of the Northeast. Madison, aware of widespread dissension in western Virginia that included talk of secession to join Spain, replied that all Americans believed they were of equal worth. Morris's approach might also have led to political disaster; representatives of the western settlements were the swing voters at Virginia's fiercely contested constitutional ratifying convention and provided the eventual Federalist margin of victory.

A modern reader might be surprised at how often the Federalists used the word *empire* to describe their vision in the course of defending their proposed Constitution. Some of the usages were technical, such as references to the German and British Empires. But others were emotive, even dramatic invocations of future power and glory. In a speech reprinted many times during the debate over the Constitution, James Wilson melodramatically exclaimed: "Ill fated America! thy crisis was approaching! Perhaps it was come! . . . Without a government!

Without energy! . . . In such a situation, distressed but not despairing, thou decidest to re-assume thy native vigour, and to lay the foundation of future empire!" By linking empire with expansion and glory, Wilson echoed the great political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli, who had developed an aggressive theory of republicanism in *Discourses on Livy* (1517). Machiavelli maintained that republics must grow, usually at the expense of their neighbors, or die:

> And of all hard servitudes, that is hardest that submits you to a republic. First, because it is more lasting and there can be less hope of escape from it; second, because the end of the republic is to enervate and to weaken all other bodies so as to increase its own body.

The anti-Federalists drew upon another esteemed political authority, the Baron de Montesquieu, to discredit empire building. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu claimed a republic could never become very large because it would then degenerate into an empire, with a "spirit" consisting of conquest, corruption, and concentrated power. During the Virginia ratification debates, anti-Federalist Patrick Henry employed a normative conception of empire while lamenting:

> If we admit this consolidated government, it will be because we like a great, splendid one. Some way or other we must be a great and mighty empire; we must have an army, and a navy, and a number of things. When the American spirit was in its youth, the language of America was different: liberty, sir, was then the object.

In *The Federalist No. 10*, James Madison developed the most powerful response to this criticism. Large republics, he wrote, were more likely to endure than small republics because it would be harder for a faction to take over the entire government. Many years later, Jefferson wrote to Madison that the American experience had refuted Montesquieu. In fact, the refutation may not have been total. There is no doubt that the United States has maintained the most important structural component of republicanism: the electorate is behind the selection of all leaders of the federal government. But the country also developed some of the imperial "spirits" that Montesquieu feared: conquest, corruption, luxury, and increased concentration of powers in urban areas. The District of Columbia was the notable exception to the principle of equality of citizenship throughout what Federalist John Dickinson called the "republican empire." In an effort to prevent the concentration of economic and political power in one location (and thereby preempt the supposed dangers of a single, vast, decadent metropolis), the framers eventually placed the seat of

the federal government in a small, remote district of swampy land after temporarily locating in Philadelphia.

It is well-known that President Thomas Jefferson compromised his theory of strict constitutional construction when he authorized the Louisiana Purchase. But he also temporarily suspended the Revolutionary principle of equal representation throughout the Republic, the norm he had advocated during the Revolution and implemented through the Northwest Ordinance. Fearful of the French and Creole population, Jefferson preferred to wait several years before giving the new citizens the right to elect their own territorial representatives.

The slavery issue lurked behind Jefferson's strict construction of the Constitution and his fights with Alexander Hamilton over the national debt, a national bank, and the size and nature of the military. Southerners properly understood that the national government was the ultimate threat to their ownership of slaves, who were their most valuable form of capital. The country's continuing realization of its dreams of imperial expansion aggravated the competing imperial ideologies of the West, North, and South. Northerners were properly wary of the Louisiana Purchase because it permitted slavery's expansion. The South dreaded the steady, surprising increase in northern economic power and population growth. The West sought an empire of equality for white men that was largely free of influence from northern economic or political power.

By the 1820s, Chief Justice John Marshall and John C. Calhoun had developed a new set of competing conceptions of empire. Marshall believed "We the People" were the sovereign that had formed an indivisible Union which allocated enormous power to the federal government. In *American Insurance Co. v. Canter* (1828), he held that Congress had the sovereign authority to establish laws regulating property and trade in the new territories that would later turn into states. Calhoun construed the Constitution's preamble differently; the "People of [each] of the United States" created the Constitution, he believed. There was no such sovereign entity as "We the People." The "People of each State" were the actual sovereigns who had the right to leave the Union whenever they felt necessary. Furthermore, the people of each state had the equal, fundamental constitutional right to take their property (most significantly, their slaves) with them into any of the new territories, which Congress had no general powers to regulate. Calhoun thereby laid the intellectual foundation for *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857), an opinion that Abra-

ham Lincoln first derided politically and later destroyed by defeating the South in the Civil War.

See also **Adams, John; Anti-Federalists; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Federalist Papers; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Marshall, John.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *The Revolutionary Writings of John Adams.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Press, 2000.

Bailyn, Bernard, ed. *The Debate on the Constitution.* 2 vols. New York: Library Classics of America, 1993.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Benjamin Franklin: Writings.* New York: Library Classics of the United States, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Thomas Jefferson: Writings.* New York: Library Classics of the United States, 1984.

Machiavelli, Niccolò. *Discourses on Livy.* Translated by Harvey Mansfield and Nathan Tarcov. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Montesquieu, Baron Charles de Secondat. *The Spirit of the Laws.* Translated by Anne M. Cohler, Basta Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. Cambridge, U.K.: University of Cambridge Press, 1989.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jefferson's Empire: The Language of American Nationhood.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Wilson, James G. *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate, 2002.

James G. Wilson

CONGREGATIONALISTS The name "Congregational Church" came into general use during those transitional years when the former Puritan churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut were losing their privileged status, between the outbreak of the American Revolution and the final disestablishments: 1818 for Connecticut and 1833 for Massachusetts. In the 1720s Anglicans (later called Episcopalians), Baptists, and Quakers had been excused from paying taxes to support those established churches, but their numbers were few. The era of the American Revolution saw great growth among Baptists; by 1790 the new Methodist denomination was also growing rapidly. Both made inroads in New England and by 1820 nearly one hundred congregational parishes had declared themselves Unitarian, almost all in east-

ern Massachusetts. As the United States grew in population and territory, the Congregational Church lost ground proportionally, but not absolutely: most growth was in New England, but Congregational churches could be found where New Englanders settled in significant numbers. The following figures demonstrate both the growth, but also the relative decline of congregational churches: 1740–423 parishes, 1776–668 parishes, 1820–1,100 parishes, 1860–2,234 parishes. But in 1740 Congregationalists had one-third of the parishes in the thirteen British colonies. By 1776, 21 percent; by 1830, 10.6 percent; and by 1860 a mere 4.25 percent!

In 1648 the Puritans, both Congregationalists and Presbyterians, controlled England and Scotland and attempted permanently to reform the Church of England with their Westminster Confession of Faith. That same year Massachusetts gathered a synod that included the Westminster Confession in its Cambridge Platform. Congregationalists and Presbyterians would always remain close to one another in theology but could never reconcile their ideas of church government. Both insisted their ministers should be thoroughly educated; both also urged education on their communities, with their ministers often keeping schools. Both agreed that individual congregations should be self-governing, with members electing all church officers, including the minister. And both agreed that representatives of those congregations should associate with one another on occasions to discuss common problems. But Presbyterians insisted on regular meetings, standing committees, and real authority at the provincial and eventually national level, while Congregationalists, like Baptists, have always been reluctant to surrender the sovereignty of the individual parish.

The 1750s found the churches of New England divided between the New Lights, who advocated revivals, and the Old Lights, who—however devout—feared that revivals brought forth more heat than light. Quite independent of that issue, population grew rapidly, requiring a constant supply of new churches. When almost every town and village could support a single church, it met in a simple, utilitarian meetinghouse that also housed civil government's town meeting. But when the larger towns had two or more churches, it became convenient for government to have its own buildings, and churches became more particularly dedicated to religious and educational purposes.

While Congregational churches had more or less strict requirements for membership, members—including women—could vote and therefore share in

controlling policy. Not surprisingly, their town governments became even more democratic in practice; it naturally followed that the Congregational churches of New England were unanimous in supporting the American Revolution. Their support of the Federalist Party during the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1789–1815) was not based on fear of popular self-government; it came from their recognition that France, especially under the Directory and Napoleon, was neither free nor (within their meaning) Christian.

After American independence, all the churches were coping with their new sense of religious freedom and the challenges presented by rapid national growth. In 1801 Congregationalists and Presbyterians developed a Plan of Union to cooperate in planting churches in the American West. Congregationalists also founded a foreign missionary society in 1810, and played a leading part in interdenominational organizations; the American Bible Society (1816), the American Tract Society (1825), and the American Sunday School Union (1824). In 1826 the home missionary society modified the plan of union by bringing in other denominations, notably the Baptists. Congregationalists planted new colleges: Hamilton College in New York (1812); Western Reserve College in Ohio (1826); and Illinois College (1829). Denominations in the Calvinist tradition still led the young nation in the quality of their educational institutions, especially in the cases of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Andover Seminary. Along with high standards of scholarship, Yale and Andover sent out some of the most effective leaders of the Second Great Awakening.

Especially after 1800, Congregationalists developed a more distinctive style of church architecture. Church buildings were becoming what they remain into the twenty-first century: visible public reminders of the sacred services regularly conducted within them. The more prosperous churches installed pipe organs and hired skilled musicians to play them and improve congregational singing. More than half the members of the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Congregational churches were women. It would take almost two more centuries for them to become deacons and ministers. Yet they played increasingly important roles: improving the amenities of their buildings; participating in church government; and advancing the societies for moral reform that began to appear everywhere.

See also **Education; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Theology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Andrews, John A., III. *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800–1830.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976.

Buggeln, Gretchen Townsend. *Temples of Grace: The Material Transformation of Connecticut Churches, 1790–1840.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Sassi, Jonathan D. *A Republic of Righteousness: The Public Christianity of the Post-Revolutionary New England Clergy.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Scott, Donald M. *From Office to Profession: The New England Ministry, 1750–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.

Robert McColley

CONGRESS   The federal House and Senate developed in parallel but distinct ways. That was a function of their innate institutional differences and of the people who served in both chambers. Although still different, there was a marked convergence by the 1820s as both chambers became visible and responsive legislatures. After the Missouri Crisis of 1819–1821, the Senate took on a new and more prominent role as the protector of slave state interests during the antebellum period. The balance between slave and nonslave states in the Senate became slave states' prerequisite for union.

CONTINENTAL AND CONFEDERATION CONGRESSES

Except for the short-lived Albany Congress of 1754, the first Continental Congress (1774) was the initial assembly to bring together representatives of all the colonies and then the states. The Second Continental Congress (1775–1781) faced several daunting challenges. Many men would gain national reputations and valuable leadership experience through their service in the two Continental Congresses, including John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The Continental Congress became the Confederation Congress with the ratification of the Articles of Confederation in 1781.

The Continental Congress acted without a formal grant of power from the colonies. During the imperial crisis, its main role was to forge a consensus among the colonies for independence and then to manage the war. Delegates were representatives of their colonies and later their states. For instance, the New York delegates did not vote for independence on 2 July 1776 because they had yet to receive instructions allowing them to do so. As the war progressed, the Continental Congress assumed increasing responsibility for conducting and financing the war. Operating without a general grant of power from the states proved difficult for the delegates and demonstrated the need for a more permanent arrangement. Congress sent the states the nation's first national constitution, the Articles of Confederation, in 1777. The Articles were more a list of what Congress could not do than what it could. It could not tax or raise troops. For money, it could only request funds from states. Yet it had wide-ranging responsibilities. The states did not ratify the Articles until 1781, when conflicts between the states over claims to western lands were finally resolved. Congress governed within the proposed framework prior to ratification.

The Articles created a workable union during the war, but with peace in 1783, the new nation had to deal with difficult issues like repaying the debt. Because Congress could not raise revenue independently, repayment proved to be virtually impossible. Twice, in 1781 and 1783, Congress proposed giving itself the power to lay an impost, only to have it defeated by Rhode Island and Virginia, and New York respectively. Structurally, the Articles posed certain obstacles. Each state had one vote. Members could serve only three of every six years and were elected annually, which meant the Congress suffered from a great turnover and a dearth of institutional memory. State legislatures elected, paid, instructed, and recalled their delegates. The Articles required the assent of nine states on the final passage of legislation, the ratification of treaties, and a simple majority of all states (not just those present) on all preliminary questions. Thus, obstructionism through absenteeism was rampant. The Articles required unanimous approval of both Congress and the individual state legislatures for any amendment. This provision, among others, convinced many people that reform within the system was impossible. When states sent delegates to Philadelphia in May 1787 to amend the Articles, the Convention produced a new constitution.

CONGRESS AND THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitutional Convention, except for a brief but paralyzing flirtation with a unicameral legislature—a Confederation Congress with more powers—committed itself to a bicameral legislature. The Convention's "great compromise" settled the issue of representation: the people would be represented in

the House of Representatives and the states in the Senate. The new government had the power to raise taxes with the requirement that all revenue bills originate in the House. In contrast to the Articles, the Constitution set no term limits for representatives or senators, states had no power to recall their senators, members received their salaries from the federal government, and members voted individually. Bills could be passed by simple majorities of those present, treaties ratified by two-thirds of the senators present, and the Constitution amended without unanimous consent. During the ratification debates, there was much less controversy surrounding the House than the Senate, which possessed legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The House was clearly the people's chamber, whereas the Senate could have been the representative of states, the president's council, and/or the check on the House. When the First Congress met in March 1789, there was much more uncertainty about the Senate's role than the House's.

EARLY RULES AND PRACTICES

Once Congress achieved a quorum, the House went to work on the impost, whereas the Senate spent weeks debating the president's title. The House rejected the Senate's monarchical title and the latter eventually conceded defeat. Thus, the House and Senate's relationship began contentiously, but members of each chamber came to respect the other's independence and equality. On salaries, the House reluctantly conceded superiority to the Senate. During the seventh year of the salary law of 1789, senators earned one dollar more per day than representatives, but when Congress considered a new law in 1796, House members rejected the differential. Senators did not challenge the House for fear of courting unpopularity. The House also refused to accept any distinctions in the way the chambers communicated with each other. When the Senate proposed that messages from the House to the Senate be carried by at least two members and its messages to the House be carried by the Senate secretary, the House rejected this ceremonial difference. The clerk of the House and secretary of the Senate ferried messages back and forth. Thus, any superiority was not lightly conceded.

The clerk and secretary were each responsible for maintaining the records of their respective chambers. Although a Federalist, Samuel A. Otis served as secretary of the Senate from 1789 until his death in 1814. Two former senators succeeded him. Otis weathered the Republican takeover in 1801 by granting the Senate printing contract to Republican printer William Duane. In contrast, John Beckley, the House's first clerk, became a Democratic Republican operative as the parties formed. He lost his job to a Federalist in 1797, but regained it in 1801 when the Democratic Republicans gained control of the House. These two men established important precedents for congressional recordkeeping.

As the "people's house," the House immediately opened its doors and proceedings to the public, but both houses relied on local newspaper editors to record debates and publish revised remarks submitted by members. In the late 1840s, both houses contracted with stenographers, but did not take responsibility for recording and publishing their own debates until after the Civil War. The Senate met behind closed doors until 1794, only opening them after much agitation by both states and senators—mostly southern. When it opened its deliberations, the public and reporters attended only sporadically. It was not until the Missouri Crisis that the Senate attracted more spectators than the House. Previously, senators had often adjourned their chamber so they could attend House debates. In the 1820s that trend reversed.

At first, the House garnered more attention and did more visible work than the Senate. The House initiated far more legislation and received more petitions than the Senate until the mid-1810s. Initially, the Senate was a revisory body and generally followed the House's lead in legislation. This changed during the 1810s when the Senate willingly undertook more investigations of individuals' claims and initiated more bills. In this way the House and Senate converged.

COMMITTEES

Both chambers adopted a standing committee system after the War of 1812 (1812–1815). At first, they used extensive systems of ad hoc select committees that were appointed for specific purposes. The Senate adopted a standing committee system in December 1816 when it created eleven standing committees. The House created three standing committees in the 1790s but did not formally adopt a standing committee system until after the Senate had. The House designated Claims (1794) and Commerce and Manufactures (1795) as standing committees. These two committees allowed the House to reclaim responsibility for petitions and control of individual claims from the executive branch. In 1795 Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania moved to create a committee of ways and means for the explicit purpose of curbing Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's influence over Congress and financial policy. Congress officially made the Ways and Means

Committee a standing committee in 1802. Ironically, when Virginian John Randolph of Roanoke chaired this committee, he used his powerful position as a platform to oppose his onetime ally, President Jefferson. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, both houses moved to create more stable committee systems. The House created six new standing committees to audit spending by the executive departments. In 1822 the House reformed its rules and created three additional standing committees: Foreign Affairs, Military Affairs, and Naval Affairs. Significantly, the House adopted rules that curbed the previously routine violations of committees' jurisdictions by other members and gave committees the right to report bills to the floor at their own discretion.

Initially, both the House and Senate elected committee members, except that the House from the beginning allowed the Speaker to appoint committees with three or fewer members. Soon, the Speaker was allowed to appoint all committee members to avoid the time-consuming practice of election. The Senate experimented with appointment by the presiding officer of the Senate just briefly from 1823 to 1826. Because senators objected to Vice President John C. Calhoun's use of the appointment power, they returned to the less efficient election method. The senators instituted separate ballots for chairmen in 1826.

LEADERS

In neither chamber was the workload divided evenly. From the very first day, certain members did more work than others. In the House, Madison quickly emerged as a legislative leader and along with five other members held more than one-fifth of the committee memberships in the First Congress. However, once Madison split with the administration over Hamilton's financial program, he received fewer committee assignments. Thus, partisanship was always an underlying factor in committee assignments. The Speaker of the House was the only official leadership office. During the Third Congress, the election of Speaker was a party contest for the first time. The first men to occupy the office established certain precedents for using it, especially the power to appoint committees, for partisan ends. Henry Clay of Kentucky, who held the speakership from 1811 to 1814, 1815 to 1820, and 1823 to 1825, followed and expanded upon these precedents. He is justifiably credited with creating the modern speakership. The number of ballots required to elect a Speaker was often a good indication of the course to be followed in the congressional session and of the strength of the political parties. During the so-called Era of Good Feelings, when partisanship was weak, fights over the speakership could be particularly fierce. When Clay resigned as Speaker in 1820, it took twenty-two ballots to elect his successor, John W. Taylor of New York. Taylor favored restrictions on slavery's expansion and thus proved to be unacceptable to southern members. After several days of balloting in the next Congress, he was replaced by Virginian Philip P. Barbour.

In the Senate there was no equivalent to the office of Speaker. The vice president presides in the Senate and senators were reluctant to give him any formal power or influence. The vice president essentially ruled on parliamentary questions. Jefferson spent his vice presidency compiling a manual of parliamentary practice that remains in use in the twenty-first century. Various senators served as leaders on particular issues, but it was not until the Missouri Crisis and then the arrival of Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster in the late 1820s and early 1830s that the Senate truly gained its reputation as the premier deliberative body.

While the House, because of its size, quickly adopted rules that limited debate, the Senate's smaller size precluded any real need to impose such limits. In 1806, when the Senate revised its rules, it purged the previous question, which allowed debate to end by majority vote; this was done at the suggestion of Vice President Aaron Burr because the provision was rarely used. Thus, the Senate opened the door to the filibuster; however, the first filibuster did not occur until 1841, and it was seldom used before the 1890s.

THE SENATE'S EXTRALEGISLATIVE POWERS

In addition to its legislative duties, the Senate also possesses executive and judicial powers. With regard to its executive powers, the Senate did not become a council to the president, but it remained closer to its identity as a deliberative body. President George Washington personally consulted with the Senate about treaty negotiations only once. The exercise proved to be frustrating for senators, who felt they could not freely debate the issues in Washington's presence, and for Washington, who wanted immediate answers to his queries. Thereafter, presidents and the Senate relied on written communications for treaty matters as well as for appointments. Presidents did not always consult senators before they forwarded nominations to the Senate, but senators did retain the power to reject nominees without stating a reason. Senators usually deferred to the opinions of the nominees' home-state senators.

The Senate only exercised its judicial powers twice during this period—both in impeachment trials for federal judges. The trials of Federal District Court judge John Pickering in 1804 and U.S. Supreme Court justice Samuel Chase in 1805 were part of the Jeffersonians' project to purge the judiciary of Federalists. The Republican-controlled Senate, in convicting Pickering but acquitting Chase, established the precedent that the Senate would adhere to principles of law rather than pure politics when trying impeachments.

DEFINING EVENTS

A few key events proved to be transformative in the history of Congress: Jay's Treaty of 1794, the War of 1812, the Compensation Act of 1816, and the Missouri Crisis. Jay's Treaty defined the limits of the treaty-making power to exclude the House of Representatives. The War of 1812 was a watershed moment in terms of congressional development. Perceived financial mismanagement by the executive departments, the growing complexity of issues, and longer congressional careers led the House and Senate to reorganize their committee structure and become more assertive. Representatives, in particular, had to adjust to a more active electorate, a matter in which the Compensation Act of 1816 proved to be especially instructive. In 1816, before an election, Congress gave itself a raise. Nearly 70 percent of the members of that Congress—much higher than the usual rate of turnover—did not return to the next one. One of the first acts of the new Congress was to repeal the law and reinstitute a per diem pay system. The Missouri Crisis of 1819–1821 was extremely important. The debates surrounding it raised the Senate's profile, both for the quality of debate and its contribution to the resolution of the crisis. The Missouri Compromise originated in the Senate and passed as a package. With the resolution of the crisis, the equality of slave and nonslave states in the Senate became the sine qua non of union in the antebellum period. For the House, the Missouri Crisis demonstrated the chaos that one issue could create in the absence of both strong leadership and political parties. With northern numerical dominance in the chamber, a Speaker who either was from the South or who was sympathetic to it became essential.

During the early national period, the House and the Senate became more equal partners in legislative matters and in responding to individuals' concerns as expressed through petitions. Congress asserted its independence from the executive branch by enhancing its oversight powers. Yet the Senate and House remained distinct. Whereas at first the House overshadowed the Senate, by the 1820s the Senate eclipsed the House. The Senate's structure and rules provided added protection to minority rights and interests put the Senate at the center of the slavery debates of antebellum America.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Continental Congresses; Missouri Compromise.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bickford, Charlene Bangs, and Kenneth R. Bowling. *Birth of the Nation: The First Federal Congress, 1789–1791.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1989.

Binder, Sarah A. *Minority Rights, Majority Rule: Partisanship and the Development of Congress.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Bowling, Kenneth R., and Donald R. Kennon, eds. *Inventing Congress: Origins and Establishment of the First Federal Congress.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1999.

———, eds. *Neither Separate nor Equal: Congress in the 1790s.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000.

———, eds. *The House and the Senate in the 1790s: Petitioning, Lobbying, and Institutional Development.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.

De Pauw, Linda G, et al., eds. *The Documentary History of the First Federal Congress.* 17 vols. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972–2004.

Hoadley, John F. *Origins of American Political Parties, 1789–1803.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1986.

Swift, Elaine K. *The Making of an American Senate: Reconstitutive Change in Congress, 1789–1841.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Young, James Sterling. *The Washington Community, 1800–1828.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1966.

Terri Diane Halperin

CONNECTICUT Connecticut's geographic location, small area, and colonial origins profoundly shaped its first half-century of statehood. Wedged on a mere 5,009 square miles between the much larger states of Massachusetts and New York, Connecticut's 206,447 citizens confronted some disquieting possibilities in 1780 as they contemplated life outside the British Empire and inside an exhilaratingly new but undefined nation. Not only did the state's size make it potentially vulnerable to excessive political influence from its powerful neighbors, but the smallness also threatened its economic development and prosperity. As the second–most crowded state, with 41.23 residents per square mile, Connecticut seemed

Webb House. Joseph Webb, a prominent merchant in Wethersfield, Connecticut, commissioned this house from builder Judah Wright, who completed construction on it in 1752. In May 1781 George Washington met at the Webb House with the Comte de Rochambeau to plan the Yorktown campaign. ©MARK E. GIBSON/CORBIS.

already overpopulated for an agricultural society. Thus, as the national era opened, Connecticut's citizens viewed their future with a mixture of optimism and anxiety.

TRANSITION TO STATEHOOD

Connecticut emerged from the military phase of the Revolution less ravaged than many states. No major battles took place on Connecticut soil, although the British attacked and burned portions of several coastal towns (New London, Groton, Fairfield, and New Haven) and one interior village (Danbury). Connecticut played a much-admired role as a supplier of provisions for the Continental Army largely through the work of Governor Jonathan Trumbull and his two sons—Joseph Trumbull, commissary general of the Continental Army, and Jonathan Trumbull Jr., George Washington's personal secretary. Loyalists to the crown proved to be less numerous and troubling than in most states and tended to be concentrated in Fairfield County, which was close to New York City. Although the war disrupted trade and dis-

tended parts of the economy, it also had a salutary effect on manufacturing, which grew dramatically in the eastern part of the state.

Therefore, despite the wartime exigencies and postwar uncertainties that gripped Connecticut, the colony made a smooth transition to statehood as was best symbolized by the remarkable fact that Governor Trumbull served in office before, throughout, and after the Revolutionary War, the only colonial governor to do so. Connecticut and Rhode Island had been the only two colonies to maintain their seventeenth-century governing charters throughout their colonial existence, and during the Revolutionary era they were the only two new states not to write a new constitution. Connecticut continued to govern itself under the structure of the Charter of 1662, which, although a royal proclamation, had been written by John Winthrop Jr., and was based on the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut and the Connecticut Law Code of 1650, both of which had been made-in-Connecticut documents.

Connecticut Population 1760–1830

1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
	+ 25%	+14%	+15%	+ 5%	+ 4%	+ 5%	+ 8%
145,217	181,583	206,447	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,248	297,675

Some changes did occur, of course, during the Revolutionary era: in 1783 the General Assembly adopted a new law code, and between 1767 and 1790, 29 new towns were carved out of preexisting ones to bring the total number of towns to 101, thereby vastly enlarging the rate of political participation at the local level. Perhaps most important, the General Assembly in 1784 started the process of ending slavery by passing a law that freed all slaves at age twenty-five: in 1792, the General Assembly reduced the age for freedom to twenty-one.

CONSTITUTION MAKING AND POLITICS

Connecticut escaped much of the political turmoil in the 1780s that bedeviled its three neighbors, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, and lent its name to the solution brokered by Roger Sherman to solve the logjam between the large and small states at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. The Connecticut Compromise proposed making representation in the Senate equal for all states and proportional to population in the House of Representatives. By a vote of 128 to 40, a convention in Hartford ratified the new United States Constitution on 9 January 1788, making Connecticut the fifth state to do so. Thus, the new state entered the new Union with a near unanimity in support of the governing charter and an overwhelming majority in favor of the new federal Union.

The rise of political parties destroyed Connecticut's political tranquility for nearly two decades. A symbol of autonomy in the colonial era and a symbol of stability in the Revolutionary years, the charter became the symbol of the Federalist Party in the 1790s. By 1796 the Jeffersonian Republicans regarded the charter as a shield behind which the Federalists grouped to resist all change. Connecticut's Jeffersonians repeatedly called for a new constitution and eventually got their wish after electing Oliver Wolcott Jr. as the first Republican governor in 1817. Wolcott stitched together a coalition called the Tolerationists, made up of religious minorities who wanted to disestablish the Congregational Church, Republicans who wanted to gain control of the state government, and Union loyalists who were horrified

by the Federalist Party's flirtation with secession during the War of 1812. After much partisan wrangling, voters narrowly ratified the Constitution of 1818 by a margin of 13,918 to 12,364.

The Constitution of 1818 was undoubtedly the most important legal document in nineteenth-century Connecticut's history. Despite the political heat it generated, it did not represent a dramatic break with the past. Hartford and New Haven continued to serve as co-capitals, the rights and privileges of town government were preserved, a nominal property requirement was maintained for suffrage, and the inequitable apportioning of representatives to the General Assembly, which favored the older and more rural towns, was kept intact. Moreover, despite its razor-thin margin of ratification, the Constitution of 1818 proved popular, and the rancorous political discord that accompanied its creation subsided. The new document did embed two important changes into constitutional law: it formally separated the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of state government, and it disestablished the Congregational Church from its privileged legal position. Both changes had been in the works for nearly a century, however. Additionally, although the new constitution demonstrated a great respect for Connecticut's institutional past, it did have a potent effect on politics by signaling the end of the Federalist Party and the beginning of Republican domination.

ECONOMY

As Connecticut moved through a Federalist to a Republican era, its economy thrived owing to structural changes initiated by public and private enterprise. These changes accelerated the process of reducing Connecticut's dependence on agriculture. The twin specters of depopulation and loss of prosperity never materialized, although the population did grow at a slower rate in the early national years than it had in the colonial period. As early as the 1750s, when Connecticut first felt a demographic squeeze from its rapidly growing person-to-land ratio, merchants and farmers had begun to develop better transportation routes for exporting goods and to put resources into agricultural manufacturing such as meatpack-

ing and dairy processing. During and after the Revolution, this transformation proceeded apace. In 1784 Connecticut incorporated New England's first five cities, Hartford, Middletown, New Haven, New London, and Norwich, in order to create municipal governments that would be better able to promote trade than were town-meeting governments. In 1792 Hartford, New Haven, and New London established Connecticut's first banks, and in 1795 Norwich incorporated an insurance company. In 1799 Eli Whitney of New Haven received his first federal musket contract, and in 1802 Abel Porter began the state's brass industry in Waterbury. By 1830, Connecticut and its two southern New England neighbors, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, had created a new milling, manufacturing, and trading regional economic identity to replace their former religious one.

CULTURE

Connecticut's cultural and intellectual life thrived as well in the early national era. During the revolutionary era, a remarkable group of poets, satirists, and playwrights known collectively as the Hartford Wits constituted the leading American literary society of their time. John Trumbull's mocking epic, *M'Fingal* (1776), Timothy Dwight's allegory *The Conquest of Canaan* (1785), and Joel Barlow's wonderfully funny *Hasty Pudding* (1796) all spoofed the excessive seriousness of the young republic's zealous politicians. Noah Webster, whose name has become synonymous with America's dictionaries, lived in Hartford and published a preliminary dictionary in 1806 and his magnificent *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. Three new extraordinary institutions of higher learning opened in Connecticut in the early national era to join Yale College (1701) and catapult the state into a leading role in education: the Litchfield Law School (1784), the first law school in the nation; Trinity College in Hartford (1823); and Wesleyan College, in Middletown (1831), the first American Methodist college.

Presumably the founders of the state of Connecticut in 1776 would have been pleased by what their creation had evolved into by the 1830s: a stable society whose governing arrangements drew heavily on its institutional heritage, a productive society whose booming economy overcame disadvantageous circumstances by hard work and serious planning; and a cosmopolitan society that provided educational leadership to its fellow citizens.

See also **Congregationalists; Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism: State**

Constitution Making; Hartford Convention; New England.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collier, Christopher. *All Politics Is Local: Family, Friends, and Provincial Interests in the Creation of the Constitution.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003.

Daniels, Bruce C. *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635–1790.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1979.

Grasso, Christopher. *A Speaking Aristocracy: Transforming Public Discourse in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Howard, Leon. *The Connecticut Wits.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Lamar, Howard R., ed. *Voices of the New Republic: Connecticut Towns, 1800–1832.* 2 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2003.

Purcell, Richard J. *Connecticut in Transition: 1775–1818.* Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1963.

Bruce C. Daniels

CONSTITUTION: BILL OF RIGHTS   *See* **Bill of Rights.**

CONSTITUTION: ELEVENTH AMENDMENT

The Eleventh Amendment bars the federal judiciary from entertaining suits brought by a private citizen against a sovereign state without its consent. On 20 February 1793, only days after the U.S. Supreme Court announced in *Chisholm v. Georgia* that the federal judiciary had jurisdiction over such suits, a proposed amendment to the Constitution barring such suits was introduced in the Senate. Congress, however, adjourned in early March without taking action.

The Massachusetts and Virginia legislatures passed resolutions denouncing the Supreme Court's *Chisholm* decision, which sparked debate and similar resolutions in other states by the close of 1793. When the Third Congress convened, a resolution containing the Eleventh Amendment was introduced into the Senate on 2 January 1794. Both houses of Congress soundly defeated proposed limitations to the wording of the amendment. On 14 January, the Senate passed the resolution by a vote of 23 to 2. On 4 March, the House passed the resolution 81 to 9. On 7 February 1795, the last of the requisite twelve of the fifteen state legislatures ratified the amendment.

President George Washington, however, had only submitted eight state ratifications to Congress by January 1796. Congress did not certify the amendment until 8 January 1798, when President John Adams transmitted a report from his secretary of state confirming that the requisite number of states had ratified. The amendment's near-universal acceptance reflected a general public wariness of the Supreme Court's assumption of jurisdiction over the rights of the sovereign states in *Chisholm.* The Court rejected a procedural challenge to the amendment's validity in *Hollingsworth v. Virginia* (1798) and dismissed cases on its docket brought by individuals against states.

See also **Chisholm v. Georgia.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Jacobs, Clyde E. *The Eleventh Amendment and Sovereign Immunity.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1972.

Orth, John V. *The Judicial Power of the United States: The Eleventh Amendment in American History.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

H. Robert Baker

CONSTITUTION: TWELFTH AMENDMENT

The electoral college system prescribed by Article II, Section 1 of the original Constitution required the states to certify electors to cast two votes for president. The person receiving the most votes won the office, and the runner-up became vice president. This system broke down in the late 1790s with the emergence of loosely organized Federalist and Democratic Republican Parties. In the election of 1796, Federalist John Adams won the presidency and his rival, Thomas Jefferson, won the vice presidency. Jefferson organized opposition from his office, effectively working to undermine Adams's administration from within.

This partisan spirit motivated both Federalists and Democratic Republicans to direct electoral votes only to party candidates in the election of 1800. Several states, notably Democratic Republican Virginia and Federalist Massachusetts, also adopted winner-take-all systems that guaranteed their choice for president all their electoral votes. Federalist electors split their votes between John Adams and one of several other Federalist candidates, while Republican electors split theirs evenly between Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The Democratic Republican victory produced a tie that threw the election into the nar-

rowly Federalist House of Representatives. On 11 February 1801, Congress began casting ballots for the office of president, working against the 4 March deadline for the inauguration of the president. Many Federalists sought to deny Jefferson the presidency by elevating Burr—even though the Democratic Republicans had clearly intended Jefferson to be president—but they did not control enough state delegations to do so. On 17 February on the thirty-sixth ballot, Jefferson finally achieved a majority.

Democratic Republicans were determined not to allow this situation to occur again. Several state legislatures, including Vermont and New York, forwarded resolutions in 1802 to Congress proposing an amendment to the Constitution requiring the states to hold district elections for presidential electors and that electors designate one vote for president and the other for vice president. Many Federalists had supported a similar amendment before 1800, but because the electoral college gave some advantages to the minority party, many Federalists now moved to block the amendment.

After the 1802 elections, the Republicans held large majorities in both the House and the Senate. Despite unified Federalist opposition, Democratic Republicans in the House mustered enough support to pass a proposed amendment on 24 October 1803. The Senate ignored the House and passed its own version, which narrowly achieved a two-thirds majority on 2 December 1803. The Senate proposal required that electors designate their ballots for president and vice president. In the event of no clear majority in the electoral college, the proposed amendment reduced the list of candidates the House could consider to no more than three. If a majority of the state delegations in the House could not choose a president before 4 March, the office would go to the person elected as vice president. The House approved the Senate's measure by the slimmest of margins on 9 December 1803, and adopted a joint resolution with the Senate on 12 December requesting that President Jefferson transmit the proposed amendment to the states for ratification.

Thirteen of seventeen states needed to ratify the amendment to put it into effect, and this process proceeded quickly. By early February, eight states had ratified. The amendment encountered opposition in the Federalist strongholds of Delaware, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, all of which rejected the amendment. New Hampshire became the thirteenth state to ratify on 15 June 1804.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Currie, David P. *The Constitution in Congress: The Jeffersonians: 1801–1829.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Kuroda, Tadahisa. *The Origins of the Twelfth Amendment: The Electoral College in the Early Republic, 1787–1804.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

H. Robert Baker

CONSTITUTION, RATIFICATION OF

When the members of the Philadelphia Convention signed the proposed U.S. Constitution on 17 September 1787, the struggle to reform the federal government was far from over. To ensure success, the advocates of reform—the so-called Federalists—had to secure the support of the people. Without it, the Constitution stood no chance of survival. Adoption was by no means a foregone conclusion, and only after almost a year of political campaigns was the Constitution ratified by the requisite nine states. The historical significance of the struggle for ratification lies not only in its outcome, however, but also in the great public debate to which it gave rise. In this debate the Constitution was interpreted and given meaning for the first time, and it is to this record that latter-day interpreters have turned to recover the "original intent" of the founders.

THE RATIFICATION PROCESS

With the exception of Rhode Island, which held a popular referendum, the decision to adopt or reject the new Constitution was made neither by the state assemblies nor by Congress, but by ratifying conventions elected directly by the eligible voters in each state. Although there were restrictions on the right to vote in all states, a majority of white, adult men nevertheless had the right to vote for delegates to the ratifying conventions. On this widespread male suffrage rests the claim that the Constitution was adopted by "the people."

From the Federalists' perspective, the ratification process began very favorably. Within little more than a month—from 7 December 1787 to 9 January 1788—five states ratified the Constitution with little or no opposition. Only in Pennsylvania did the Constitution's opponents—the so-called anti-Federalists—make themselves heard, despite a large Federalist majority in the ratifying convention, held in November and December 1787. Pennsylvania's anti-Federalism was important because it set the tone, together with the early critiques raised by delegates to the Philadelphia Convention and the Confed-

Ratification of the Constitution by the States

State	Date	Vote	Amendments
Delaware	7 Dec. 1787	30-0	No
Pennsylvania	12 Dec. 1787	46-23	No
New Jersey	18 Dec. 1787	38-0	No
Georgia	31 Dec. 1787	26-0	No
Connecticut	9 Jan. 1788	128-40	No
Massachusetts	6 Feb. 1788	187-168	Yes
Maryland	26 Apr. 1788	63-11	No
South Carolina	23 May 1788	149-73	Yes
New Hampshire	21 June 1788	57-47	Yes
Virginia	25 June 1788	89-79	Yes
New York	26 July 1788	30-27	Yes
North Carolina	2 Aug. 1788	84-184	Yes
	21 Nov. 1789	194-77	Yes
Rhode Island	29 May 1790	34-32	Yes

Source: Jensen, Merrill, John P. Kaminiski, and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution.* 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976—.

eration Congress, for much of the opposition that would follow in other states. Thus, the objection that the Constitution lacked a bill of rights and the demand that it be amended by a second constitutional convention came to resonate widely beyond Pennsylvania. Many other objections to the Constitution that would later become standard anti-Federalist fare—such as criticism of the fiscal and military powers, representation, the judiciary, and the supremacy clause—also made their appearance here.

The Massachusetts convention heralded the end of easy Federalist victories. Opposition to the Constitution was strong there and compromise was required to secure adoption. Moderate Federalists proposed that the Constitution be adopted together with recommended amendments. This proposal won over enough anti-Federalists to allow the ratification of the Constitution by 187 to 168 on 6 February 1788. Recommended amendments would henceforth be the foremost means of the Federalists to placate the opposition. With only one exception, Maryland, every state that ratified the Constitution after Massachusetts also proposed amendments. The narrow vote in Massachusetts was followed by a setback in New Hampshire, where the Federalists escaped defeat only by accepting a four-month adjournment. Maryland in April 1788 and South Carolina the following month proved to be solidly Federalist, however, and in June 1788 New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, thereby putting the new government into effect.

Without ratification by New York and Virginia, however, the future of the Union was still in doubt. In Virginia, Federalists and anti-Federalists were equally strong, whereas New York was overwhelmingly anti-Federalist. Both states came to ratify by narrow margins, Virginia by ten votes in June 1788 and New York in July by only three. In both states the vote was influenced by the late hour of the ratifying conventions. When they convened it seemed certain that at least nine states would adopt the Constitution, so New York and Virginia were faced with the stark choice between ratification and disunion. With New York and Virginia in favor, it mattered little that North Carolina and Rhode Island at first rejected the Constitution. Eventually, both states called new conventions that ratified it in 1789 and 1790, respectively. Three years after the adjournment of the Philadelphia Convention, all of the original thirteen states had accepted the new compact.

If anti-Federalism is regarded only as a movement to reject or amend the Constitution and not as a political ideology, it died a quiet death after the Constitution's adoption. A campaign to call a second constitutional convention was soon abandoned, whereas the adoption of the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, stifled the demand for more far-reaching changes. The Bill of Rights is often presented as an anti-Federalist victory. Yet if the Bill of Rights is compared to the amendment proposals of the state ratifying conventions, it is clear that most major anti-Federalist objections to the Constitution went unheeded.

POLITICAL INTERESTS

Historians have long asked who supported and who opposed the Constitution and why they did so. In answering these questions, scholars have looked either at the political interests of the Constitution's supporters and opponents or at their political ideas. At the start of the twenty-first century, the field is characterized by competing interpretations rather than consensus, and very few certain conclusions have been drawn.

Political interests in support of ratification can be investigated either at the state level or at the level of the individual delegates to the ratifying conventions. At state level, the degree of support for the Constitution—measured in terms of how the vote split in the states' ratifying conventions—was influenced by size and geographic location. States that were small in population or area were more favorable to the Constitution than large states. There were several reasons for this. In the Confederation, the small states

had often depended economically on their larger neighbors. The Constitution's promise to nationalize the customs service and to ban interstate restrictions on trade would benefit many of the small states. Furthermore, with the exception of Georgia, which was small in population but large in land area, small states lacked western land claims. The development of the West under federal control would allow their citizens access to land and would also make land sales a common source of income for the Union.

A state's location in the Union also affected its disposition toward the Constitution. The ratifying conventions of the mid-Atlantic states—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland—experienced little or no anti-Federalist sentiment. To this group should be added New York City and the rest of southern New York, which were overwhelmingly Federalist. Economically, this area was dominated by international trade. A stronger national government meant that the United States would be able to retaliate against the mercantilist policies of Britain, France, and Spain. To the southern states, in contrast, a more vigorous commercial policy seemed a threat. They feared that a federal government under mid-Atlantic and northern control would sacrifice western expansion in favor of international trade, a danger recently demonstrated by the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations over the rights of U.S. shipping on the Mississippi. Coupled with concerns about the future of slavery in a union where the slave states would form a minority, this fear accounts for the relative strength of anti-Federalist sentiments in the South.

With regard to individual delegates to the ratifying conventions, progressive and neoprogressive historians have claimed that the division between Federalists and anti-Federalists had an economic basis. In its most refined version, this interpretation argues that people took their stance on the Constitution depending on their degree of integration into the market economy. Merchants and the urban population tended to be Federalists, as did farmers and planters who produced for the market. Among the anti-Federalists, in contrast, can be found what progressives call subsistence farmers, those who did not produce for the market either because they lacked enough land or labor or because they were located too far from markets and communication routes. The progressive interpretation has always been controversial. Critics have denied that economic or social status influenced people's position on the Constitution in any consistent way. Recently, however, an exhaustive analysis of voting behavior in the ratify-

Ratification Celebration in New York. A parade was held in New York City in July 1788 to celebrate the state's ratification of the Constitution. The floats included the federal ship *Hamilton*, which was drawn on a flatbed cart. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ing conventions has corroborated basic progressive claims. Although the progressives did not hold slave-holding to influence delegates in any clear-cut way, Robert A. McGuire's study also found that delegates representing constituencies with a high concentration of slaves were far more likely to vote against the Constitution than were other delegates—this despite the fact that Federalists like Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in South Carolina and James Madison in Virginia underscored how the Constitution protected slavery in order to gain support for the document. At the same time, in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, many anti–Federalists complained bitterly about the "three-fifths" clause, the slave trade provision, and other proslavery aspects of the Constitution.

POLITICAL IDEAS

The ratification struggle gave rise to a public debate of unprecedented scope. Historians studying this debate have only rarely taken an interest in the social and economic basis of the ratification struggle. The major exception is the progressives, who have assumed a link between economic and social status, on the one hand, and political ideas, on the other. Ac-

cording to the progressive interpretation, the subsistence farmers who opposed the Constitution generally held democratic political ideals, meaning essentially that they believed that most adult white men should have the right to vote and to run for office. Because they thought that democracy could be realized only in the state assemblies, anti-Federalists defended the sovereignty of the states and were reluctant to delegate power from the states to the federal government.

The Federalists held opposite views. In private if not always in public, progressive historians say, Federalists supported elite rule by a "natural aristocracy." The Constitution was primarily a means for them to restrict the "excessive democracy" characteristic of the state legislatures ever since the Revolution. In the 1780s the assemblies had repeatedly threatened property rights, most blatantly by making depreciating paper money legal tender. Centralizing power by adopting the Constitution provided a way to distance the government from popular influence. By limiting representation and refining the majority will, the government would be less influenced by popular demands and therefore less likely to threaten the interests of the propertied elite.

REDEUNT SATURNIA REGNA.

On the erection of the Eleventh PILLAR of the great

tional DO... ...beg leave most sincerely to felicitate ** OUR DEAR COUNT,

Rise it will.

The foundation good—it may yet be SAVED.

The FEDERAL EDIFICE.

ELEVEN STARS, in quick succession rise—
ELEVEN COLUMNS strike our wond'ring eyes,
Soon o'er the *whole*, shall swell the beauteous DOME,
COLUMBIA's boast—and FREEDOM's hallow'd home.
    Here shall the ARTS in glorious splendour shine !
And AGRICULTURE give her stores divine !
COMMERCE refin'd, dispense us more than gold,
And this new world, teach WISDOM to the old—
RELIGION here shall fix her blest abode,
Array'd in *mildness*, like its parent GOD !
JUSTICE and LAW, shall endless PEACE maintain,
And the " SATURNIAN AGE," *return again.*

The Federal Edifice. This woodcut appeared in the 2 August 1788 edition of the Boston *Centinel* after New York become the eleventh state to ratify the Constitution. The edifice would be complete when North Carolina and Rhode Island approved ratification. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

In reaction to the progressive interpretation, many historians of the nation's founding turned away from studies of social struggles to study ideas. They came to interpret the ratification debate not as a conflict over democracy but as a transition from a classical republican to a liberal conception of social and political life. According to this interpretation, the Federalists and the Constitution represented the new liberal order, whereas the anti-Federalists represented the waning republican order. Classical republicanism gives primacy to the common good over the interests of the individual and demands that the citizen participate actively in the political community. It is therefore an ideology in basic conflict with liberalism, which gives primacy to the rights of the individual over the will of the majority and that often assumes a conflict of interest between the individual and the community. Further research has shown that neither the idea that there existed a conflict between republicanism and liberalism, nor that the founding era was a period of transition from the one to the other, is tenable. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that

this perspective has contributed greatly to a better understanding of the intellectual world of the late eighteenth century.

At the turn of the twenty-first century, interpretation of the ratification debate focuses on the interrelated issues of Federalism and international relations. It argues that in the wake of independence, the survival and prosperity of the American Republic depended on the ability to keep the Union together and to defend its interests against foreign powers. With the Constitution, the Federalists aimed to do both. Keeping the Union together was crucial because dissolution would create a number of competing and warring confederacies and independent states. This would amount to a reproduction of the highly destructive European state system on the North American continent. But equally important was to make sure that the Republic could defend its territory and interests against foreign powers. For this reason it was necessary to grant the federal government extensive fiscal and military powers. Although the anti-Federalists shared many of the Federalists' con-

cerns, the call to strengthen the Union and the federal government clashed with the anti-Federalists' states' rights ideology and their fear of central government.

Scholarly debate about the real meaning of the ratifying debate and the Constitution is likely to continue as new developments give rise to new historical interpretations. It can hardly be otherwise as long as the belief persists that the American Republic can only be true to itself as long as it does not stray too far from the path set out by the founding generation.

See also **Anti-Federalists; Constitutional Convention; States' Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cornell, Saul. *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism and the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Finkelman, Paul. "Turning Losers into Winners: What Can We Learn, If Anything, from the Antifederalists?" *Texas Law Review* 79 (2001): 849–897.

Gillespie, Michael Allen, and Michael Lienesch, eds. *Ratifying the Constitution*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact: The Lost World of the American Founding*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Hoffman, Ronald. *The Bill of Rights: Government Proscribed*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997.

Jensen, Merrill, John P. Kaminiski, and Gaspare J. Saladino, eds. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Kramnick, Isaac. "The 'Great National Discussion': The Discourse of Politics in 1787." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 45 (1988): 3–32.

Main, Jackson Turner. *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781–1788*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interest: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

McGuire, Robert A. *To Form a More Perfect Union: A New Economic Interpretation of the United States Constitution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Rutland, Robert A. *The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787–1788*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Max M. Edling

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION During the spring and summer of 1787, fifty-five delegates representing twelve American states deliberated in a forty-by-forty foot room in the Philadelphia State House with windows closed to maintain secrecy in a meeting that became known as the Constitutional Convention. The delegates engaged in a wide-ranging, frank, civil, yet passionate and often eloquent debate on the future of American government, one that continued for nearly four months despite sometimes flaring tempers and legitimate fears that they would not reach agreement and that disunion or even civil war might follow. They concluded their work by recommending almost unanimously a proposed United States Constitution (today's Constitution without its amendments), a bold new framework for continental republican government designed to replace the Articles of Confederation. This outcome occurred even though the convention had nominally been summoned to consider amendments to the Articles, not to replace it. Even more remarkably, the convention proposed that the new Constitution become effective upon ratification by nine state conventions chosen by the people, ratification principles wholly inconsistent with the Articles.

The convention achieved a quorum and began official business on 25 May 1787. In theory, it met pursuant to a 21 February 1787 resolution of the Continental Congress authorizing a meeting for the "sole and exclusive purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." Under that resolution, the proposed revisions were first to be agreed to by Congress and then confirmed by all thirteen states before becoming effective. In reality, before the resolution passed Congress, seven states had already chosen delegates, responding to a summons written by Alexander Hamilton and issued from an earlier convention held in Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786. Other states were reluctant to attend a convention that might consider fundamental changes to the Articles of Confederation and insisted on congressional authorization for the convention and use of the Articles amendment rules before appointing their delegates. Only Rhode Island refused to send delegates.

The political skirmishing over the convention reflected the fact that by 1786, the United States faced social and economic troubles at home and political and financial embarrassment abroad that had led many people to conclude that the Articles of Confederation were fundamentally flawed. By 1787 sharply differing and often radical proposals for major changes in American government had gained curren-

cy. Some Americans believed that the persistent inability of the Continental Congress to agree on important issues showed that the United States should be dissolved and split up into three or four separate confederacies. Some believed that no government powerful enough to govern a continent could avoid becoming tyrannical. A few Americans were so disturbed by events that they favored a return to monarchy.

Prominent men like George Washington, who supported a strong national republican government for the United States, were disheartened by the weakness of Articles government, which they thought made the government a "jest." Washington prepared carefully for the convention, instructing supporters to find and propose a "radical cure" for government ills whether or not they thought the cure would be agreed to by the convention. Still other well-known men, like Samuel Adams, opposed any significant change in the loose alliance of states created by the Articles of Confederation.

The convention was attended by a distinguished, socially prominent group of lawyers, planters, and merchants, men Thomas Jefferson later aptly called an assembly of "demigods." The delegates included forty-two men who had sat in the Continental Congress; at least thirty Revolutionary War veterans; sixteen past, present, or future state governors; two future presidents; one future vice president; and two future U.S. Supreme Court chief justices. Collectively, they possessed substantial political experience and great political talent.

The convention has been called a "rally of nationalists," but delegates had very different political philosophies and represented states and regions with often sharply conflicting interests. Ten men are generally thought to be primarily responsible for the form of the Constitution: James Madison and Edmund Randolph of Virginia; Benjamin Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania; Rufus King of Massachusetts; John Rutledge and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina; and Oliver Ellsworth and Roger Sherman of Connecticut.

The convention opened by electing George Washington as its president. Washington's participation was essential to the convention's political success. He had agreed to attend very reluctantly, after first declining. At age fifty-five, he suffered from severe rheumatism and had tried to withdraw from public life, but he was determined to try to create a stronger government to prevent the collapse of the union and, against the advice of supporters, was willing to risk his reputation on the success of the convention, which many thought might fail to reach any agreement.

The convention agreed to meet secretly, and it barred delegates from reporting its proceedings. Madison later claimed that the Constitution could not have been adopted without this secrecy that, among other things, allowed delegates to take positions which would be unpopular back home and to change their minds without political repercussions.

INTRODUCTION OF THE VIRGINIA PLAN

The convention debate began with Edmund Randolph's presentation of the Virginia Plan for the new Constitution. Based on proposals by Madison, the plan called for a bicameral national legislature with power to nullify state laws, a powerful executive, and exceptionally broad federal judicial powers. The new Constitution was to be ratified by assemblies chosen by the people in order to increase the Constitution's legitimacy and to prevent legislatures from blocking it. The plan was a complete nationalist overhaul of the Articles. The plan's national government proved too powerful for most delegates, but the plan provided the basic structure for the Constitution's separation of powers and dominated convention debate. (Charles Pinckney also submitted a plan, but it was not separately debated, though it may have been considered by the Committee of Detail.)

THE STRUGGLE OVER REPRESENTATION

During the first several weeks of debate on the Virginia Plan, it became clear that the most contentious issue was congressional representation. The plan called for proportional representation in both houses of the legislature (today's Congress) based either on "quotas of contributions" or the "number of free inhabitants," that is, wealth or population. Virginia and other large states led by Madison and Wilson vigorously supported the principle of proportional representation in Congress, while small states like Delaware and New Jersey supported the Articles' principle that each state should have an equal vote. This debate grew so heated that both sides threatened to leave the convention if their position was not adopted. Gunning Bedford Jr. of Delaware even threatened alliance with a foreign government if his state's position was rejected. On 11 June the convention approved proportional representation in the upper house (today's Senate) by a narrow vote and appeared ready to approve a modified Virginia Plan with proportional representation in both legislative houses. This action precipitated a small state revolt.

On 15 June the small states introduced the New Jersey Plan, named after its sponsor, William Paterson of New Jersey. This plan, supported by delegates from several states, including Connecticut, New York, and Maryland, was a modification of the Articles of Confederation that expanded congressional powers to include limited taxation and commerce. It proposed a unicameral legislature with equal state votes, an extremely weak executive removable on application of a majority of state governors, and a supreme court with narrow powers. The Paterson Plan was voted down by a vote of of 7 to 3, a de facto rejection of the existing Confederation.

Yet it was now apparent that the convention would not succeed unless it could come to an acceptable agreement on representation. Madison sought to persuade small states that it was unjust and unnecessary for them to have equal votes. He argued that the real division of interest between the states was one between the northern and southern states resulting from the economics of slavery, not one between large and small states. Madison's argument convinced important delegates that there was a division over slavery but failed to persuade others that small states did not need "security" through representation. On 16 July 1787 a special committee chaired by Roger Sherman of Connecticut reported a proposal, commonly called the Great (or Connecticut) Compromise, that called for population representation in the lower house using a formula that counted slaves as three-fifths of a person, and equal state votes in the upper house. Adopted by 5 to 4, this compromise between popular representation and representation of state governments created the political basis for federalism. A similar compromise was employed in creating the electoral college.

THE COMMERCE POWER AND SLAVERY

Despite general agreement that the national government should have the power to control interstate and foreign commerce, delegates sharply disagreed over political control of that power. The "eastern" states (particularly New England) and the southern states had disagreed sharply over commercial issues, and many southern representatives wanted a regional veto over any national commerce power by means of a requirement that the power be exercised only upon a two-thirds vote of Congress.

Several northern states had abolished (or begun the abolition of) slavery and slave imports by 1787. Northern states also urgently wanted national taxation powers, with direct taxes to be based on wealth.

The convention recessed in late July to permit a Committee of Detail to produce a draft of the Constitution. Members of the five-man committee included James Wilson of Pennsylvania, Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, and John Rutledge of South Carolina. The committee's 6 August report included a detailed specification of the powers of Congress, including a two-thirds voting requirement for exercising a key commerce power, the power to control navigation (for example, requiring American southern goods to be exported in American northern ships). The committee also proposed to exempt exports from taxation and to permit unlimited imports of slaves.

These committee recommendations caused a debate over slavery to erupt. Some northern delegates, like Gouverneur Morris, attacked the morality of slavery. Rufus King vigorously attacked the idea that slave imports would be permitted to continue without any tax revenues from exports produced using slave labor (which could be used to offset costs of slavery such as slave rebellions) while the South was also given expanded representation in the Congress using the "three-fifths" formula. Southern delegates generally defended slavery and slave imports, with the notable exception of George Mason, who made an impassioned, prophetic speech against both. Several northern delegates accepted slavery and continued imports of slaves as contributory to national wealth or as a necessary evil essential to reaching agreement on a new constitution.

A committee appointed to look for a compromise then proposed that Congress be enabled to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1800. Remarkably, southern delegates then successfully sought an extension of that provision to 1808, supported by delegates from northern states that had already abolished slavery and slave imports. When southern delegates later sought to require that the commerce power be exercised only through a two-thirds vote of Congress, they were defeated by a coalition of northern and other southern delegates.

Through this negotiation, each region got what it wanted most—the North got substantial control over the commerce power, since it would control Congress initially, while the South got the right to import slaves for twenty years. This was the second major compromise of the convention. The convention also agreed to protect slavery by requiring states to permit forcible return of fugitive slaves to their owners in other states (the fugitive slave clause).

THE POWERS OF CONGRESS

In addition to broad powers over taxation, commerce, and appropriations (the "power of the purse"), the Constitution gave Congress the power to declare war and to raise national military forces. Separate authority was provided to use and control state militias to enforce federal laws, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions. Unlike the Articles of Confederation, major national economic and military powers did not have to be exercised through the states, and such laws could be enforced directly against individuals rather than states. The elimination of the Articles' requirements for supermajority state consent to major national actions and for state implementation of federal laws are among the most fundamental departures from the Articles found in the Constitution. Congress also received power to "make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution" its other powers, a grant of implied authority that was to become the basis for important assertions of national power in later years.

LIMITS ON STATE AUTHORITY

At the urging of James Madison and others, the delegates agreed to place significant limits on state powers. The Constitution limited state economic power by providing that states could not emit bills of credit, make anything other than "gold or silver coin" legal tender for payment of debts, or pass laws impairing the obligation of contracts. States were prohibited from imposing taxes on imports or exports (except to cover administrative costs) and from entering into agreements or compacts with each other, or with foreign governments, without congressional consent.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

Delegates had highly conflicting ideas about the executive branch. Some favored a weak presidency or a plural executive of several individuals; others favored a powerful president with a lengthy term and absolute veto over legislation. The Constitution's comparatively "energetic" (powerful) presidency was a compromise between these views.

To avoid choosing between popular election of the president and election of the president by Congress or legislatures, the convention agreed that the president would be chosen by an electoral college whose membership formula would be weighted toward small states and whose members would be chosen by states using state election rules. The president was given a four-year term, with no limit on the number of terms, but was made impeachable for "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors," a standard that, combined with a requirement for a two-thirds vote to impeach, was intended to make impeachment a rarely used remedy.

The president's powers included a strong veto that could be overridden only by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress, a compromise between those who wanted to give the president an absolute veto and those who wanted the veto exercisable only together with the judiciary. The president was given "the power of the sword" as commander in chief. The president shared the treaty power and the power to appoint officers of the United States with the Senate.

THE JUDICIARY AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The Constitution contained only an outline of the judicial branch structure, including a description of the jurisdiction of the federal courts. It provided for lifetime tenure for judges, widely recognized as necessary to preserve judicial independence. The Constitution also provided that the Constitution and federal laws were supreme over state laws and constitutions, a provision that bound both state and federal judges. The absence of express constitutional provisions regarding judicial review of the constitutionality of legislation—other than the federal jurisdiction and supremacy clauses, which many people regarded as sufficient authorization for such review—led to later disputes regarding the nature and limits of such review.

The Constitution contained no bill of rights, but it did protect certain fundamental rights such as habeas corpus and criminal jury trial. Most delegates thought that a bill of rights was either futile or unnecessary in a government of limited powers.

On 17 September 1787, the proposed Constitution was signed by thirty-nine men, all but three of the delegates (Mason, Randolph, and Gerry) present. The historic convention then ended.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Constitution, Ratification of; Federalist Papers; Madison, James.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edling, Max M. *A Revolution in Favor of Government: Origins of the U.S. Constitution and the Making of the American State.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Farrand, Max, ed. *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787.* Rev. ed. 4 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1966.

Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. *The Federalist Papers*. Edited by Clinton Rossiter. New York: New American Library, 1961.

Hendrickson, David C. *Peace Pact*: *The Lost World of the American Founding*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003.

Hutson, James H., ed. *Supplement to Max Farrand's* The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987.

Jensen, Merrill, ed. *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution*. 20 vols. to date. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1976–.

Matson, Cathy D., and Peter S. Onuf. *A Union of Interests*: *Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1990.

Morris, Richard B. *The Forging of the Union 1781–1789*. New York: Harper and Row, 1987.

Onuf, Peter S. *The Origins of the Federal Republic*: *Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States 1775–1787*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics*: *An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress*. New York: Knopf, 1979.

———. *Original Meanings*: *Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*. New York: Vintage Books, 1997.

Warren, Charles. *The Making of the Constitution*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1937.

George Van Cleve

CONSTITUTIONALISM

The entry consists of three separate articles *Overview*, *American Colonies*, and *State Constitution Making*.

Overview

How shall we be governed, by a law of force or the force of law? Whatever its many details, the long history of constitutionalism as a concept expresses the spirit of this question and answers for the force of law. The idea of constitutionalism, as applied to the American colonies, sparked the Revolution, which has shaped the world's political structures to this day. At the time of its ratification in 1788, the Constitution of the United States became the most visible expression of a nation's belief in limited government, the rule of law, and a classical liberal vision of a good society.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT

Governments coerce. They do this in many ways, for better or worse. As many political theorists note, co-ercion is one of government's defining characteristics. Governments can be large or small, complex or rudimentary, they can be democratic or despotic, but they all commonly maintain a final coercive authority over some specified geographical area. To consider the legitimacy of government requires focus on the basis and use of its force.

History is filled with instances of abuses of power, of force used in horrendous ways. Theorists and revolutionaries alike have asked: are there no constraints? One recurring answer across the ages is that governmental force, and the officials who exercise it, ought to be constrained by a rule of law. In the fourth century B.C., Plato said in *The Republic* that tyrants and despots will act as if force justifies itself, but this does not make it so. Plato argued that government and its rulers must conform to some higher law, some Form of Justice.

This inspiring answer leads to a striking puzzle: Government ought to be limited in what it may do, and law specifies limits. Government may not act contrary to law. But if government ought to be constrained by law and at the same time is the final coercive authority for administering the law, then in what sense can a great power that creates law be constrained by law? This question is both deeply theoretical and deeply practical. First, one wants to know where this independent law comes from, why it has authority, and what it demands. Second, one wants to know how to structure government so that it respects this law.

Consider first the practical question about structuring government. One approach is to create a written constitution that binds all citizens and governments under its rule. A written constitution expresses law that exists prior to any particular government that may come into power under that constitution. A written constitution offers a device of constraint, a self-conscious way for government to understand its powers and limits, stating a fundamental law that all ordinary laws must respect.

These are the starting points for constitutionalism as a concept and the distinctive constitutional experiment in the United States. At its most fundamental level, constitutionalism expresses a great hope that human beings can be guided by something other than arbitrary force, celebrate the rule of law, and form a people committed to the value of limited government.

AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM

Drafted by Thomas Jefferson in 1776, the Declaration of Independence expresses this commitment to

THE PROVIDENTIAL DETECTION

The Providential Detection **(1797–1800).** In this lithograph Thomas Jefferson kneels at the altar of despotism as an American eagle tries to prevent him from burning the Constitution in a fire fueled by radical writings. Jefferson's letter to Philip Mazzei, in which he allegedly criticized John Adams and George Washington, falls from his right hand. COURTESY, AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

limited government. Jefferson declares that governments are instituted to secure people's rights, including life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Jefferson and the other signers drew support from a rich intellectual history of Enlightenment thought in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. They drew especially from the writings of John Locke, who conceived of natural rights as prior to established government. In a state of nature, persons are endowed with individual rights, and then government is instituted as a means to secure these rights through the consent of the governed. Locke offered his own answers to the theoretical puzzles about law. He claimed that law comes from God and substantively requires that no person—especially no government—may violate other persons' rights. Jefferson expressed these ideas about rights and a Creator directly in the Declaration of Independence.

Long before the American Revolution, political theorists recognized that a rule of law requires that people be treated equally under the law. The same standards must apply to each person when the relevant conditions are the same. The law should be public and predictable through mechanisms such as judicial proceedings open to the public. These conditions create pressures for the consistent administration of the law.

Throughout history governments often created elaborate constitutions, although this idea had a broad meaning. The "constitution" of a government identified the vast range of law operating in that region. These laws offered sets of rules and principles applied to all persons subject to government authority. Despite a long history of entrenched customary laws, judicial decision making, and elaborate procedures for enacting and changing laws, there was little history of effective and binding written constitutions constraining lawmakers and the judiciary. The institutional device of a written constitution became perhaps the most important historical impact of American constitutionalism. So profound was the American experiment that most nations in contemporary times, following the American tradition, have devised some type of written constitution—though often weak and ineffectual—as part of their governmental structure.

The emergence of the American Constitution marked a break from the English system, which recognized a constitution in the broad sense, but viewed Parliament as having full sovereignty over law with no separate written constitution that constrained its decisions. The colonists became convinced of the need to express a commitment to a specific written document prior to the exercise of government power through a fixed constitution as a check on this power.

The framers of the Constitution convened in 1787 to work out the details, building from a tradition of written colonial charters, a conception of natural rights, and a chastened experience with the Articles of Confederation. The Articles proved too weak to bind the newly formed states into one united nation; the states also faced a tremendous practical problem of paying the debts that had accrued from the Revolution. Not surprisingly, then, the convention focused most intensely on the relative balance of power between the states and the proposed federal government. This balance between federal and state power defined much of the intellectual debate between the Federalists, who supported a strong national constitution, and the anti-Federalists, who supported the primacy of state power. These arguments have always been an important part of the American political tradition.

James Madison was a Federalist who supported a strong constitution. He was also committed to the idea that government must uphold preexisting natural rights. For Madison, the best means of protecting people from the potential of an oppressive government was a representative government and a separation and balance of powers among competing branches of government. He and other delegates sought a constitution whose purpose was to specify this structure of government. Working through intense debate and dispute, they tried to reach compromises at every step of the Constitutional Convention, and the Constitution was ratified in 1788.

In 1789 Congress proposed a series of amendments that became known as the Bill of Rights. Madison and other Federalists had initially opposed a bill of rights, arguing that such a provision was, at best, useless—a "parchment barrier" that could never stop a majority determined to crush the rights of the minority. Madison also feared that no bill of rights could completely identify and secure all liberties, and thus any liberties not explicitly protected would be forever lost. Nevertheless, to placate disgruntled anti-Federalists, Madison proposed a limited number of amendments to protect basic liberties. Many states, in fact, ratified the Constitution on condition that a bill of rights would be adopted. Madison was deeply disappointed, however, when the Senate rejected his proposed amendment that would have required the states, as well as the national government, to protect freedom of expression and religious liberty.

The adoption, interpretation, and implementation of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights have become fundamental for understanding the character of American government. The Constitution is designed to empower and provide an external constraint on what any government may do. Any written document, however, especially a written Constitution, needs interpreters. Who should they be and how should they go about interpreting? If the legislative branch interprets the document, then in practice the document would no longer act as an independent constraint on ordinary law. Suppose that power is assigned to the judicial branch: how should the Supreme Court interpret the Constitution? On the one hand, the Constitution itself may be understood as the external constraint on ordinary law, and the interpretive task may be to divine the intent of the framers or analyze the meaning of the words in the text. Alternatively, higher ideals such as natural rights and justice may be understood as the ultimate constraints on ordinary law, where the purpose of the Constitution is to capture those deeper ideas in practical form. The Supreme Court might see its task either as drawing solely on the historical or literal meaning of constitutional limits or as incorporating other values that justices believe the Constitution is trying to express. Some interpretation is inevitable, for the words of the Constitution are often vague. How best to do this is a continuing puzzle in contemporary philosophy of law.

Despite its puzzles, the animating force behind constitutional debate is a recognition that the Constitution must apply in a way that serves as an effective constraint on potentially unlimited and capricious government power. There are perhaps many structures of government that can be suited to the task, but the Americans offered a written constitution as a distinctive solution to that problem. They devised a separation of powers, clarified and elaborated through Supreme Court rulings, such as *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) and *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819). They devised strict rules for formally revising the Constitution, and they embraced the controversial belief that a constitutionally constrained democracy could prosper in a large nation of many inhabitants with distinct and sometimes antagonistic cultural habits. In these ways and others, they addressed the enduring puzzle of constraining a government that at some level is vested with the power to define its own constraints.

CLASSICAL LIBERALISM

In its barest essence, the idea of constitutionalism, with a written constitution, does not imply a complete vision of social life and humanity. But the American Constitution did in fact give rise to and color the distinctive qualities of American life. Underneath the creation of a written constitution was a particular understanding of the strengths and frailties of human motives and ambitions.

The eloquence of the founders offers a testament to both a large range of practical insights and philosophical underpinnings for supporting American constitutional government. This testament partially emerges from *The Federalist*, writings that first appeared in New York newspapers at the time of the Constitutional Convention. The *Federalist* papers create a magnificent record of the arguments surrounding the creation and ratification of the Constitution. The *Federalist* papers were written to garner support for the Constitution, and thus the three authors—the ardent Federalists Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay—carefully avoided discussing provisions of the Constitution, such as the slave clauses, that they could not defend. Wide-ranging arguments were also carried out in pamphlets and newspapers throughout the colonies by common citizens, polemicists, political philosophers, and many active politicians of the day.

These arguments came not only from an American Revolution that rejected British rule, but also from founding figures who had studied and reflected on the long history of governmental abuse of power through the ages. They worried not only about potential tyranny by a powerful few, but they also worried about a mob democracy that through majority vote could oppress the rights of a minority. A written constitution was not merely part of a democratic culture but an important constraint on the exercise of democratic rule.

For the Americans, constitutionalism became part of a broader conception of human society. The hope was to view limited government as the background to human flourishing, where the creative energies of citizens would be realized through a vibrant civil society of equal citizens. Civil society with dispersed power would create the foreground for living good lives, limited government the background. On the one hand this conception suggests a profoundly pessimistic view of human nature. People in position to exercise power over others are liable to abuse that power. Power is a corrupting force that will have its way over time. Many of the careful constraints and balances of power devised by the founders gave due regard to this realistic if not bleak assessment of humanity.

At the same time the idea of a written constitution expresses an exalted and optimistic view of human nature, the idea that people can live together by mutually recognizing the power of reason and law over the power of force. It offers a vision of humanity that social organization need not be governed by caprice, war, and conquest. The peaceful creation and ratification of a written constitution and the political and civil institutions that grew as a result of it express the profound optimism that human beings can be persuaded to work out their differences by careful deliberation under conditions of liberty. The American Constitution was part of a classical liberal vision of society in which individuals, through their voluntary efforts, create self-supporting institutions that flourish and evolve as the needs of the people evolve. They do so in the context of a limited and just framework of law.

The American Constitution is part of a vision of the good society, acknowledging the authority and worth of the single individual but celebrating the community, acknowledging the greatness of the human moral impulse but recognizing the need for caution against base temptation. A written constitution is a practical document that requires enormous trust and idealism, both to be created and to be sustained over time. It is impossible to understand the vision of American constitutionalism without recognizing this tremendous idealism balanced with hard-nosed pragmatism, and the confidence that the two can work as one.

See also **American Character and Identity; Americanization; Anti-Federalists; Articles of Confederation; Classical Heritage and American Politics; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Convention; Constitutional Law; Declaration of Independence; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalism; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Government; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; *Marbury v. Madison*; *McCulloch v. Maryland*; Philosophy; Politics: Political Thought; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Larry, ed. *Constitutionalism: Philosophical Foundations.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 2001.

The Federalist: The Essential Essays. Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay. Edited by Jack N. Rakove. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003.

Morris, Christopher W. *An Essay on the Modern State.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Sandel, Michael J. *Democracy's Discontent: American in Search of a Public Philosophy.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996.

Scalet, Steven. "Fitting the People They Are Meant to Serve: Reasonableness in the American Legal System." *Law and Philosophy* 22 (2003): 75–110.

Scalet, Steven, and David Schmidtz. "State, Civil Society, and Classical Liberalism." In *Civil Society and Government.* Edited by Nancy L. Rosenblum and Robert C. Post. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Steven Scalet

American Colonies

Two factors shaped the extraordinary period of constitutionalism in the new United States that stretched from the creation of republican governments at the state level in the 1770s and 1780s to the ratification of the federal Constitution in the late 1780s. The first factor was the intense debate about the principles of the English constitution in the seventeenth century. The second factor was the equally fractious dispute about the constitutional relationship between England and its American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Building on these influences, newly independent Americans crafted a distinctive form of constitutionalism in the crucial years following the Declaration of Independence.

ENGLISH CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The nature of the English constitution was one of the central political problems of the turbulent seventeenth century. Both before and after the English civil war (1642–1648), the Stuart kings contended that the source of all political and legal authority rested with the crown as the result of a divine grant. As such, they claimed the right to rule without regard to constitutional limits. In response to this assertion of royal authority, many English lawyers argued that, although the king had certain legal prerogatives, the English constitution prevented him from ruling contrary to law.

This conception of the English constitution as one that limited royal authority had deep roots in English history, but it reached its fullest expression in the work of seventeenth-century lawyers and parliamentarians such as Edward Coke. For Coke, the

English constitution was the product of a long, customary evolution, which legitimated its precepts by ensuring that they had been tried and tested by time. The English constitution was therefore never conceived of as one written document, but rather as a series of customary principles, statutory enactments, and institutions, principally Parliament and juries.

This "ancient" constitution accorded all Englishmen rights to life, liberty, and property, rights that inhered in the subject and were seen as a "birthright" or inheritance. Also central to this English understanding of the constitution was the idea of consent. According to seventeenth-century jurists, English subjects could not be bound by any laws that they had not consented to through their representatives in Parliament.

One of the main sources of political strife in seventeenth-century England was the tension between this conception of the English constitution as a limitation on royal authority, and the more expansive conception of the royal prerogative propounded by the Stuart monarchs. Most of the English colonies in America were founded in the seventeenth century and thus were heavily shaped by these debates about the nature of the English constitution.

COLONIAL CONSTITUTIONALISM

The English colonization of America in the seventeenth century was undertaken primarily by private groups or individuals under the auspices of a royal license or charter. The royal charter granted the settlers territorial rights in the New World, along with the ability to create local governing institutions.

One result of the private, decentralized nature of English colonization was that the English colonies in the seventeenth century developed a variety of constitutional forms. Some colonies were corporate. In these, the royal charter was granted to a group of individuals who formed a company (such as the Massachusetts Bay Company). Other colonies were proprietary, where the charter was given to a courtier or royal favorite (such as Lord Baltimore in Maryland and William Penn in Pennsylvania). Royal colonies were the third and final type. These colonies were ruled directly by the crown through a royal governor. Although rare in the seventeenth century—they often resulted from the crown's revocation of a corporate or proprietary charter—royal colonies became increasingly common in the eighteenth-century empire.

Because of the crown's lax oversight, all of these seventeenth-century colonies initially had a large degree of de facto autonomy. This autonomy allowed them the space to develop indigenous constitutional forms by supplementing the royal authority granted in their charters with agreements made by the settlers. Such efforts were particularly pronounced in New England, where the original settlers, drawing on biblical ideas, often created their own political authority with a covenant or compact by which they pledged to govern themselves by certain mutually agreed-upon rules.

Despite the constitutional autonomy and pluralism of the seventeenth-century colonies, the royal charters were central to colonial constitutionalism. By granting the colonists English law and rights, the charters provided the basis for the colonists to develop governing institutions through which they could exercise their English rights, most centrally the right to consent through local assemblies. Over time, the colonists came to see their assemblies as the equivalent of Parliament in England.

Notwithstanding the grant of English rights in the charters, throughout the entire colonial period the crown saw itself as the source of all legal authority in the empire. In particular it viewed the colonies as dependent polities whose charters could be annulled, and whose governing institutions, the colonial assemblies, had no more authority than local governments in England. The tension between this royal understanding of the imperial constitution and the colonial claims for the full rights of English subjects was to have a significant impact on the subsequent history of American constitutionalism.

The decentralized empire of the early seventeenth century gave way after the Restoration (1660) to a series of royal attempts at imperial centralization, which culminated in the Dominion of New England (1685–1688), an ambitious royal consolidation of all of the northern colonies. This process was halted by the Glorious Revolution, which brought about the fall of the Stuarts and the ascendancy of William and Mary to the throne, in England and America (1688–1689).

As a result of the Glorious Revolution, the crown accepted the existence of the colonial assemblies as part of the governing structure of the eighteenth-century empire. Although the centralizing impulses of the Stuarts had been checked, over the course of the eighteenth century many previously private colonies became royal; and most of those colonies that remained in corporate and proprietary hands adopted a common constitutional structure of governor, council, and elected assembly.

However, despite these concessions, the crown in the eighteenth century continued to view the colo-

nies as dependent polities. In particular it insisted on its prerogative right both to summon and dissolve colonial assemblies, as well as on its ability to suspend the operation of colonial laws pending royal approval. It also claimed the right to appoint and dismiss colonial judges "at pleasure." As a result, in the decades following the Glorious Revolution, there was a constitutional asymmetry in the empire, with the crown retaining a series of prerogative powers in the colonies that it no longer exercised in England.

The eighteenth century also witnessed the rise of parliamentary authority within the realm, a development that was to prove even more problematic for the empire than the continuing claims of royal prerogative. In response to the constitutional uncertainty of the previous century, many Britons celebrated the fact that the ultimate source of political authority was now the king-in-Parliament. In particular, they argued that this new sovereign entity provided political stability by avoiding the conflicts between the crown and Parliament that had plagued the seventeenth-century constitution. These Britons also argued that parliamentary government ensured the liberty of the subject by perfectly balancing the competing claims of monarchy, aristocracy, and the people.

These metropolitan defenders of Parliament in the eighteenth century also held that it was sovereign over all British subjects, both inside and outside the realm. As a result, in the crucial years following the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Parliament claimed that it had the constitutional authority to levy taxes on the colonies; and, most crucially, in the Declaratory Act (1766), it held that it could legislate for the colonies in "all cases whatsoever."

The colonists, however, denied the Parliament this constitutional authority. Drawing on their understanding of the seventeenth-century English constitution, they argued that they had the same rights as British subjects within the realm, and that the only way these rights could be secured was through their own assemblies. As the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s unfolded, the colonists employed the idea of consent to resist, at first, parliamentary taxation and, finally, all parliamentary legislation. Drawing on English constitutional principles as well as newer ideas of natural rights, they began to conceive of the constitution of the empire as linking them in a consensual manner solely to the crown, with no subordination to the British Parliament or people.

REVOLUTIONARY CONSTITUTIONALISM

When, following the Boston Tea Party (1773), Parliament, with the acquiescence of the crown, passed the Coercive Acts (1774), imperial authority over English America began to dissolve. Starting with extralegal congresses and committees, the colonists began to create their own constitutions, a process formally sanctioned by the Continental Congress in 1776. The form that these new state constitutions took was heavily influenced by the colonists' experience with constitutionalism in the empire.

Most important, the constitutional uncertainty of the empire led the colonists to desire written constitutions in order to provide explicit guarantees for their rights. As leading American political writers argued, because the unwritten and customary English constitution lacked such guarantees, it was not in fact a constitution at all, but simply a vehicle for the unlimited power of the crown and Parliament. The long experience of living under written charters also predisposed the colonists to place ultimate constitutional authority in written documents.

Drawing on their indigenous tradition of colonial compacts and covenants, the Americans also came up with novel ways to design and implement these new written constitutions. Beginning first in Massachusetts, they devised the constituent assembly, a body convened for the sole purpose of drafting the constitution, thus avoiding the problem of sitting legislatures writing constitutions that would enhance their own authority. The new constitution was then submitted to the people for ratification, thus ensuring that it would rest on popular consent.

As a result of their colonial experience, then, the Americans were able to create new republican state constitutions that functioned as fundamental law, and that formally specified and limited the powers of the various branches of government. These new state constitutions also included bills of rights, thus guaranteeing constitutional protection for certain fundamental liberties, something that the colonists had felt was lacking in the imperial constitution.

At the same time as they were writing their constitutions, the newly independent republican states had to devise some form of continental union. Once again, the experience of empire was crucial, for it had habituated the colonists to living under two different sources of authority—imperial and local—as well as making them aware of the importance of clearly specifying the respective authority of the national and local levels of government. As a result, following the ill-fated Articles of Confederation (1781), the framers developed a federal Constitution (1787) that,

unlike the imperial constitution, formally divided power among the state governments and the new national government while vesting ultimate constitutional authority in a written document subject to ratification and amendment by the people.

See also **America and the World; Articles of Confederation; Bill of Rights; Colonization Movement; Concept of Empire; Congress; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitutional Law; Founding Fathers; Government: Overview; Liberty; Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrews, Charles M. "The Government of the Empire, 1660–1763." In *The Old Empire.* Volume 1: *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* edited by A. P. Newton, J. Holland Rose, and E. A. Benians. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1929.

Greene, Jack P. *Peripheries and Center: Constitutional Development in the Extended Polities of the British Empire and the United States, 1607–1788.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1986.

Lutz, Donald S. *The Origins of American Constitutionalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

McLaughlin, Andrew C. *The Foundations of American Constitutionalism.* New York University Press. 1932. Reprint, Union, N.J.: Lawbrook Exchange, 2002.

Craig Bryan Yirush

State Constitution Making

As Americans confronted the evaporation of British authority in 1775 and gradually came to embrace the idea of independence from Britain, they immediately recognized the need to establish new forms of government. Except for the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, where political leaders remained satisfied with the existing—nearly republican—forms of government, Americans generally expected their political leaders to write constitutions that would both establish governments and restrain both governors and legislatures. A constitution identified the principles upon which the government was based and instituted forms of government that would make those principles reality.

WHO CAN WRITE CONSTITUTIONS?

The framers understood that if members of the government were allowed to establish and alter their own government, then they would wield unlimited power. Therefore, the founders uniformly rejected the idea that a legislature could write a legitimate constitution and, instead, required another institution for that work. Initially, most of the new states relied upon provincial congresses—temporary Revolutionary bodies that provided a governmental bridge between colony and state—to draft the state constitutions. Soon, though, they turned to a constitutional convention, whose delegates were elected by the people and whose sole responsibility was to write or revise constitutions.

The experiences of three colonies—Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Massachusetts—revealed the widely shared belief that a legislature could not write a constitution. In those colonies, legislatures persisted, operating as they had before 1775 despite the absence of a governor. None of the three legislatures allowed themselves to write constitutions. All three insisted that a separate, impermanent body of men write the constitution; all three assigned the task to constitutional conventions. Impermanence was important to the founders because they did not want those framing the government to have an institutional interest in the results of their own deliberations. If a legislature were to write a constitution, then it could vest itself with unlimited power. Constitution writing was, self-consciously, about the creation of fundamental law that defined and restrained government; therefore, the body that wrote the constitution could not be part of the future government. Provincial congresses, which temporarily assumed all of the powers of government, were acceptable proxies; formal legislatures were not.

DECLARATIONS OF RIGHTS

The provincial congresses or constitutional conventions wrote constitutions that wove together declarations of rights with formal plans of government. Of the twelve states writing constitutions (including Vermont), seven began the document with a declaration or bill of rights. Those states that did not adopt separate declarations identified inviolable rights in the body of the constitutions. In both cases, the declarations of rights explained why a constitution was being written and adopted, the principles that underlay the foundation of the new government, the rights of the individual and the society, the extent to which those rights could be breached by government or any of its branches. The declarations expressed common aspirations, though they diverged on specific rights. They all affirmed that the people established and controlled government. Moreover, they agreed that sovereignty belonged to the people; they did not share it with their magistrates or legislatures.

Then the framers identified rights that could not be breached by magistrates and others that could not be violated by either magistrates or legislatures. The Maryland Declaration of Rights asserted: "All Government of right originates from the People, is founded in compact only, and instituted solely for the good of the whole." Therefore, the people possessed "the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government." Public officials—magistrates and legislators—were "the Trustees of the Public, and as such accountable for their conduct."

The declarations sought to ensure that those trustees remained true to the people by requiring frequent elections and the separation and limitation of powers in government. The Pennsylvania declaration required frequent and regular elections to ensure that "those who are employed in the legislative and executive business of the State may be restrained from oppression." Maryland's declaration demanded "that the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial powers of Government ought to be forever separate and distinct from each other." If frequent elections and separation of powers did not halt the onset of tyranny and if, as a consequence, men in power "perverted the ends of government," then "a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, and abolish" the government.

The declarations then turned to specific rights and grants of power. Following English constitutional tradition, they lodged the power of taxation and the expropriation of individual property in the legislature and outlined the limits of the legislature's tax power. They also allowed the legislature to revoke an individual's right to freedom from arbitrary arrest. Yet they protected numerous procedural rights of individuals in the criminal justice system.

The most important of the rights addressed by the declarations was freedom of religion. The North Carolina declaration asserted, "All men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences." Most declarations disestablished particular sects in their states. New Jersey forbade "establishment of any one religious sect in the Province, in preference to another." And the states, in turn, prohibited clergymen from serving in the legislature in the hope of limiting the sway of churches in government. Nevertheless, the declarations' impact on freedom of religion was much more ambiguous. In effect, they created broader Protestant or Christian establishments by protecting the civil rights of only Protestants or, more generally, Christians (Pennsylvania extended them to all believers in God); by requiring particular religious qualifications for officeholding (Protestants in some states, Christians in many more); and by authorizing legislatures to make general assessments to support the state's Protestant churches.

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTIONS

The framers reinforced their commitment to constitutionalism by establishing procedures for constitutional amendment. Only two of the twelve states apparently permitted legislative emendation of their constitutions. New Jersey prohibited the legislature from altering important parts of the constitution—such as the clauses regarding freedom of religion, annual elections, and trial by jury; subsequent legislatures assumed that the rest of the constitution was fair game for revision by simple statute. And South Carolina's legislature, over the protests of a sitting and prospective governor, asserted its right to frame and amend constitutions. Three states—Virginia, North Carolina, and New York—provided no mechanisms at all for revision. The constitutions of Pennsylvania, Georgia, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire (in 1784) forbade emendation by the state legislatures. Georgia required citizen petitions for a new convention. Pennsylvania and Vermont established the septennial creation of a Council of Censors to investigate possible violations of the constitution, to determine whether the constitution needed to be preserved or improved by amendment. The council then could call a constitutional convention to amend the document. Massachusetts required a referendum in fifteen years; if two-thirds of the voters so desired, a constitutional convention would be held. New Hampshire's framers did not leave a constitutional convention to chance. They required a new one in seven years. Other states, including Delaware, forbade amendment of the declaration of rights and the provisions for a bicameral legislature and annual elections but allowed amendment of all the other provisions by extraordinary majorities in each of the legislature's two houses. Maryland permitted legislative amendment, but only by two successive legislatures.

REPRESENTATION

The constitution makers' understanding of constitutionalism shaped their developing theory of representation. They believed that all inhabitants were entitled to some representation in the legislature and therefore sought to ensure that all of the communities in a state were represented. In states where population growth (or decline) shaped representation,

constitution makers abandoned borough representation, which provided special representation for the special commercial interests of towns. In most cases framers combined corporate representation (i.e., representation of towns, counties, and parishes) with representation based on population. Only three states—Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina—relied exclusively on traditional county representation and equally traditional borough representation. Georgia, while retaining county representation, allowed new counties to gain increased representation (at a rate of one representative for every ten electors) until a county reached the maximum of ten representatives. Then equal county representation held. Elsewhere, the new constitutions accommodated changes in population. And, most important of all, every constitution, except for Massachusetts's, provided representation for all established communities.

The insistence on representation for established communities led many of the constitutional framers to demand what one person called "particular representation" because they believed that the representative had a responsibility to express the views of his particular constituents. All groups in society needed to be represented. Evidence of the direct relationship assumed to exist between representative and constituent may be found in the doctrine of instruction. In England, constituents traditionally instructed their representatives on matters of local interest, like the construction of a road. Matters of empire were left in the hands of the wiser and worldlier members of Parliament. The American Revolutionaries embraced the idea of instruction but turned the doctrine on its head. They regularly assured their representatives that small matters, like road building, might be entrusted to them, but they believed that matters of moment, like the decision for independence, must be determined by the people themselves. Maryland's Revolutionary leader, Samuel Chase, organized county meetings to instruct reluctant members of the provincial convention to support independence. After the convention endorsed independence on 28 June 1776, a jubilant Chase credited "the glorious Effects of County Instructions."

ELECTIONS AND SUFFRAGE

If instruction allowed electors to tell their representatives how to vote, annual elections ensured obedience to their collective will. Annual elections also enabled electors to curb representatives who aimed for ever-greater power. Southern Revolutionary Samuel Johnston acknowledged that, because only the people could restrain "the Representatives of the People

in a Democracy," he "would have Annual elections." John Adams put it more bluntly: "Where annual elections end, there slavery begins." Annual elections, he wrote, taught "the great political virtues of humility, patience, and moderation, without which every man in power becomes a ravenous beast of prey." The founders' insistence on annual elections, together with instructions and equal representation, expressed the Revolutionaries' belief that all freemen required direct representation to protect themselves from potentially untrustworthy representatives.

The American obsession with representation and consent by direct election led constitution makers to consider the importance of voting and the right of suffrage. Although the significance of voting dictated to some that the suffrage be restricted (Virginia and Delaware retained provincial freehold requirements), most sought to broaden the political foundations of the new governments. Some states—including New York, Georgia, New Jersey, and Maryland—lowered property requirements and allowed calculation of a person's entire estate (personal and real) to meet property requirements instead of limiting suffrage to those meeting the more restrictive real estate requirements. In so doing, those states undermined the traditional view that only a landed estate secured the permanent stake in the well-being of the community that was an essential to cast a public-spirited vote.

Other states detached voting rights entirely from the ownership of any specific amount of property. Vermont simply enfranchised all freemen. In Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, constitution writers endorsed the Revolutionary demand for consent to taxation through direct representation by establishing a taxpaying requirement for voting. Because all three states also imposed a regressive and widespread poll tax on many of its male inhabitants, the taxpayer suffrage dramatically increased the size of the electorate. Furthermore, it detached the suffrage from the ownership of specific amounts of property. It also upended the traditional view of voting as earned by proof of one's ability (through property ownership) to act in the public's interest; the taxpayer suffrage effectively declared that taxpayers needed the right to vote to protect their property from the rapacity of legislators. The idea that one voted in order to protect the community and oneself from the possibility of government tyranny opened the suffrage to Catholics and Jews, who had been disfranchised in many of the colonies. (Nevertheless, constitution makers sought to exclude those groups from officeholding on the grounds that Cath-

olic and Jewish officeholders might undermine America's Protestant culture.)

The act of revolution itself encouraged a radical expansion of the political community. Loyalty to the cause rather than property ownership proved one's attachment to the community. In Maryland, militiamen in six counties seized the polls and enfranchised all men serving in the militia. Although the Maryland convention disallowed the votes in those counties and required a new election, and although no state enfranchised men because of their military service, the states made loyalty a precondition for voting by disfranchising neutrals and loyalists. The Revolutionary argument also spurred the enfranchisement of single, property-owning women in New Jersey and the retention of the right of free black men to vote in Massachusetts. One Massachusetts writer, defending the right of blacks and Native Americans to vote, captured the impact of the Revolutionary argument on the political community: "A black, tawny or reddish skin is not so unfavourable an hue to the genuine son of liberty as a tory complexion."

SEPARATION OF POWERS

As constitution makers considered the structure of the future state governments, they worried about the consolidation of power in the hands of the few. To avoid this, they fashioned constitutions that separated the functional powers of government among its several branches. They began by eliminating the gubernatorial veto. Royal governors had wielded an absolute veto in the name of the crown; such a veto effectively made the governor a third house in the legislature. By eliminating the veto and making the governorship a purely executive office, they enfeebled governors everywhere and marked a sharp line between executive and legislative powers. Two states—New Jersey and New Hampshire—breached that divide by granting the executives a vote in the upper houses. Constitution makers gradually came to fear untrammeled legislative power, so they began to reintroduce the gubernatorial veto but retained a commitment to a functional separation of powers. In 1780, when delegates to the Massachusetts constitutional convention adopted a suspensive gubernatorial veto (one that can be overridden by a supermajority), they defended it on the twin grounds that it would protect executive independence and strengthen the separations of powers.

Framers reaffirmed their commitment to a functional separation of powers by prohibiting executive and judicial officeholders from sitting in legislatures (New Hampshire and New Jersey were exceptions to the bar). This policy expressed fear of both the governor's patronage powers and the concentration of all power in any one branch of government. Worried that governors would corrupt legislatures through patronage, they stripped the executive of significant appointive authority. Because they were as much afraid of an all-powerful legislature as they were of an unrestrained governor, they also prevented legislators from serving in another branch of government. Constitutions not only forbade governors from appointing legislators to executive office, but they also forbade legislators from appointing themselves to executive office. In so doing, they sought to avert the concentration of all governmental power in any one of its branches. In keeping with this principle, judges too were barred from holding posts in the other branches.

BICAMERALISM

Fearing consolidated governmental power, the framers not only separated the powers of government among different branches, they also generally divided legislative power into two houses. Bicameral legislatures bore a formal resemblance to England's House of Commons and House of Lords, but one devoid of traditional meanings. The English and many Americans believed that England had successfully preserved liberty because its constitution carefully balanced the different social estates: monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Many of the framers of state constitutions tried to find a similar balance in their governments, but absent a monarch or an aristocracy, English mixed-government theory became irrelevant. In deference to that hallowed theory, several states required somewhat higher property ownership for senators than for representatives, but most did not. The framers who adopted bicameral legislatures regarded both houses as representative of and dependent upon the people. For the founders, divided legislative authority would thwart a single assembly's seizure of all governmental power. Even those most committed to the idea of an independent aristocratic legislative body believed that the primary responsibility of a senate was to prevent heedless or arbitrary behavior by a house. At the opposite end of the political spectrum, the three state constitutions that adopted unicameral legislatures, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont, obviously rejected many of the tenets of bicameralism. Nevertheless, distrusting unchecked power, they too curbed those assemblies with a variety of institutional checks.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Politics: Political Thought; Voting.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Willi Paul. *The First American Constitutions: Republican Ideology and the Making of the State Constitutions in the Revolutionary Era.* Translated by Rita Kimber and Robert Kimber. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967.

Fehrenbacher, Don E. *Constitutions and Constitutionalism in the Slaveholding South.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

Gwyn, W. B. *The Meaning of the Separation of Powers: An Analysis of the Doctrine from Its Origin to the Adoption of the United States Constitution.* New Orleans, La.: Tulane University Press, 1965.

Kruman, Marc W. *Between Authority and Liberty: State Constitution Making in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Lutz, Donald S. *Popular Consent and Popular Control: Whig Political Theory in the Early State Constitutions.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1980.

———. *The Origins of American Constitutionalism.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988.

Pole, J. R. *Political Representation in England and the Origins of the American Republic.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic*, 1776–1787. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Marc W. Kruman

CONSTITUTIONAL LAW The U.S. Constitution, written in 1787 and ratified in 1788, was—in its own words—the "supreme Law of the Land" and required that all judges, state and federal, abide by it. The Constitution created a system of government and explained how Congress and the president would be elected, how judges would be chosen, and what the powers of the national government would be. Article I listed both the powers of Congress and the limitations on Congress and the states. Article IV set out how the states were to interact with each other. In 1791, three years after the Constitution went into effect, the states ratified ten amendments, which became known as the Bill of Rights. Most of these placed limitations on the powers of Congress and the judiciary. At the time of its writing and ratification, most American saw the Constitution as creating a government of limited powers. As Charles Cotesworth Pinckney told South Carolina's legislature, "it is admitted, on all hands, that the general government has no powers but what are expressly granted by the Constitution, and that all rights not expressed were reserved by the several states."

While limited, the powers the national government had were "the supreme law of the land." There was uncertainty as to what those powers were. In the modern period one thinks of the U.S. Supreme Court as being the institution to determine the powers of the national government. But in the first decade under the Constitution, Congress was also deeply involved in debating the meaning of the Constitution and how it should be implemented, interpreted, and understood.

CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

The first great constitutional debate in the United States concerned what would become the Bank of the United States. In 1791 Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who had been a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, proposed the chartering of a national bank to regulate the nation's finances and stimulate commerce. In Congress, Representative James Madison of Virginia opposed Hamilton's plan on constitutional grounds. Madison argued that the Constitution did not give Congress the power to create a bank or to charter any corporation. That was not one of the enumerated powers found in Article I, section 8 of the Constitution, and thus Madison said it was beyond the scope of congressional power. Congress, however, passed the bank bill over Madison's objections.

When the bill reached his desk, President George Washington was uncertain as to its constitutionality and asked for advice from his cabinet. This led to the first great debate over constitutional law in the nation. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson asserted that "the incorporation of a bank, and the powers assumed by this bill, have not . . . been delegated to the United States, by the Constitution." He argued that such powers were not "specifically enumerated" and that they could not be construed from the general taxing power "for the purpose of providing for the general welfare." Jefferson cited the Tenth Amendment, which stated that "the powers not delegated to the United States . . . are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Banks, Jefferson believed, as well as any other incorporated enterprise, were the business of the states. Jefferson also denied that the bank was "necessary and proper" for conducting the business of the United States government, although he admitted it might be "convenient." Jefferson argued that the national government was free to use state-chartered banks for its financial operations.

Alexander Hamilton argued that the Constitution contained "implied powers" as well as "express ones." Hamilton believed that the bank was both necessary and proper. He pointed out that the existing state banks might disappear and that Congress would then have no banking institutions to use. Jefferson's view of "necessary" was too narrow, Hamilton said, and he claimed that "necessary often means no more than needful, requisite, incidental, useful, or conductive to." Surely, by this line of reasoning, the bank could be considered "necessary." Hamilton forcefully argued that the test of a federal law was whether its policy or program related to a power of Congress and not whether the Constitution specifically authorized the policy or program. "If the end be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that end, and is not forbidden by any particular provision of the constitution—it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of the national authority."

Hamilton won out, and Washington signed the bank bill into law. The force of Hamilton's arguments became clearer twenty-five years later, when James Madison urged Congress to pass another law creating what became the Second Bank of the United States. Madison, who had once opposed the bank on constitutional grounds, now argued that the constitutional question was "precluded . . . by repeated circumstances of the validity of such an institution in acts of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, of the Government . . . [and] a concurrence of the general will of the nation."

In 1803 Madison and Hamilton debated each other in the press over the power of the president to conduct foreign policy. Writing as "Pacificus," Hamilton argued that the Constitution gave the president authority to conduct foreign policy on his own. Hamilton outlined the powers of the president set out in Article II of the Constitution, including his role as "Commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States." This led him to assert that the "Executive Power of the Nation is vested in the President; subject only to the exceptions and qualifications which are expressed in" the Constitution. This broad reading of presidential power in foreign policy dovetailed with Hamilton's expansive views of the power of Congress to pass laws to stimulate the economy, charter banks, and so on. Madison responded by arguing for separation of powers and equality between Congress and the president. Relying on the power of Congress "to

declare War" found in Article I, section 8 of the Constitution and the requirement that the Senate ratify treaties, he asserted that the Constitution required that Congress be involved in all issues of war and peace. This debate over interpretation of the Constitution was not settled in 1793, and it has remained an issue ever since.

In 1798 Congress passed the Sedition Act after rancorous debates over its constitutionality. James Madison and Thomas Jefferson both argued against the constitutionality of the Sedition Act through the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798) that they authored. Their arguments centered on the powers of Congress and the residual powers of the states. Curiously, although they mentioned the First Amendment's protection of freedom of the press, both Madison and Jefferson focused most of their analysis on the lack of explicit congressional power to regulate the press in Article I, rather than on the prohibition in the Bill of Rights. Both Madison and Jefferson also stressed the Tenth Amendment, which reserved powers to the states, including, they believed, the power to punish seditious libel. In the end, neither the Federalists who supported the law nor the Democratic Republicans like Jefferson and Madison who opposed it, argued in favor of freedom of expression as a constitutional right.

CONSTITUTIONAL INTERPRETATION

While leading politicians debated the powers of Congress and the executive branch, the Supreme Court began to build a body of case law to flesh out the meaning of the Constitution. The first major case, *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), involved a lawsuit against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina. The U.S. Constitution gave the federal courts jurisdiction in cases "between a State and Citizens of another State." The Court interpreted this to mean that citizens of one state could sue other states in federal courts. Georgia resisted this outcome, and most state and federal politicians rejected this interpretation of the Constitution. Congress quickly reversed the decision by sending to the states the Eleventh Amendment, which stated that the federal courts had no jurisdiction to hear suits against states that were initiated by private citizens.

In *Marbury v. Madison* (1803) the Court held a minor provision of the Judiciary Act of 1789 to be unconstitutional. The case involved William Marbury, an appointee of John Adams, who had been confirmed by the Senate but did not receive his official commission before Adams left office. When the Jefferson administration refused to give him the

commission, Marbury asked the Supreme Court to issue a writ of mandamus requiring Secretary of State James Madison to give it to him. The Judiciary Act of 1789 had authorized the Supreme Court to issue writs of mandamus, but in *Marbury*, Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that Congress did not have the power to expand the original jurisdiction of the Court beyond the limited instances set out in the Constitution. In doing this, Marshall actually expanded the power of the Court by asserting its right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional. But he accomplished this in such a way that neither the president nor Congress, which was controlled by Jefferson's supporters, could object, since the outcome of the case was what Jefferson wanted. While seen as a major development in constitutional law—because it set the precedent for judicial review of congressional statutes—the Court would not declare another act of Congress unconstitutional for more than half a century, when it decided in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that Congress could not prohibit slavery from the federal territories.

In *Ex parte Bollman* (1807) the Court offered a strict interpretation of the treason clause. In doing so, he overruled the executive branch's use of the clause to incarcerate Dr. Justas Erik Bollman, a close associate of former Vice President Aaron Burr, who Jefferson believed was part of a treasonous conspiracy. Chief Justice Marshall ruled that the treason clause required evidence that "war" had "actually [been] levied against the United States." This would require "an actual assemblage of men" for the purpose of war. By interpreting the Constitution's clause on treason in this narrow way, Marshall prevented future misuse of the clause as a political tool.

In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810) the Marshall Court overturned an important state statute on constitutional grounds. The case involved the famous Yazoo land fraud. In 1795 the Georgia legislature sold about thirty-five-million acres of state lands to a group of speculators at one and a half cents an acre. With one exception, every member of the legislature that passed this law had accepted a bribe from the speculators. In 1796 a new legislature declared the previous sale null and void, but it did not return the half million dollars the state had received for the land. By this time much of the land had been sold and even resold. Robert Fletcher had purchased land from Peck that had been sold twice before the legislature attempted to nullify the original sale. The Supreme Court ruled that the nullification of the sale violated the contracts clause of Article I, section 10 of the Constitution. That clause prohibited the states from

"impairing the Obligation of Contracts." This was a significant development in constitutional law because it established the precedent that the Supreme Court could strike down acts of the states.

In *United States v. Hudson and Goodwin* (1812), the Court reaffirmed its power to overrule acts of the executive branch. In 1806 the U.S. attorney in Connecticut prosecuted Barzillai Hudson and George Goodwin, the editors of the Connecticut *Courant*, for their criticism of President Jefferson. Unlike the situation during the last years of the Adams administration, there was no sedition law in place. Thus, this prosecution was done under common law. It illustrated the fact that Jefferson's opposition to the Sedition Act was not based on support of a free press or a belief that the opposition party has a right to freedom of expression. However, in 1812 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that there could be no common law of crimes at the federal level, and that therefore all prosecutions at the federal level had to be based on statutes. This was an important limitation on the executive branch, just as *Marbury v. Madison* was a limitation on Congress.

EMERGENCE OF FEDERAL SUPREMACY

In *Fairfax's Devisee v. Hunter's Lessee* (1813), the Marshall Court once again overturned a state law and asserted the supremacy of the national constitution. This decision marked the beginning of a ten-year period in which the Court strengthened its own powers and the powers of Congress at the expense of the states. By the end of this period, the Court had established the meaning of a number of clauses of the Constitution. Some of the cases decided in this period would remain viable precedents over the next two centuries.

Fairfax's Devisee involved land in Virginia owned by Thomas, Lord Fairfax, a Loyalist who fled to Britain when the Revolution began. Subsequently, Virginia seized some of the land and eventually sold it to David Hunter. Fairfax's heirs resisted the change of ownership, and Hunter sued to eject the tenants from the land. In 1810 the Virginia Court of Appeals upheld Hunter's claim, asserting that Virginia had legally confiscated the Fairfax lands. By this time much of the Fairfax land had been sold to investors who included John Marshall and his brother, James. Thus, when the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, Chief Justice Marshall did not participate in it. In 1813 the Supreme Court reversed the decision. The Court's jurisdiction was based on section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which gave the Supreme Court jurisdiction to review cases from the highest

court of a state if the case involved a federal statute, a provision of the U.S. Constitution, or—as it did in this case—a treaty. The Court held that under the Treaty of Paris (1783) ending the American Revolution and Jay's Treaty (1794), Virginia was obligated to return Loyalist lands seized during the Revolution. The Court held that the supremacy clause of the Constitution required that the states respect these treaty obligations. The U.S. Supreme Court then returned the case to the Virginia court to restore the land to the Fairfax heirs and those who had purchased land from the Fairfax estate. In 1815 the Virginia Court of Appeals declared that the U.S. Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to review this case or any other cases it decided. The Virginia court in effect declared section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 to be unconstitutional.

Not surprisingly, the case came back to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1816, this time as *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee.* Here Justice Joseph Story wrote a powerful opinion supporting the supremacy clause and the power of the federal judiciary to review cases from the states involving the Constitution and federal law. Story asserted that "the absolute right of decision, in the last resort, must rest somewhere," and that "somewhere" had to be the U.S. Supreme Court. *Martin* was one of Story's most important opinions and a key case in the development of the federal judiciary. Since 1816 it has been cited more than 125 times by the U.S. Supreme Court and more than 575 times by other courts at the state and federal level. Despite its age, from 1990 to 2000 the Supreme Court cited the case eight times.

In 1819 the Court heard two cases of monumental importance. The first was *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), which—many scholars have argued—contains Chief Justice John Marshall's most powerful and important opinion. The case involved the constitutionality of the Bank of the United States, which Maryland tried to destroy by taxing its banknotes. Reading more like a state paper than a legal opinion, Marshall set out why the states could not undermine federal law, where the federal government had power to legislate. The "great principle" of the Constitution, he explained, was "that the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof are supreme; that they control the Constitution and laws of the respective States, and cannot be controlled by them." Because the "power to tax involves the power to destroy," no state could tax any federally created institution. Marshall also set out why the necessary and proper clause of the Constitution gave Congress enormous flexibility to pass laws on all

sorts of matters not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution. Marshall rejected a narrow reading of the Constitution that limited congressional power to what was explicitly set out in the document. He denied that a constitution could "partake of the prolixity of a legal code" and noted that a constitution listing all the things that the Congress could do "could scarcely be embraced by the human mind." He reminded readers "that it is a constitution we are expounding" and as such it had to have open-ended language that would allow for flexibility and growth. This was true because it was "a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and, consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

This powerful endorsement of congressional supremacy and the right of the Supreme Court to strike down state laws angered states' rights advocates, especially in Virginia. However, the case is perhaps the most important in Supreme Court history. Marshall's opinion has been cited by the Supreme Court more than 350 times and by other state and a federal courts more than 2,500 times. Between 1990 and 2000, the U.S. Supreme Court cited the case 30 times.

In *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) the Court interpreted, as it had in *Fletcher v. Peck*, the meaning of the contracts clause of Article I, section 10 of the Constitution. New Hampshire had revoked the charter of Dartmouth College and created a new institution, Dartmouth University, as a state-supported entity. The old trustees of Dartmouth College sued William Woodward to regain control of their college. Woodward had been an officer of the old Dartmouth College, but abandoned the college, and took its records, seal, and other materials with him when he agreed to serve the new Dartmouth University. In their suit the college trustees sought to recover these records as they gained control of the college. The Court held that the charter creating Dartmouth College was a contract between the government and the founders of the college, and as such the state could not simply take over the college. Another key opinion in the development of the Constitution, it has been cited more than one hundred times by the U.S. Supreme Court and more than fifteen hundred times by other courts.

In *Cohens v. Virginia* (1821) the Court reaffirmed its right, and power, to review the decisions of state courts, even as it upheld the state courts. The Cohen brothers had been convicted in Virginia of selling tickets for a Washington, D.C., lottery in violation of that state's antilottery laws. They argued that the

lottery was created by Congress and thus was exempt from state law. The Virginia court upheld this conviction and Virginia argued that the U.S. Supreme Court had no jurisdiction to even hear the case because of the Eleventh Amendment, which prohibited the federal courts from hearing suits brought against the states by private citizens from other states. The Supreme Court did not accept this analysis. Instead, the Court held that if the state began a suit or prosecution, then the citizen defendant could appeal to the federal courts if there was a federal issue. Although emphatically asserting the right of the Supreme Court to hear the appeal, Marshall sided with the state of Virginia. The lottery ticket was not like the Bank of the United States, which Congress had chartered to operate in every state. Furthermore, there was no reason, under the necessary and proper clause, why lottery tickets for Washington, D.C., should be sold in Virginia. Virginia politicians and judges grumbled at the reaffirmation of the supremacy clause and the power of section 25 of the Judiciary Act, even as the Supreme Court upheld Virginia on the substantive issue. The Cohen brothers paid their fines, while the Supreme Court went on to cite the precedent more than 175 times in subsequent cases, while other courts cited it more than 1,500 times.

In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) the Marshall Court issued its most popular opinion. In this case the court interpreted the commerce clause to ban New York's grant of a monopoly to operate steamboats in the state. The opinion led to increased competition in transportation, which improved commerce, trade, and travel. In reaching this decision, Chief Justice Marshall developed an expansive interpretation of the commerce clause and emphatically asserted the power of Congress in areas of law delegated to Congress. He wrote that "the sovereignty of Congress, though limited to specified objects, is plenary as to those objects."

After *Gibbons* the Court continued to develop and refine its jurisprudence on commerce, contracts, and other provisions of the Constitution. But by 1824 the Marshall Court's jurisprudential legacy on constitutional issues was for the most part clear. Marshall had strengthened Congress and the executive branch in their contests with the states. He had defined the powers of Congress and also forcefully asserted the right and duty of the Court to settle constitutional disputes between the states and the national government. Most importantly, he had made the Court into a coequal branch of the government, one that would be respected and usually obeyed.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Bill of Rights;** *Chisholm v. Georgia*; **Constitutional Convention; Constitution: Eleventh Amendment;** *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*; *Fletcher v. Peck*; *Gibbons v. Ogden*; **Hamilton's Economic Plan;** *Marbury v. Madison*; *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee*; *McCulloch v. Maryland*; **States' Rights; Supreme Court.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baxter, Maurice G. *The Steamboat Monopoly: Gibbons v. Ogden, 1824.* New York: Knopf, 1972.

Newmyer, R. Kent. *Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story: Statesman of the Old Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

———. *John Marshall and the Heroic Age of the Supreme Court.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001.

Urofsky, Mel, and Paul Finkelman. *A March of Liberty: A Constitutional History of the United States.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

White, G. Edward. *The Marshall Court and Cultural Change, 1815–35.* New York: Macmillan, 1988.

Paul Finkelman

CONSTRUCTION AND HOME BUILDING

The domestic architecture of colonial elites was predominantly Georgian and highly influenced by English design and building materials imported from Britain. Georgian homes were stark one- or two-story boxes with symmetrical fenestrations. Roofs included gabled, gambrelled, and hipped styles. Embellishments were usually limited to dentiled cornices.

Structures in the North were wood frame construction with central chimneys, reminiscent of the English postmedieval style or the European Gothic characteristic of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England. With the emergence of a settled population, southern architecture increasingly took on a more permanent appearance. Substantially built brick residences began to replace the earlier makeshift wooden plank construction fastened together by wooden pegs. Brick homes often included outbuildings and raised foundations with wings spreading from the main block. After independence, architecture reflected the idealism of the new Republic. American builders rejected the English-inspired baroque-rococo designs of the late eighteenth century. In their place, Americans chose forms more reminiscent of the Greek and Roman

Nathan Smith House. The Palladian window and portico entry of the Nathan Smith house, built in 1791 in Cornish, New Hampshire, were characteristic of Federal or Adam style, and stood in contrast to the often-unadorned entrances of Georgian homes. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

classical periods. This era in American building style was known as the early classical revival period characterized by the Federalist or Adam style.

Adam style designs were common not only in housing but could also be found among the new constructions of commercial and government buildings in such cities as Washington, D.C., Boston, and Philadelphia. Prominent architects of the time included Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820), Peter Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), and Robert Adam (1728–1792); their largely designed grand public buildings along with their residential housing displayed an eclectic mix of traditional Georgian and classical styles.

One striking example of this idealism in style and planning was the layout and construction of the capital of the new Republic, Washington, D.C. The presidential residence is early classical revival with a squat, Palladian central block, one-story attached wings, and a protruding central bay as its most prominent embellishment. The traditionally Georgian wings of the Capitol building, joined by a Roman dome and dominated by a heavy columned entry, also show classical influences.

Variants within this style include the decorative, full-height entry porches replete with Doric or Ionic columns and Palladian-style doors (including fanlights and sidelights). Heights of this style include one- and two-stories and the two-story gabled front with one-story wings. Building materials ranged from wood to brick, stucco, and stone. This style appeared mostly in Virginia, as it was the style favored by Thomas Jefferson. Examples were rarely found north of Delaware and Philadelphia.

Individual dwellings within the urban centers were stark and cubic, with a central entrance and hall, wooden clapboard walls, and large pilasters replacing quoins. Porticos with slender columns and carved-wood details emerged as a feature of the Federalist or Adam style as opposed to the often-unadorned entrances of Georgian homes. Adam style architecture is typically Georgian yet characterized by elaborate door surrounds including fanlights, sidelights, and small porches. Cornices often contain dentils similar to the Georgian style.

In New Orleans and the Southwest, French and Spanish colonial influences were apparent. Basic French colonial style is one story, distinguished by numerous shuttered, narrow windows and doors, steeply pitched hipped or side-gabled roofs, and half-timbered frames. Urban styles differ from the rural in a preponderance of townhouses and cottages whose porchless entrances open directly onto public sidewalks. Rural homes feature tall brick foundations under large porches with simple wooden posts supporting steeply pitched hipped roofs.

Spanish colonial houses were designed and constructed in harmony with the harsh desert environment and incorporated Mexican, Spanish, and Native American influences. Mexican and Spanish masons constructed single-story buildings with thick, adobe brick or stone-covered stucco walls. Small windows were covered with wooden or iron grillwork to admit less heat in summer and keep warmth in during winter. Roof style was the most significant feature of these buildings. Pitched, gabled roofs were covered with thatch or clay tiles, while flat roofs were embedded with large timbers to support the thick walls and covered with dirt or mortar.

A shift in American architecture occurred during the period immediately prior to the Revolutionary

War and into the 1830s. It closely followed the transition of the culture from the styles of the Georgian-influenced, English-dominated colonies to styles reflective of the nation's struggle for independence, sprinkled with a mix of older colonial French and Spanish architectural trends.

See also **Architectural Styles; Architecture; City Planning; Civil Engineering: Building and Technology.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Maynard, W. Barksdale. *Architecture in the United States, 1800–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2002.

McAlester, Lee, and Virginia McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses.* New York: Knopf, 2002.

Mullins, Lisa C., ed. *Colonial Architecture of the Mid–Atlantic.* Harrisburg, Pa.: National Historical Society, 1987.

Roth, Leland M. *A Concise History of American Architecture.* New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Shaun–Marie Newcomer

CONSUMERISM AND CONSUMPTION In the early modern era (1500–1800), what scholars call the consumer revolution swept the Atlantic world, affecting the continents and peoples of Europe, Africa, and North and South America. European exploration and colonization of the Western Hemisphere, and the desire for wealth that helped fuel such projects, resulted in the extraction of resources that both met and stimulated demand in Europe, while also creating new colonial markets for European manufactured goods. The results of this transformation, to which the origins of modern consumer patterns and practices can be traced, included rising standards of living for some. Yet the consumer revolution also expanded New World slavery, encouraged the transatlantic slave trade, and drew indigenous North Americans into webs of dependency. Consumption patterns shaped the new societies of the Western Hemisphere and transformed the old cultures from which they combined.

The item that structured emerging patterns of production and consumption was sugar. Tended by Indian and, later, African slave labor on Caribbean islands colonized by Spain, sugar fed increasing and expanding European appetites even as its harsh plantation-style cultivation resulted in the deaths of scores of bound laborers. What had been a luxury item used by elites in Europe became available to a larger swath of the population, sweetening other spoils of Atlantic trade such as coffee and tea.

CONSUMPTION AND COLONIAL CULTURES

The model of sugar's increasing production and decreasing price resulting in greater availability and access typified consumer patterns into the eighteenth century. Yet perhaps the first consumer revolution was experienced by indigenous North Americans who survived the virgin soil epidemics wrought by contact with Europeans. In particular, Algonquian and Iroquois language groups in the Great Lakes region exchanged beaver pelts with French and Dutch traders for guns, alcohol, metal tools, and "trinkets" that Europeans thought possessed low economic value but that Indians used in rituals and ceremonies. European demand for fur hats, items of warmth but also of fashion, resulted in new trade networks with and among Native Americans, setting various Indian groups in competition with one another to supply European traders, causing animals to be overhunted and sometimes resulting in violent conflict. Even as patterns of supply and demand disrupted relations among Indian groups, they often facilitated interactions between Europeans and Native Americans. As the latter grew increasingly dependent on trade goods, a departure from traditional subsistence patterns, manufactured items became essential to daily life as well as frontier diplomacy, with "gifts" securing necessary alliances and preventing warfare. Yet by the 1760s, some Indian spiritual leaders were calling for a renunciation of European ways and goods.

The eighteenth century also saw North Americans of European descent, particularly British colonists, become increasingly desirous of and dependent on consumer goods and the trade that carried them. Tea and cloth were especially important items, but also tableware, furnishings, and books. Easy credit extended by English factors to colonial merchants meant that men of commerce could import more items and pass them along to colonial retailers and consumers, who also often purchased on credit at competitive rates. Changes in production resulting from industrialization in England generated more goods and a wider variety of choices, demonstrated by merchant accounts and the lengthy and descriptive lists of goods hawked through newspaper advertisements. English merchants grew wealthy from transatlantic commerce and came to dominate the slave trade to North and South America. Colonial merchants in northern port cities also participated, while planters in the Chesapeake and the Lower South not only sought luxury goods from abroad,

A Society of Patriotic Ladies at Edenton in North Carolina. This engraving, attributed to Philip Dawe, was issued by the London publisher Sayer and Bennett in March 1775 to ridicule American women who had pledged to boycott British goods. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

but also slaves to labor in their tobacco, rice, and indigo fields, food to feed those bound laborers, and cheap imported fabric to clothe them. Like sugar, tobacco and indigo became desirable consumer commodities.

Cultural shifts structured these economic systems and stimulated demand as people with purchasing power sought a higher standard of living and emulated the elite practices associated with it. An underground economy of theft and pawning in which runaway slaves and servants participated in colonial port cities meant that even the "lower sorts" might access the spoils of empire. Yet even as an empire of goods knit Britons together through consumption, interpretations of its meaning and expressions of social distinction separated them. Elite provincials could never attain the standards set at the English court or by the peerage, but they continually raised the status bar in their own communities through the quality of goods—a finer china tea service or a more expensive and recent style of damask cloth—and a host of practices, from education and elocution to poise and posture, that fell under the heading of "gentility." Although both men and women hoped to be genteel, many of the practices that such an identity required, particularly consumption and the pursuit of fashion, were feminized. Men displaced anxieties about debt and dependence on market economies onto women's bodies and behaviors as consumption increased through the middle of the eighteenth century.

CONSUMPTION AND REVOLUTION

Paradoxically, the very consumer goods and practices that economically structured and culturally integrated the British Empire provided one means by which the empire fractured beginning in the 1760s. New taxes passed by Parliament to pay off debt accrued during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) met with colonial resistance in the form of boycotts of imports. In response to the Stamp Act of 1765, which levied a duty on all paper and paper transactions, many colonial merchants agreed not to import British goods until the act's repeal. In addition, resistance leaders encouraged colonists, particularly genteel women, to forgo consumption of imported goods and replace them with domestically produced items such as homespun cloth. Since the Stamp Act's repeal in 1766 suggested that the boycotts were successful, resistance leaders such as the Sons of Liberty advocated nonimportation and nonconsumption when faced with the Townshend Acts of 1767, which taxed glass, paper, paint, lead, and tea. The

beverage of choice in the colonies, tea, acquired an additional layer of significance as the focus of the Tea Act of 1773, which encouraged a group of men in Boston, disguised as Mohawk Indians, to dump chests of the politically odious but still culturally desirable commodity into the harbor. The politicization of widely purchased consumer items brought ordinary colonists into the political process as they developed a sense of themselves as Americans connected across regions, distinct in their habits from Britons. In 1774 the First Continental Congress enacted colonywide nonimportation and nonconsumption. Thus, consumer goods and practices, so central to colonization and the exploitation of natural and human resources in the Atlantic world, helped make the American Revolution possible and facilitated the project of nation building.

CONSUMPTION IN THE NEW REPUBLIC

After the Revolution, Americans debated the independent Republic's place in the transatlantic economy and its continuing dependence on international markets. Consumer goods and practices figured prominently in these heated discussions over the character and future of the nation. Rampant consumption of cheap imports characterized the mid 1780s, as government under the Articles of Confederation stood powerless to enact a unified commercial policy that would prevent European nations from dumping goods on American markets. Some believed that the American public could not be relied upon to restrain themselves in the face of such temptation. Such social and economic issues, in part, led to a refashioning of the American nation state with the Constitution. Indeed, one of the newly empowered Congress's first steps was to levy a set of tariffs on imports.

As Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's vision of a commercial nation became a reality due to merchant capital, mechanization, and expansion, spurring what historians call the market revolution, the need to protect burgeoning domestic industry by making its fruits appealing to American consumers grew more pronounced. While foreign goods remained desirable as luxury items, particularly sought by elites and a rising middle class, the "necessities" of life could be produced and consumed domestically. Skilled craftsmen–turned–laborers produced shoes in places such as Lynn, Massachusetts, and New England's textile mills generated cloth that competed with English fabric. The federal government's protection of these industries and their consumer goods cemented the existence of an American

industrial working class, separated the ostensibly gender-specific spheres of home and work, and tied regional economies together by ensuring that midwestern farmers and southern planters would purchase American cloth. Yet such commercial policies also stimulated regional tensions. Thus the consumerism that had connected the British North American colonies to England, and then became a tool for creating the independent American nation, had a hand in threatening its unity.

See also **Clothing; Fur and Pelt Trade; Furniture; Merchants.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Axtell, James. "The First Consumer Revolution." In his *Beyond 1492: Encounters in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bushman, Richard L. *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities.* New York: Random House, 1992.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, eds. *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994.

Mintz, Sydney. *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History.* New York: Penguin, 1985.

Shammas, Carole. *The Pre-Industrial Consumer in England and America.* New York: Oxford, 1990.

Kate Haulman

George Washington. In June 1775 the Continental Congress selected George Washington, shown here in a portrait by James Peale (c. 1790), to be commander in chief of the Continental Army. © CORBIS.

CONTINENTAL ARMY   On 14 June 1775 the Continental Congress resolved to adopt the New England militia, which was blockading the British inside of Boston, into "the American continental army." Continental soldiers became the "regulars" of the American army. Although the Continental Army would essentially disband in 1783 and a new, regular army came into being in 1789, the modern United States Army celebrates 14 June 1775 as its birthday. Congress selected George Washington as commander in chief of the Boston Army. It also authorized the formation of a regiment of "expert riflemen." This unit was the first formation raised as a Continental Army regiment.

A congressional committee proceeded to take the necessary steps to organize and administer the army. It established positions for five major staff officers to assist Washington: an adjutant general, a commissary of musters, a paymaster general, a commissary general, and a quartermaster general. The quarter-

master general was the most important staff officer, responsible for the delivery of supplies, arranging the camp, regulating marches, and establishing the army's order of battle. The army's supply and support services never functioned efficiently. This failure, coupled with the depreciation in the currency, repeatedly brought the army close to collapse.

Congress also created the ranks of major general and brigadier general to serve as the commander in chief's senior subordinates. Among other important measures, Congress issued paper money to finance the war and adopted articles of war to provide a legal system for discipline. Congress also established quotas for each colony whereby individual colonies raised units and then transferred them into the Continental service. During 1775 about 27,500 Continental soldiers were on the payrolls.

CONTINENTAL REGIMENTS OF 1776

During the summer of 1775 Washington worked with Congress to reorganize the Boston Army. Central to this effort was the creation of a standardized

regimental structure. On 4 November 1775 Congress approved the reorganization of Washington's infantry into twenty-six regiments and one regiment of riflemen. Each regiment had a colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major along with a small staff of ten men. Eight identical companies composed a regiment. Each company had four officers, two musicians, eight noncommissioned officers, and seventy-six privates. At full strength the regiment numbered 728 men. Because of sickness, desertion, battle loss, and men assigned to detached duty, a regiment never entered battle at full strength.

The Continental organization differed in several important ways from its British counterpart. Individual Continental companies were larger, and they deployed in two ranks whereas British doctrine formally called for deployment in three ranks. This latter difference stemmed from the different backgrounds of the two armies. Warfare in Europe shaped the British organization, with an emphasis on close order. The soldiers packed elbow to elbow so as to maintain the discipline and solidity required to conduct a bayonet charge. In contrast, the colonial tradition developed in fights against the Indians and the French in wooded terrain. In such combat aimed fire and the ability to maneuver were supreme. Soldiers standing in a third rank could not efficiently fire their muskets. A looser order featuring two ranks had more firepower and could maneuver more handily in woodland combat.

The reorganization of the army extended to the artillery. For administrative convenience the existing New England units merged into a single regiment of twelve companies. Each company had five officers and fifty-eight enlisted men. The enlisted men included eight noncommissioned officers, eight bombardiers, eight gunners, and thirty-two matrosses (low skilled soldiers who provided the physical labor to handle and fire the artillery). Privates filled the last three categories; but because the bombardiers and gunners were specialists who possessed technical knowledge about the artillery, they received higher pay. Henry Knox commanded the regiment with the rank of colonel. His senior subordinates included two lieutenant colonels and two majors. Nine men served on Knox's staff. As was the case with the infantry, the artillery in the field never attained its theoretical strength. Individual companies and even individual artillery pieces operated according to need.

The organizational structure set in 1775 applied to Washington's army and to the nine infantry regiments operating on the Canadian border. Elsewhere, most notably in the South, regiments continued to be organized on an ad hoc basis. The next reform addressed this problem.

ENLISTING FOR THE DURATION

Most terms of enlistment expired on 31 December 1776. In the fall of that year Congress and military leaders again reorganized the army. Congress adopted a plan for eighty-eight regiments. Each state had a quota based on its population. Soldiers were to enlist for three years or for the war's duration. Congress continued to commission all officers but individual states could nominate candidates up to and including the rank of colonel. The states were responsible for providing arms, equipment, and clothing. To encourage reenlistment, Congress established cash bonuses and liberal postwar land grants for soldiers who enlisted for the duration of the war. At the same time, Congress modified the articles of war by copying many British practices. The list of capital offensives expanded while the maximum corporal punishment increased from thirty-nine to one hundred lashes. Washington himself promoted these harsher rules because he had concluded that softer discipline did not adequately deter misbehavior.

Because the states were unable to meet their quotas, the eighty-eight-regiment army never came into existence. Neither the bounties nor the first American wartime draft succeeded in filling the ranks. As a result, the entire Continental Army never reached a strength of thirty thousand, and Washington seldom was able to bring fifteen thousand soldiers to a battle. Most recruits for the rank and file were under twenty-three years old. These young men were without property. Some enlisted because they were truly dedicated to the Revolution's ideals. Others enlisted for the money, the annual issue of clothing, and the promise of land once the war ended. All recruits soon learned that government promises were easily broken and neglect and hardship followed. In spite of all this, a vital hard core remained in service, motivated by a mix of patriotism and group loyalty. Men of means avoided service by hiring replacements. Officers, prominent leaders in their local communities, were a class apart. The basis for their selection was experience, the ability to raise men, and their political reliability.

VALLEY FORGE

The campaign of 1776 demonstrated to Washington that he needed more men, more artillery, and a cavalry force. Thus, in one more congressional measure taken to increase the army's size, Congress authorized sixteen additional regiments along with two

more artillery regiments and three thousand light horse, or light cavalry. This marked a change from previous authorizations, under which state governments organized the additional regiments because Congress was unable to afford cavalry. Washington conceived that reconnaissance, not combat, was the cavalry's major duty. He suggested a regimental organization featuring three field officers: colonel, lieutenant colonel, major, a thirteen-man staff, and six troops each with three officers, six noncommissioned officers, a trumpeter, and thirty-four privates. On 14 March 1777 Congress approved this organization. Four regiments of Continental Light Dragoons formed. However, because the horses and specialized equipment that cavalry required were expensive, the four regiments were always well under strength.

The winter of 1777–1778 at Valley Forge was the first of a series of annual survival trials for the new Continental Army. The Continentals shrank to a hard core of some six thousand men. They were ill fed and ill clothed. Weeks passed without meat, and men were forced to boil and eat their shoes. Although the army suffered enormous hardship, it also received professional military training from European experts, most notably Frederick von Steuben. Steuben developed a new system of drill suited to American soldiers and American terrain. The result was a dramatic improvement in the Continental Army's fighting ability. Consequently, for the first time in the war, the Continental Army that left Valley Forge in the late spring of 1778 was capable of meeting the British on equal terms.

TACTICAL COMBAT IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Of the three military arms—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—the infantry was by far the dominant. Cavalry and artillery played useful supporting roles, but the infantry was the "queen of battle" in the Revolutionary War.

The relative inefficiency of the period's firearms dictated infantry tactics and formations. The infantry soldier's basic weapon was a long-barreled (40 to 46 inches), large caliber (.65 to .80), heavy (8 to 12 pounds), smoothbore, single-shot musket. Continental infantry began the war using British muskets taken from captured arsenals, gleaned from the battlefield, or inherited from earlier colonial wars. Later, most wielded one of the some 100,000 French muskets shipped to America during the war. Contrary to popular legend, among the Continentals only the soldiers in the rifle regiment carried the famous long rifle. The musket fired a solid lead ball that carried about three hundred yards. Because of the barrel's smoothbore, the musket could not reliably hit a target at distances over one hundred yards. Consequently, soldiers tried to hold their fire until the enemy was within that distance. Such waiting required steady nerves.

To maximize firepower, regiments deployed into line. Led by their officers, to the rousing sounds of fife and drum and with national and regimental flags flying in the center of the formation, the attacking force rapidly marched into musket range. At ranges as close as forty yards, the opposing lines traded volleys (massed group fire). When a big, heavy lead ball struck human flesh it had tremendous stopping power, felling a soldier as if he had been hit by a sledgehammer. A head, lung, or belly wound was usually fatal. A smashed arm or leg usually required an amputation. The soldiers well knew that the wounded faced a very perilous future at the hands of the army's surgeons. Consequently, although a regiment might lose only a small percentage of its strength in a firefight, the sight of friends and comrades falling with dreadful wounds had a heavy effect on morale.

After a volley, a bayonet charge could clinch victory. At the order "fix bayonets," soldiers attached a socket bayonet over the musket's muzzle. Although the fourteen- to nineteen-inch-long sword bayonet actually inflicted a very small percentage of battlefield losses, the terrifying sight of a charging line of bayonets was deeply unnerving. Soldiers typically broke and ran instead of engaging in hand-to-hand fighting. The disciplined bayonet charge was the hallmark of the British infantry. The Continental Army acquired the ability to conduct such a charge following its training during the first Valley Forge winter of 1777–1778.

The period's field artillery included long smoothbore guns and shorter smoothbore howitzers. Guns fired solid iron balls or canister; howitzers fired explosive shells or canister. A canister shot was a tin container tightly packed with musket balls. The can left the muzzle, shattered, and released a shotgun-like spread of musket balls. Canister, with an effective range of 500 yards or less, combined lethal firepower with the confusion and terror caused by sudden, intense casualties. Although a twelve-pounder field gun (so named because it fired a twelve-pound solid ball) had a maximum range of 3,500 yards, accurate long fire was beyond the gunner's technical means. Accordingly, gunners usually held their fire until the target was within 800 yards. Tactically, commanders used long-range field artillery to pre-

pare the way for a charge or defensively to prevent the enemy from closing to decisive range. Battles typically began with a brief exchange of artillery fire. When the target drew close, gunners switched to canister.

Early in the war the Continental Artillery made do with whatever was available in colonial arsenals supplemented by captured British weapons. As the war progressed, the army received European imports, particularly from France, as well as weapons forged domestically.

Cavalry performed important scouting and outpost duties, but the difficulties of maintaining horseflesh in a relatively barren country greatly hindered the development of a significant mounted arm on either side. Thus, except in the South, mounted charges were rare. The broad savannahs and open pine forests characteristic of the American South offered excellent cavalry country. Here skilled American cavalry leaders such as William Washington and "Lighthorse Harry" Lee led their men into saber-wielding melees. In mounted hand-to-hand combat, troopers cut and thrust at their foes using cavalry sabers with a straight or curved blade between thirty-one and thirty-seven inches long and weighing two to four pounds. Cavalry did not attempt frontal charges against formed infantry. Rather, it worked around the infantry's flank or waited until they had lost their formation before charging. Against foot soldiers out of formation, cavalry was lethal.

The purpose of repeated close-order drill was to immunize soldiers from the terror of combat. Only well-trained soldiers could stand unflinching and absorb heavy losses while firing more and faster than the enemy and then charge with the bayonet. During the war's early years the well-trained British soldiers had a considerable discipline advantage over the inexperienced Americans. This advantage faded as the Continental Army acquired experience.

See also **Army Culture; Army, U.S.; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Military Technology; Militias and Militia Service; Revolution: Military History; Revolution: Military Leadership, American; Soldiers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ketchum, Richard M. *The Winter Soldiers.* New York: Anchor Books, 1991.

Lumpkin, Henry. *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South.* New York: Paragon House, 1987.

Martin, Joseph Plumb. *A Narrative of Some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier.* Edited by George E. Scheer. New York: New York Times Books, 1968.

Matloff, Maurice, ed. *American Military History.* Partially revised ed. Washington, D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, U.S. Army, 1973.

Neimeyer, Charles Patrick. *America Goes to War: A Social History of the Continental Army.* New York: New York University Press, 1996.

Peterson, Harold L. *The Book of the Continental Soldier; Being a Compleat Account of the Uniforms, Weapons, and Equipment with which He Lived and Fought.* Harrisburg, Pa. Stackpole, 1968.

Royster, Charles. *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979; New York: Norton, 1981.

Wright, Robert K., Jr. *The Continental Army.* Washington, D.C.: Center of Military History, U.S. Army, 1983.

James R. Arnold

CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES The Continental Congresses were the first true national legislative bodies in American history. The first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia from 5 September through 26 October 1774. The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia from 10 May 1775 through 12 December 1776 and reconvened thirteen more times in various locations through 2 March 1789. (The last eight of these meetings occurred under the Articles of Confederation; sometimes historians refer to these as sessions of the Confederation Congress, rather than the Second Continental Congress.) On 4 March 1789, the First Congress under the new federal Constitution convened. Thus, the Continental Congresses served as the precursor to the modern-day American congressional system as well as a link between the pre-Revolutionary colonial period and the U.S. constitutional system.

ORIGINS

The proximate origins of the Continental Congresses can be traced to the 1760s. Britain had just won an extended war with France—the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—and, as a result, found itself heavily in debt. To generate new revenues, Britain looked to its colonies and sought to impose a series of new taxes. Examples included the Sugar Act of 1764, which raised the duty on imported molasses, and the Stamp Act of 1765, which taxed printed materials of all kinds. American colonists chafed at these new

measures, largely because they felt their autonomy was being infringed. During much of their existence, the American colonies had been left largely to govern themselves. They were a major source of regular income for the crown, serving as a source of cheap raw materials and a captive market for British exports. Yet monitoring the colonies was difficult; because of geographic distance, the transaction costs associated with enforcing compliance were high, making centralized decision making quite inefficient. As a result, Britain allowed the colonies considerable self-governing discretion, accepting a certain amount of market-based shirking in exchange for a constant stream of economic payoffs. Thus, by the mid–1760s the additional taxes that the British levied also came with restrictions on colonists' home rule: enforcement mechanisms, such as tax collectors and magistrates, were imposed on the colonies to ensure compliance with the crown's initiatives.

The backlash to Britain's increasing role in the colonies was widespread. Organizations such as the Sons of Liberty and committees of correspondence emerged to protest the British initiatives and hinder collection of the new taxes and duties. In addition, an intercolonial conference held in 1765, later known as the Stamp Act Congress, brought together resistance leaders from eight of the colonies to signal more formally the opposition to the crown's growing influence. Perhaps the greatest act of defiance occurred in 1773, when a group of resistance leaders decided to protest a new tea tax by dressing as American Indians, sneaking aboard British trading ships, and dumping over three hundred crates of tea into Boston Harbor. In response to this resistance—especially to the Boston Tea Party—the British imposed a crackdown. Through a series of laws known as the Coercive Acts (1774), the British Parliament closed down Boston Harbor, suspended meetings of the Massachusetts legislature, moved trials involving colonists to England, and forced colonists to quarter British troops in their homes.

BEFORE INDEPENDENCE
The British crackdown spurred the colonists to act collectively. Initiated by local committees of correspondence, a call went out for an intercolonial Congress that would stipulate formally a set of colonial rights and negotiate an end to the growing tension between Britain and the colonies. Provincial conventions or colonial assemblies nominated and selected delegates, and thus the first Continental Congress was born. It officially convened on 5 September 1774 in Philadelphia. With its goals firmly established, the

Congress adopted an institutional structure based on openness and equality: leadership positions and powers were limited; voting was based on the unit rule, or one vote per state regardless of size; and debate and access to the floor were not restricted. Because most members were drawn from the resistance movement, viewpoints from colony to colony were quite similar, and thus the minimal institutional structure was not a hindrance to reaching collective decisions. Within a month, a Declaration and Resolves defending colonial rights was produced, reinforcing the desire for American self-governance. Also, an agreement was reached to ban trade with the British until the taxing and crackdown initiatives were lifted. To enforce the latter ban, Congress suggested social sanctions, specifically the creation of committees of observation, to monitor and self-police economic relations in localities throughout the colonies.

The pressures instigated by the first Continental Congress were successful in reducing British-American trade in late 1774 and early 1775. In response, the British cracked down harder, sending additional troops to the colonies and seeking to ferret out leaders of the resistance movement. As a consequence, military conflict broke out in the Massachusetts towns of Concord and Lexington during April 1775. That sparked the convening of the Second Continental Congress on 10 May 1775. Comprised of mostly the same men and largely adopting the same institutional structure as the first Continental Congress, the Second Continental Congress acted swiftly to create a national army (with George Washington at its helm) in June 1775 and establish an independent financial system. Over the next year, as war spread throughout the colonies, calls for an official separation from the crown emerged. After initially ignoring such calls, the Second Continental Congress acceded to the pressure and began drafting an official separation document. This document would become known as the Declaration of Independence, which was formally adopted by the Congress on 4 July 1776.

IMPEDIMENTS TO ACTION
Having officially declared separation from Britain, the Second Continental Congress set out to create a new American government. As a result, the nation's first constitutional document, the Articles of Confederation, was drafted in 1777 and ratified by the states in 1791. The reins of power in the new system rested solely in a unicameral Congress, as no independent executive or national system of courts was created.

Moreover, the structure of this new unicameral Congress mirrored that of the Second Continental Congress. Members of Congress were selected by state legislatures, voting followed the unit rule, and the legislative process was free of amendment or debate restrictions. Committees were established, at the floor's discretion, to handle legislative tasks, but they typically did not possess independent authority. The passage of major laws required a supermajority of states, while critical decisions like taxation and constitutional change required unanimous agreement. Moreover, decision making was purposely decentralized, in keeping with the goal of protecting state sovereignty. For example, laws passed by Congress were not binding on states and Congress could not regulate commerce between states.

While the minimal structure underlying the Second Continental Congress did not hamper decision making, the same could not be said of the new Confederation Congress. In the mid–1770s, the delegates' preferences had been quite similar, as resistance to the crown and support for American self-governance made policy making relatively easy. However, as circumstances became more complex, moving from simple resistance to the establishment of an independent nation, regional divisions surfaced as the economic interests of the Northeast diverged from those of the mid–Atlantic and the South. Suddenly, policies based on common preferences alone were hard to come by, and the institutional structures of Congress offered little help in channeling the variety of preferences into consensus.

Thus, a number of serious decision-making problems plagued the Confederation Congress. For example, coordination was difficult, as the president of Congress was provided with no resources to manage shared interests; instead, the floor possessed complete authority in terms of delegating to committees, setting the agenda, and processing business. The result was chaos: all petitions had to be dealt with immediately by the full Congress; access to the floor was completely open and there were no rules for ending debate, so an endless number of amendments could be offered; and issues could be brought up again and again, so political outcomes—even when they could be achieved—were very unstable. In addition, because laws were not binding on states, Congress could not enforce its decisions. Thus, while the nation would have been better off had the states followed congressional edicts, it was often not in the states' individual interests to do so. As a result, the war effort was nearly crippled as resources in the

form of tax revenues and soldiers were undersupplied.

These problems aside, the colonists managed to win their freedom from Britain. This was achieved due to brilliant colonial military tactics and French intervention, but also in part to congressional involvement in mobilizing resources and manpower on a continental scale and to the congressional diplomats who negotiated the Treaty of Paris.

THE LAST YEARS

Additionally, some legislative successes would be produced in the postwar years, notably the resolution of the Wyoming Valley territorial dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania and the passage of ordinances to organize land sales and territorial government in the Northwest Territory. Yet lingering collective action problems remained; because of differing policy preferences and the ineffectual institutional structures, the postwar debt could not be paid, international and interstate trade agreements could not be settled, and postwar armies could not be raised. Fears of national bankruptcy were prevalent throughout the mid–1780s, and a general economic depression fed a growing popular discontent. Internal congressional problems also began bubbling to the surface: members began skipping congressional sessions, and efforts to maintain cohesion across adjournments, via the creation of a Committee of the States composed of one member from each state, failed miserably.

Despite all of these issues, little was done to improve the system, as differing views and general inertia preserved the status quo. Eventually, agrarian disturbances in Massachusetts underscored the precariousness of the situation. In January 1787 Daniel Shays and other debt–ridden farmers in western Massachusetts, hurt by the postwar depression and turned away after petitioning the government for relief, attempted an assault on a military arsenal at Springfield. The state's congressional delegates appealed in vain to the Confederation government and other state governments for assistance. Though the Massachusetts militia was able to suppress the rebellion, it was clear to many that a change in the government's structure had to occur; otherwise, the nation might be thrown into anarchy.

As a result, a new national convention was called; it convened in Philadelphia in May 1787. The ostensible purpose of the convention was to devise a strategy for revising the Articles of Confederation and establishing stronger institutional structures to combat the lingering instability in Congress and the

nation. However, the convention delegates quickly determined that the Articles were fatally flawed and set out to construct a new and institutionally rich Constitution. While the Philadelphia delegates clearly superseded their authority in devising a new national system, the Confederation Congress supported their work and referred the new Constitution to the states for ratification. Once the Constitution was ratified, the Confederation Congress's days were numbered, and the institution was officially dissolved on 2 March 1789, two days before the first federal Congress convened.

See also **Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Continental Army; Declaration of Independence; Revolution; Shays's Rebellion; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Burnett, Edmund Cody. *The Continental Congress: A Definitive History of the Continental Congress from Its Inception in 1774 to March, 1789.* New York: Norton, 1941.

Jensen, Merrill. *The New Nation: A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781–1789.* New York: Knopf, 1950.

Jillson, Calvin, and Rick K. Wilson. *Congressional Dynamics: Structure, Coordination, and Choice in the First American Congress, 1774–1789.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Montross, Lynn. *The Reluctant Rebels: The Story of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789.* New York: Harper, 1950.

Rakove, Jack N. *The Beginnings of National Politics: An Interpretive History of the Continental Congress.* New York: Knopf, 1979.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969.

Jeffery A. Jenkins

CONTRACEPTION AND ABORTION Abundance in fields, livestock, and (legitimate) children, particularly sons, remained cause for celebration between 1754 and 1829. Yet a rapidly growing countermovement advocated smaller, cost-effective, affectionate families that would alleviate the strains of excessive childbearing on wives and allow for sons and daughters to be educated, provided with adequate resources, and appreciated for their individuality. Birth rates were in decline—falling faster in the cities than in the country, in the East than in the West, among the native-born than among immigrants, and among the free than among the enslaved. For the free population of the United States, the number of births per 1,000 population fell from the upper 50s to the upper 40s during this period. This new movement involved economic, familial, social, sexual, marital, and emotional changes. Legal, political and religious reactions to falling fertility occurred primarily after this period.

The term "contraception" was not coined until the 1880s, but limitation of births was practiced. Delaying marriage may have been the most widely practiced means of reducing family size in the early Republic. Adolescent marriages became rarer, especially in urban areas, and white women who became pregnant out of wedlock faced severe consequences. Particularly in the Northeast, a small but growing number of women never married. Celibacy within marriage was not common. Women frequently employed extended breast-feeding, which can reduce the chances of becoming pregnant, to lengthen the intervals between births, particularly later in the course of their childbearing. Enslaved people could not legally marry, and the master class neither valued enslaved women's chastity nor honored the preferences of bound women and men for few or many children.

Practices designed to prevent conception and associated with sexual intercourse were extremely rare at the beginning of the period and uncommon at the end. Condoms were associated with prostitution and used primarily to prevent syphilis, not pregnancy. Couples may have practiced coitus interruptus, but evidence is scarce and in any event the failure rate for this practice is high. Manuals describing douching and barrier methods of contraception appear only after 1829.

Emmenagogues, substances and practices designed to restore interrupted menstruation, are recorded in women's writings, in home guides to health, and in medical, botanical, and pharmaceutical texts. Seen at the time as cures for women's ailments, these would now be classed as abortifacients, because an effect of restoring menstruation in sexually active women could be the termination of early-term pregnancies. When unmarried women used these same substances they were in fact considered abortifacients. A wide range of herbs, including savin, seneca snakeroot, cotton root, pennyroyal, and aloe, were thought to have the ability to restore menstruation. Horseback riding, jumping rope, or other vigorous exercise might also be recommended, but uterine intrusion was, according to surviving sources, extremely rare.

Women in the eighteenth century used herbal remedies of British, Continental European, African, and Native American origin. By the early nineteenth century, there was less experimentation and African and Native American practices were largely, but not entirely, superseded by European traditional and patent medicines. After about 1810, doctors in the newly developing field of obstetrics began to cast doubt on the effectiveness of these traditional remedies, although women, professors of materia medica (pharmacy), and family physicians continued to tout their usefulness.

Attempting to judge the effectiveness of emmenagogic remedies through scattered information in diaries, letters, and medical records is a difficult task because of the many possibilities involved in diagnosis. What is clear is that women and men increasingly discussed the desirability of limiting fertility, and birth rates steadily declined from 1760 to the twenty-first century (except for the 1950s).

The legislatures and courts paid little attention to early- or late-term abortion in the colonies and early Republic. Even the crimes of infanticide and the concealment of the death of a bastard child were rarely and selectively prosecuted. The regulation of abortion began with a Connecticut law in 1821, followed by Missouri in 1825, Illinois in 1827, and New York in 1828. These laws were as much about poison control as abortion and were confined to actions taken after quickening—the point, during the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy, at which fetal movement is detected. New York added a therapeutic exception. As the desire to limit family size became more apparent and widespread in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, and commercialized abortion services more widely advertised, some legal, medical, and religious leaders demanded further controls on emmenagogues and abortion; but these developments occurred after 1829.

See also **Childbirth and Childbearing; Domestic Life; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Law: Women and the Law; Manliness and Masculinity; Parenthood; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brodie, Janet Farrell. *Contraception and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century America.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Klepp, Susan E. "Lost, Hidden, Obstructed, and Repressed: Contraceptive and Abortive Technology in the Early Delaware Valley." In *Early American Technology: Making and Doing Things from the Colonial Era to 1850.* Edited by Judith A. McGaw. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Mohr, James C. *Abortion in America: The Origins and Evolution of a National Policy, 1800–1900.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Tone, Andrea. *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 2001.

Susan E. Klepp

COPYRIGHT   *See* **Patents and Copyrights.**

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT   The period 1750 to 1820 was a period of transition in methods of corporal punishment in the United States. In the colonial period individuals attributed bad behavior to poor character or criminal propensities and could not conceive of possible reformation. They consequently used public shame, pain, and even death as forms of punishment. During the antebellum period Americans began to view inappropriate actions as a consequence of poor environments and thus believed that residence in such institutions as prisons, orphan asylums, and reformatories could provide correction. These changes began in the early national period as Enlightenment thought emphasized man's rationality. Authorities began to make distinctions between abusive and moderate punishment, but corporal punishment remained dominant.

Most Americans experienced corporal punishment within the family. The Revolution, with its metaphor of the king as tyrannical father figure and the colonists as his helpless children, should have given rise to questioning absolute patriarchal power, but in fact only the Quakers pursued that line of thinking. Indeed, for most children and wives punishment was more severe in this period than it had been in the colonial period.

In an extensive study of reminiscences of individuals born between 1750 and 1800, Elizabeth Pleck noted that their parents employed corporal punishment on each one. Instruments used ranged from hickory sticks to whips. The philosophy of Robert E. Lee's aunt, who raised him, was "whip and pray and pray and whip." One significant change was the introduction of "spanking," which gradually replaced whipping in most households by about 1830.

Husbands often subjected their wives to unrestrained corporal punishment. Courts rarely intervened in cases of domestic violence unless someone was killed. The extent of domestic violence differed from region to region. In New England, with a homogeneous population and a stable social structure, cases were rare. On the frontier and in the South, many more cases existed. Many slave narratives express shock at the cruelty of masters who whipped their wives and children as viciously as they punished their slaves.

Almost all schoolmasters used corporal punishment. At a time when most of continental Europe was turning away from physical punishment in education, the slogan of American schools was "no larnin' without lickin'." One infamous South Carolina schoolmaster whipped all the boys on their first day of school until they wet their pants. In another school one could be flogged for lateness, talking, giving wrong answers, and even not reciting the catechism correctly.

Another hierarchical institution was the American Navy and merchant marine. Following traditional procedure, officers maintained absolute obedience through severe and often excessive discipline. One could be flogged up to one hundred times for such widely varying crimes as desertion, stealing food or liquor, fighting, omission of duty, "insolent" looks, and answering an order in a voice louder than usual. The situation became so repressive that the Navy was unable to fulfill its duties because of the reluctance of qualified sailors to serve.

Slavery was undoubtedly the institution with the most severe corporal punishment. Although most states had laws regulating the treatment of slaves, such laws were almost never enforced. Advertisements for escaped slaves reflected the brutality of slavery by consistently noting brandings, whipping scars, and mutilations. Masters and overseers whipped recalcitrant slaves up to 150 times and then poured salt into the wounds. Other mutilations, designed to make escaped slaves easy to recognize, included cutting off ears, tips of fingers, and toes and branding the face and arms.

Corporal punishment of criminals underwent the most marked change. In the colonial period punishment consisted of three types: shaming, such as putting the accused in the stocks; corporal punishment, such as whippings; and capital punishment. South Carolina, for example, listed 165 capital crimes. After the Revolution concerns over the cruelty of capital and corporal punishments gave rise to prisons. Influenced by Enlightenment thought,

Americans came to believe that an institution that confined criminals and imposed order could theoretically transform them into worthwhile citizens. Although prisons were instituted to abolish corporal punishment, paradoxically the practice continued within prison walls, especially when prisons became overcrowded. One could be punished for complaining about inadequate food, talking, smiling, or winking. In one documented case, a warden of Sing Sing, a prison in lower New York State, whipped an insane convict one hundred times for screaming in the night. Besides the whip, punishment included the straitjacket and the gag, an iron mouthpiece. Women convicts, especially African Americans and immigrants, were disciplined similarly.

Beginning in the 1830s, reformers influenced social institutions and even families to forgo corporal punishment. A new approach to discipline would emphasize psychological manipulation.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Crime and Punishment; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Flogging; Law: Women and the Law; Marriage; Penitentiaries; Slavery: Slave Life.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Glenn, Myra C. *Campaigns against Corporal Punishment: Prisoners, Sailors, Women, and Children in Antebellum America.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.

Masur, Louis P. *Rites of Execution: Capital Punishment and the Transformation of American Culture, 1776–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Pleck, Elizabeth. *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of American Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004.

Mark C. Smith

CORPORATIONS The American colonies were familiar with corporations well before independence in 1776. Although they were banned in Britain in 1720, after the financial disaster caused by exuberant speculation in the South Sea Company's shares, corporations created prior to the restriction continued to exist in the colonies. Nor were the colonies subject to the same level of restrictions as in metropolitan Britain.

Colonies that were created as corporations themselves, such as the Bay Colony of Massachusetts (1629), were prohibited from creating corporations

of their own. Royal assent was required before a charter became legal, and colonial legislatures refrained from seeking such approval until the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of these early charters did not create business enterprises but instead delimited jurisdictional boundaries by incorporating towns and counties, creating religious associations and parishes, and founding schools or charitable organizations.

The advantages conferred by an early corporate charter were fairly standard: it allowed a group to make a binding set of rules for its self-governance, to function as an individual "corporate" legal entity that could sue and be sued in a court, to exist "in perpetuity" beyond the lifetime of its members, and to limit its legal liabilities. These benefits allowed corporations to protect their aggregated property and survive from one generation to the next, something that was essential for a church, school, charity, town, or business.

INDEPENDENCE
The Revolution, hostile to relics of monarchy and stoked by rhetoric decrying privilege, placed corporations in tenuous circumstances. It resurrected old British and French anticorporate arguments, buttressing them with suggestions by the economist Adam Smith and the philosopher David Hume that corporations were economically inefficient and monopolistic creations used by aristocrats to gain unfair advantages over common entrepreneurs who did not enjoy the same kind of royal favoritism.

This concern was raised in post-Revolutionary debates about reincorporating cities whose charters were nullified at the moment of independence, and incorporating towns that had previously been denied charters by the Crown. The governments of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York City were all on legally unfamiliar footing after 1776: Philadelphia's 1701 charter had expired, Boston was seeking its first charter (it had been denied one before independence because Massachusetts was itself a corporation and lacked the power to incorporate on its own), and New York was still relying on its 1731 Montgomerie Charter to function as a wartime government in a city under British occupation.

Proposals to reincorporate cities were met with hostility by some who claimed that corporations had become incompatible with Revolutionary principles of popular sovereignty and republicanism. Corporations, these anticharter pamphleteers and legislators charged, created governments-within-governments, *imperia in imperio*, thereby guaranteeing a permanent state of conflict between corporate governments and state legislatures. Incorporated cities limited the pool of eligible electors by applying property eligibility requirements and granting certain land-owning citizens representation that was denied to landless laborers. In New York, for example, property requirements meant that a far smaller group of voters could vote in elections for the city's common council than could vote in state elections for governor and legislature. Not only did this diminish the value of work, anticharter critics charged, it echoed the political inequities that caused the Revolution in the first place.

STATES AND CORPORATIONS
Despite the often persuasive arguments of corporations' detractors, some state legislatures began exercising their right to incorporate soon after independence and the adoption of their own constitutions. Massachusetts created more than a hundred new corporations in the 1780s and twice as many in the 1790s.

States incorporated banks, insurance companies, bridges, canals, waterworks, turnpikes, manufacturing enterprises, mills, and harbor improvement projects, in addition to towns, schools, and charities. In some states these new types of corporations comprised nearly a quarter of all charters, performing functions that benefited the public but drew on private talent, knowledge, and wealth to accomplish their goals. During this time, the Massachusetts Medical Society (1781) was created to examine the qualifications of physicians and surgeons in the state, while the Beverly (Mass.) Cotton Manufactory (1789) was chartered to promote industrial enterprise. In New Jersey the Society for Useful Manufactures (1791) was created at the behest of U.S. Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton to advance American technology and industry, giving its members privileges such as exemptions from military service; its charter was so broad that the society was given the authority to found the city of Paterson.

States discovered that corporations were useful instruments to entice combinations of individuals to accomplish tasks that they could not achieve on their own or with their disaggregated wealth. Some states did not see an immediate need to create large numbers of corporations; Virginia relied on landowners to improve and manage the landscape longer than did New England or Middle Atlantic states. However, once the ambitions of internal improvement projects exceeded the wealth of such landowners, the state created corporations to fulfill those functions.

CORPORATIONS AND THE LAW

That corporations were profitable did not typically dampen the enthusiasm of legislators, who might have seen them as conflicting with state government endeavors, for their creation. This was because corporations were intended to serve the public welfare. As corporate advocates noted, charters laid out the rules under which corporations were legally bound to operate. Thus, properly designed charters created mini-republics of voting shareholders who, instead of being in conflict with state governments and constitutions, reflected the ideals of republicanism and federalism. Regular elections, a separation of powers, and secured liberties could all be enshrined in a bill of incorporation. This outlook embraced anticharter views concerning the necessity of reconciling the corporate form to Revolutionary ideology, drawing on a fascination with constitution making that pervaded the U.S. Congress and stretched to state legislatures and corporate boards of directors.

Because Congress lacked the power to grant charters of incorporation under the Constitution (1787), the power rested with states. Over time, legislatures developed standardized legislative language for charters, ensuring that corporations behaved appropriately and could not become rogue governments-within-governments. The corporate form ensured that corporations were owned by shareholders who were eligible, on a regular basis, to elect directors to a board that acted as an executive committee. The board kept minutes of its meetings, correspondence, and expenditures, which it shared with its shareholders and the public.

The public nature of the corporation persisted throughout the period of the early Republic. Corporate law did not yet distinguish between public and private corporations, and even the most significant Supreme Court case of the period dealing with corporations, *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), did not absolve corporations from public duties, even if they were nominally "private" because their assets were derived from "private" sources.

See also **Bank of the United States;** *Dartmouth College v. Woodward***; Economic Development; Economic Theory.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Davis, Joseph Stancliffe. *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations.* 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1917.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Public Property and Private Power: The Corporation of the City of New York in American Law, 1730–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989.

Hartz, Louis. *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought: Pennsylvania, 1776–1860.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948.

Maier, Pauline. "The Revolutionary Origins of the American Corporation." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 50, no. 1 (Jan. 1993): 51–84.

Seavoy, Ronald E. *The Origins of the American Business Corporation, 1784–1855: Broadening the Concept of Public Service during Industrialization.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Brian Phillips Murphy

COTTON   Few commodities transformed modern local, national, and even global economies more dramatically than did cotton during the early national period. Its profitability in global markets fueled industrial expansion in Europe and eventually the United States, propelled expansion into the Old Southwest of the United States, demonstrated the continued productivity of slavery, and shaped politics within and outside of the South.

EARLY GROWTH

Cotton had been grown and used for cloth in Asia and the New World prior to the European encounter with either. In the early eighteenth century, East Indian–produced cotton calicos became increasingly important within the British Atlantic economy, despite imperial efforts to protect the centuries-old English woolen and Irish linen industries. In the eighteenth century, English colonists in the West Indies and Lower South began growing the crop in small amounts in order to make homespun cloth. Such production became both symbolically and materially important during the imperial crisis, as Patriots protested British policies, and during the American Revolution, when war limited access to European cloth.

By 1800, U.S. raw cotton exceeded domestic consumption and had entered a rapidly expanding market among British textile manufacturers. Demand grew in the late eighteenth century in part because cotton clothes could be more easily dyed and cleaned than wool or linen. Inventions such as the spinning jenny, water frame, and Crompton's mule increased manufacturers' ability to meet this demand. Britain's failure to develop colonial sources of raw cotton led British merchants and manufacturers to turn to the coastal regions of the Lower South. There, planters facing sagging indigo and rice markets turned to long-staple Sea Island cotton as a way of getting out of debt. The long, high-quality fibers

of Sea Island cotton fetched good prices but could not be grown inland. Experimentation with different seeds and hybridization created shorter-staple crops better suited for up-country soils and climates.

Growing cotton proved only one of the challenges facing planters and the laborers—mostly slaves—who cultivated it. Before the cotton was processed, slaves had to handpick numerous seeds out of the sticky fibers. To avoid this time-consuming task, planters and slaves looked for ways to build and improve machines that could gin seeds out without damaging the plants' threads. In 1793 Eli Whitney invented the most important of these gins, which was soon pirated and improved as the new technology proliferated throughout the Lower South. In addition to this invention, cotton production spawned a host of related technologies, including bagging and balling machines and in the late 1820s a railroad project designed to transport cotton goods to Charleston, South Carolina.

COTTON, SLAVERY, AND WESTWARD EXPANSION

Though yeomen farmers grew small quantities of southern cotton, slavery marched westward along with cotton cultivation. High cotton prices provided both the demand for and the capital necessary to purchase more slaves. This fact led South Carolinians (at the behest of backcountry farmers) to reopen the international slave trade in 1803. After Congress banned the importation of slaves in 1808, a robust domestic slave trade transported tens of thousands of surplus slaves from the Upper South to work the fertile cotton fields of western Georgia, Alabama, middle Tennessee, and the Mississippi Valley, usually in small gangs. In addition to adding to the slave population of the Lower South, cotton's continued profitability challenged the common assumption that slavery would ultimately prove unprofitable and that diffusion westward would lead to its natural death. Instead, the sons and daughters of eastern planters, with fixed capital in slaves and often facing soil exhaustion, simply uprooted their entire labor force and headed west for cheaper lands. By the early 1830s the southwestern states of Alabama and Mississippi surpassed Georgia and South Carolina as the largest producers of raw cotton. Considerable diversity existed in the Lower South, but the centrality of cotton for local and state economies guaranteed general regional support for slavery, commercial agriculture, and free trade.

COTTON AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Cotton planters were not the only Americans to benefit from the cotton trade. As it grew in the early nineteenth century, northern merchant houses, creditors, factors, and ship owners became the chief intermediaries financing and transporting the crop to Liverpool and other overseas markets. By the 1820s, New York—aided by a strong financial sector and the United States' first steamship line—became the central cog in a complex trade that imported finished goods to America, distributed them inland and along the eastern seaboard, and then carried raw cotton to Europe for manufacturing. Restrictions on the participation of foreign vessels in the coastal trade gave U.S. merchants and shippers (mostly from the Northeast) a virtual monopoly on this trade. By 1820 cotton composed 40 percent of the value of all American exports, a percentage that grew to 50 percent by 1830 and 60 percent by 1840.

As early as the 1790s, economist Tench Coxe proposed that the growth and manufacturing of raw cotton could make the United States a leading manufacturing nation and help unite different regions. Though some small New England textile mills did exist at that time, not until after the War of 1812 did American textiles become an important sector of the American economy. The Panic of 1819 ruined many of the new businesses created by the war, but cotton manufacturers continued to grow steadily in northeastern cities, shifting production out of homes and skilled small shops into increasingly mechanized factories. Rather than harmonizing the nation's interests, however, the growth of textile firms, which demanded high protective tariffs, conflicted with the commitment of southern cotton planters to overseas markets. Annually, over two-thirds (in some years 90 percent) of U.S. cotton was exported, leading southerners to prioritize free trade abroad over the creation of domestic manufacturing through methods that restricted trade.

Despite some economic diversification in the late antebellum period, the South's continued commitment to cotton production and commercial agriculture dramatically shaped that region's economic development, likely retarding urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. The debates surrounding the rise of King Cotton and the slave power necessary to perpetuate it continued to tear the political fabric of the nation.

See also **Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Slavery: Overview; Textiles Manufacturing.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bruchey, Stuart, ed. and comp. *Cotton and the Growth of the American Economy*, *1790–1860: Sources and Readings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967.

Chaplin, Joyce E. *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South*, *1730–1815.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Schoen, Brian D. "The Fragile Fabric of Union: The Cotton South, Federal Politics and the Atlantic World, 1783–1861." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 2004.

Woodman, Harold D. *King Cotton and His Retainers: Financing and Marketing the Cotton Crop of the South*, *1800–1925.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990.

Wright, Gavin. *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households*, *Markets*, *and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: Norton, 1978.

Brian Schoen

COTTON GIN The hand labor required to prepare cotton for market served as a brake on its production and profitability. Each ball of cotton fiber had numerous seeds embedded in it, and they had to be either picked out by hand or run through a roller gin. The term "gin" arose as an abbreviation for "cotton engine." A roller gin consisted of a hand crank and two grooved rollers. A roller gin operator could turn out about five pounds of cotton fiber in a day's work—in contrast to one pound a day processed by hand—but the gin did not completely clean the cotton. It had to go through an additional process, called "bowing," to shake out dirt and debris.

The two-roller gin had been in use since its unknown early origins—possibly the twelfth century—in India and China and was imported by British colonists to North America. As cotton thread spinning was mechanized in England, planters in the southern colonies sought to increase cotton production. To that end, a Louisiana planter designed an improved roller gin in 1742, and several other men made further improvements, including treadle operation, between 1772 and 1790. The improved roller gins had higher capacities—peaking at more than one hundred pounds of fiber output a day—but also crimped the fibers.

The mechanically inclined New Englander Eli Whitney, recently graduated from Yale College, was employed as a tutor in Georgia when he turned his talent to the ongoing problem of removing seeds from cotton. Barely a year after his arrival in Georgia, Whitney in 1793 created a working model of a hand-cranked mechanical device that used a rotat-ing, wire-toothed cylinder to remove cotton seeds. As the fibers passed through the metal teeth, the teeth caught and removed the seeds; the teeth also cleaned and combed the fibers. But the design was not without drawbacks: the wire teeth occasionally broke off and became entangled in the cotton.

American planters eagerly embraced the new cotton gin design and planted more acreage to cotton, reassigning slaves from ginning to planting and harvesting the vast new fields. As a result, cotton production in the United States expanded tremendously, more than tripling in the five years following the introduction of Whitney's design.

Although Whitney had worked in secret and then filed for a patent on his invention in 1794, the new American patent law was not yet enforceable, and he reaped little financial reward. Also, he was unable to produce enough machines to meet demand. Planters complained that Whitney charged too much and encouraged local mechanics to build copies. The early theft of Whitney's prototype from his workshop eased their way.

Once the secret of Whitney's design was out, manufacturers throughout the nation seized the opportunity to enrich themselves by producing cotton gins. Lawsuits and competing patents proliferated over the ensuing decades. Several gin manufacturers improved the design, replacing the breakable wire teeth with sections of fine-toothed saw blade, creating the so-called saw gin. Whitney himself eventually adopted saw blades in his later gins. Saw gin producers claimed daily output capacities of close to one thousand pounds of cotton fiber.

Over time, cotton spinning machinery in America and Britain was adapted to the shorter fiber lengths turned out by saw gins. In 1792, the year prior to Whitney's invention, America exported an estimated 138,000 pounds of cotton to England. In 1794 cotton exports surged to more than 1.6 million pounds. In 1826 cotton exports topped 200 million pounds.

See also **Cotton.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Britton, Karen Gerhardt. *Bale o' Cotton: The Mechanical Art of Cotton Ginning.* College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992.

Lakwete, Angela. *Inventing the Cotton Gin: Machine and Myth in Antebellum America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Roberta Wiener

COURTSHIP The process of finding a marriage partner increasingly became the province of young adults alone during the Revolutionary and early Republic eras. Mutual love was to be nurtured during courtship rather than spring from a union in marriage. Such changes were an important departure from colonial patterns, where elders and youth jointly negotiated courtship and couples were to cultivate warmth once wed.

COLONIAL LEGACY

In colonial America, parents and village communities exerted significant influence over the courtship process. Particularly in northern subsistence farm communities, fathers were likely to use their control of available land to sway the courtship process. Children who spurned the wishes of their parents risked losing access to the land they needed for establishing their own families. In addition, village institutions, such as the church and court, checked the sexual behavior of young adults during courtship. Fornication, sex outside of marriage, was likely to earn both young men and women fines or whippings. Such surveillance mechanisms were weaker in the South, but planter patriarchs with large property holdings certainly could exert influence over the young. Family and community did not merely check the behavior of the young; they also promoted the courtship process. At social gatherings such as corn huskings, young men and women met and began to talk. Parents and friends also acted as marriage brokers, initiating and carrying on correspondence on behalf of courting couples. Still, deep bonds between partners were expected to await matrimony.

REVOLUTIONARY FREEDOMS

During the late eighteenth century a number of forces conspired to tilt control of courtship increasingly towards the young. As land supplies were depleted through successive divisions, parents lost leverage, especially after the West was opened up following American independence. In addition, courts and churches decreasingly regulated the sexual behavior of youth. Young men, in particular, were no longer punished for the sin of fornication. Simultaneously, as Americans approached the Revolution they grew weary of stern patriarchs, eagerly buying books penned by the English writer Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), who denounced parents who stood in the way of love and meddled in courtship. While most courting still happened in large social gatherings, young couples were afforded more privacy. An interesting compromise developed between parents and children in the practice of bundling. Young men and women were permitted to sleep together in one bed but had to be fully clothed. In addition, social gatherings were increasingly age-specific, with groups of young men and women interacting in various settings without the presence of adults. Not surprisingly, loosened surveillance allowed more illicit sex. By the late eighteenth century, close to one in three women was already pregnant by the time she was married.

NEW RESTRICTIONS

Such a departure from past patterns produced cultural backlash. In the final years of the eighteenth century and early years of the nineteenth century, American authors such as Susanna Rowson and Hannah Foster earnestly took up the theme of seduction. In novels and short stories, these writers warned young women against the danger of male suitors who might steal their chastity and dash their marriage prospects. Seduction tales became a critical cultural site where new ideas about masculinity and femininity were forged. The mobile young man appeared as a lecherous villain whose wiles innocent young women were warned to avoid. In addition, women were advised to seek parental guidance in courtship. Such stories also carried important political overtones, with women's innocence seemingly embodying the virtue upon which the early nation depended. Such literature seems to have prefigured and directed changes in courting behavior. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, parents did not reassume control of the courtship process, yet sexual experimentation among the young did become more restrained. Coitus was increasingly reserved for married life as courting couples merely engaged in intimate petting.

EARLY-NINETEENTH-CENTURY MARKETS

Sexual and social fulfillment during courtship may also have been less necessary as new options appeared in urban America in the early nineteenth century. A young man could find a brothel with greater ease so that he might pursue sex with fewer emotional commitments. Some young women saw plying this illicit trade as a way to escape overbearing parents and enjoy sexual freedom. More conventionally, young men and women alike entertained one another in parlors and gathered in dance halls and theaters to meet prospective partners. In the South, young men and women of affluence had fewer options, except when young men took advantage of

slave women. Not only did young people live at greater distances from peers, but in addition, property considerations were more likely to constrict the range of eligible partners. Young elite women were marrying at considerably younger ages than their female northern peers. As they married older men, they also were likely to be entering more unequal relationships. Nevertheless, these were not to be loveless matches. Among southerners, as with northerners, young adults increasingly expected love to develop during courtship. Without it, a couple was unsuited to go forward into marriage.

COURTSHIP UNDER SLAVERY

Courtship among African American slaves also underwent important transitions between the mid-eighteenth century and the Age of Jackson. By the time of the American Revolution, courtship was becoming a more realistic prospect for southern slaves. While state authorities never officially sanctioned the terminus of courtship, that is, marriage, slaves managed both to court and to marry one another. When slavery first became a significant presence in the late seventeenth century, the relatively small size of plantations and imbalanced sex ratios left few opportunities for young suitors. As plantations expanded and the sex ratio evened, however, young men and women could find more potential companions. And yet courtship was always more tenuous for blacks than for whites. As they paired off, African American couples always stood in danger of losing one another through forced sales, especially as cotton boomed in the Southwest in the early nineteenth century. In addition, some masters were quite willing to enforce matches on young slaves, thereby eliminating the courtship process. Still, many masters recognized the dangers of coercion when it came to matters of the heart. Some were even willing to allow young male slaves to court women on neighboring plantations, recognizing that denying such a privilege would create too much costly struggle with their bondsmen. Nonetheless, true courting freedom for African Americans would have to wait until the end of slavery in the Civil War era.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Marriage; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Fliegelman, Jay. *Prodigals and Pilgrims: The American Revolution against Patriarchal Authority, 1750–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Genovese, Eugene. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Hessinger, Rodney. *Seduced, Abandoned, and Reborn: Visions of Youth in Bourgeois America, 1780–1850.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Rothman, Ellen K. *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America.* New York: Basic Books, 1984.

Rodney Hessinger

CREEK WAR   In the early nineteenth century the Creek peoples, who lived in what is today Alabama, numbered about twenty thousand. Differences arose between two factions of the Creek Nation—those who adopted Euro-American farming methods, gender roles, and industrial technology, and those wanted to preserve traditional ways. The Creek War was the second phase of a civil conflict between these factions.

The Lower Towns Creeks, sometimes known as the White Sticks, wanted to accommodate the Americans and adopt their ways. Standing with them was the wealthy and educated Tustunugee Thulco ("Big Warrior"). The Upper Towns Creeks, known as the Red Sticks because of their red war clubs, sought to uphold traditional Creek ways and prevent American encroachment on Creek lands. William Weatherford (Lumhe Chati, or "Red Eagle") had a high rank among this faction. Many leaders from both camps, including Weatherford, were the sons of Scottish and English traders who took Creek brides.

The Red Sticks' movement gained strength when Tecumseh, a Shawnee leader, visited the region in 1811. Tecumseh's message to avoid "white man's" social and cultural practices brought thousands of Creeks into the Red Sticks' fold. Many Creeks identified with the Shawnee diplomat's efforts to rekindle a respect for the spiritual world of their ancestors and to restore the balance between themselves and nature. As part of such a restoration, the Red Sticks believed that their shamans' talismans and prayers could protect them from harm when they went into battle.

The Red Sticks began their active resistance in 1812 in response to the White Sticks' punishment of Creek men who raided Euro-American settlements in Ohio. Another source of contention was the White Sticks' support for a proposed federal military road through Creek lands. Americans in Tennessee and

Creek War

- ◄···· Jackson's route, 1814
- ◄ — Pakenham's route, 1814
- ——— State and territory border
- • City
- ✕ Battle
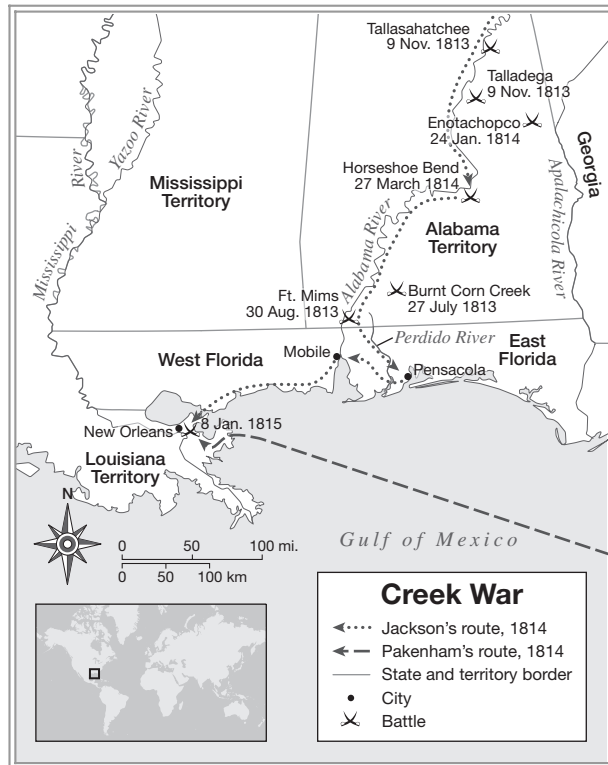
Georgia wanted to intervene in the Creek civil war in order to acquire more land. The U.S. War Department concurred and forwarded instructions to the governors of the two states to prepare for hostilities. The situation grew serious in July 1813, when the Red Sticks sought guns and powder from the English merchants operating out of Pensacola, in Spanish Florida. The United States government reacted harshly to the Creeks' treating with the British enemy at the height of the War of 1812.

On 27 July 1813 Colonel James Caller, acting on his own initiative, led a force of 180 Mississippi Territory militiamen in the interception of a Creek supply train at Burnt Corn. Though initially surprised, the Creeks rallied to defeat their attackers. Emboldened by their success, the Red Stick Creeks under Weatherford attacked Fort Mims on 30 August 1813, killing several hundred American inhabitants. News of the battle and the massacre spread throughout the Southeast.

Capitalizing on the reaction, General Andrew Jackson marched his army from Tennessee south into Creek country on 27 September 1813. In a parallel move, another Tennessee force under General John Cocke also marched south. Meanwhile, Pushmataha led a Choctaw force from the west against the Creeks, the Choctaws' old rivals. A fourth expedi-

tion, commanded by Major General John Floyd, invaded the region from Georgia.

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1813–1814, American forces ravaged the Upper Towns. General John Coffee's brigade destroyed the Creek village of Tallushatchee on 3 November 1813. On 9 November 1813 troops under Jackson defeated a Red Stick war party besieging the pro-American Creek village of Talegda. Later that month, Cocke's volunteer cavalry overran several Creek villages whose loyalty was in question.

Jackson soon experienced a number of setbacks. Enlistments ran out for most of his army; other volunteers threatened to desert because of poor rations and pay. After an abortive attack on a Red Stick fort at Horseshoe Bend on 21 January 1814, Jackson realized that his men would need discipline to mount a successful offensive against the Red Sticks. For the next two months he drilled his troops. During that time Jackson received reinforcements, including the Thirty-ninth Regiment, a regular unit of the United States Army, as well as 500 mounted Cherokees and 100 pro-American Creeks. In early March, with more than 2,700 men, Jackson took the war into Red Stick territory.

On 27 March 1814 the combined force crushed the Red Sticks in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Most of the thousand Red Sticks defending the fort died in the battle. For the next few months, Jackson conducted mop-up operations. On 9 August 1814 the Creeks, Weatherford among them, surrendered 23 million acres in southern Alabama at the Treaty of Fort Jackson. Ironically, most of the land belonged to the Lower Towns Creeks, who fought alongside the Euro-Americans. However, the United States wanted to block the road to Pensacola, thereby cutting off British and Spanish support. Jackson later seized northern Florida even though the country was not at war with Spain.

The Creek War was one of the last incidents of armed Indian resistance against the United States in the Southeast. The Treaty of Fort Jackson secured Alabama for American settlement. It also destroyed the Red Sticks and their threat to other Indians who adopted European agricultural and political practices. Andrew Jackson's exploits against the Creeks helped win him national prominence. As president, he used his power to evict the Creeks from their homelands.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indians: American Indian Removal; American**

Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians: Southeast; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Jackson, Andrew; Spanish Borderlands; War of 1812.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ethridge, Robbie Franklyn. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Hahn, Steven C. *The Invention of the Creek Nation*, *1670–1763.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1991.

Owsley, Frank Lawrence. *Struggle for the Gulf Borderlands: The Creek War and the Battle of New Orleans*, *1812–1815.* Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981; Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000.

Piker, Joshua. "Colonists and Creeks: Rethinking the Pre-Revolutionary Southern Backcountry." *Journal of Southern History* 70, no. 3 (2004): 503–540.

Saunt, Claudio. *A New Order of Things: Property*, *Power*, *and the Transformation of the Creek Indians*, *1733–1816.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Wright, J. Leitch, Jr. *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians of the Old South.* New York: Free Press, and London: Collier Macmillan, 1981.

George Edward Milne

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT   "The severity of punishment itself emboldens men to commit the very wrongs it is supposed to prevent." These words, written in 1764 by the Italian political philosopher Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794), inspired America's founders and reformers to think about and act upon the problem of crime and punishment facing the new nation.

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

Lofty but limited idealists that they were, founders and reformers were concerned with more than solving the problem of crime and punishment; they wanted solutions that were just. They looked abroad for answers, believing that they found relevant solutions in the writings of their European counterparts, men of the Enlightenment. Of particular importance was book six of the *L'Esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Laws) (1748), by Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), which explored the principles behind the civil and criminal laws, judgments, and punishments of various governments. His writings provided a gener-

al framework for conceptualizing a democratically legitimate legal and penal system. Beccaria contributed the idea that punishment should be proportionate to the crime. Corporal punishments such as whipping, pillorying, and other publicly administered penalties did not deter crimes, nor were they rational, he wrote; rather, they were retributive, arbitrary, and destructive displays of authority. Another influence derived from John Howard (1726–1790), the British prisoner visitor and reformer. In 1777 Howard published *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*, in which he proposed assigning offenders to cells or rooms where they would sleep, eat, and work to aid in their reform and return to society. The Society of Friends as well had long advocated these penal practices over those that were corporal and capital.

INDEPENDENCE AND A NEW MODEL

The American War of Independence (1775–1783) gave rise to a new, if problematic, model for addressing the persistence of crime and the necessity of punishment. This model, however, would encounter numerous problems. American independence suddenly replaced the "arbitrary despotism" of the British Crown with the rule of law, grounding its legitimacy in reason as expressed by "the people." But founders and reformers were the people in legitimate positions, able to express and act upon their reasoned opinions as to what constituted crime and what was just punishment.

The incidence of crime, it was hoped, would diminish with independence. Well before they had settled upon declaring independence and changing their legal and penal codes, colonists complained of England's unjust laws. As early as 1751 Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) remonstrated against England for transporting convicts to the colonies, especially to Virginia and Maryland, a policy which led him to suggest that the colonists should ship their rattlesnakes to Britain. Colonial leaders resented, as well, the penal practices that had been in place since 1718, when England imposed its "bloody" penal code upon the North American colonies.

Rational punishment. In optimistic anticipation of independence, colonists actually began changing their penal codes before the war's conclusion. Traditional answers to questions about who committed crimes and why were no longer sufficient. An investigation into the origins of criminal activity now held reformers' attention. Maintaining order, not compassion for the condemned, was central to their ideals, because unchecked criminality threatened to wreak disorder in the fledgling democracy. But so too

did inflicting the public and corporal punishments that had endured throughout the colonial era, punishments that were believed to arouse the sympathies of the spectators instead of inspiring dread and awe of authority. During the transition from colonial status to independent nation, explanations of crimes and punishments changed, shifting from crime as sin to crime as the result of correctable flaws in the individual.

In this process Americans took note of and attempted to incorporate their European counterparts' proposals. Between 1777 and 1779 Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), attempting to employ Beccaria's theories, drafted a bill that called for proportioning crimes and punishments in Virginia, and although this represented an advance over existing penal practices, punishment would have remained severe, especially for the black populace. In any case, he did not succeed. In his *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and upon Society* (1787), Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) advocated what he believed were "the true principles of liberty." Rush proposed erecting "a house of repentance" for people convicted of crimes, arguing that "liberty is so dear to all men that the loss of it, for an indefinite time, is a punishment." Rush and other reformers proposed that criminal law and penal practices assume a new and rational form. Their endeavors succeeded. Pennsylvania led the way, establishing the first state prison, which systematically incarcerated and categorized offenders according to their crimes; this new approach was supposed to reform individuals, and do so only after they had been found guilty of criminal offenses. This policy differed substantially from the colonial era, when people were held in jails to await trial, and, if convicted, received corporal or capital punishment.

Reformers aspired to create legal and penal practices that would improve the individual. However, they exhibited contradictory impulses toward those on whose behalf they worked. On one hand, they sought to abolish the arbitrary and public penalties to which offenders were subjected. However, most crimes in the early national era were committed against property and largely by people who otherwise lacked the means to acquire possessions legitimately. Therefore, on the other hand, reformers did not fundamentally challenge the conditions that created crime.

Imprisonment. The new American nation declared crime destructive to peace and social order. Underlying this explicit concern was an implicit one, the sanctity of property. Independence from England had economic consequences that shaped perspectives on crime and punishment. Society was becoming more mobile, both geographically and socially; increasingly, people moved to the cities and up and down the economic and social ladders. Mobility undermined earlier notions of localism and hierarchy that were believed by people of the colonial era to ensure societal stability. The law's emphasis shifted, therefore, from preservation of morality to protection of property. Reason, not the arbitrary exercise of authority, would impress upon disobedient individuals the misanthropic nature of their actions. Authorities would no longer deprive offenders of their life in most instances; rather, they could deprive them of their independence. From the vantage point of the reformers, then, imprisonment made perfect sense: in a nation that conceived of itself as free, what better punishment than to deny freedom to those who refused to obey its laws? But such an approach produced a conflict within a social order striving toward cohesion. Reformers and citizenry alike expressed alarm about the purportedly increased criminality that had arisen since independence. Public drunkenness, gambling, and prostitution appeared to them to be rampant. Burglary and larceny, however, were the most frequently committed offenses, though few from among the respectable sorts examined the causes for crimes against property.

States, rather than the federal government, invented imprisonment to solve the problem of crime. With the introduction of the first prison in 1790, the Jail and Penitentiary House at Walnut Street in Philadelphia, reformers and the Pennsylvania state legislature offered the systematic use of incarceration as a rational and just form of punishment. Imprisonment, they reasoned, would deter and prevent future crimes. The new prison and those that followed began as houselike structures that resembled colonial jails, but they differed from colonial antecedents in that convicts were theoretically separated by sex, kept from spirituous liquors, and no longer paid jail fees, amongst other departures from the past. The most conspicuous difference was that the colonial jails held people before capital or corporal punishment was administered. Shortly after the prison's introduction, individuals convicted of particularly serious offenses like arson or murder other than in the first degree received a portion of their sentence in solitary confinement, where they were expected to reflect upon their deeds and change their behavior. This system of incarceration proved to be a dismal failure, so that by the end of the early national period, a new generation of reformers waged internecine war over

which type of incarceration, separate or congregate, would prevail.

Throughout the early national era, many states, including slaveholding Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia, and Maryland, established prisons similar in design and intent to the first prison. However, unlike most northern states, which were abolishing slavery during the Revolutionary period, southern states did not abolish slavery and therefore made little use of prisons for the black populace. Conversely, in northerly states such as Pennsylvania, the black population was becoming proportionately overrepresented in state prisons. While American reformers did not question why black people were overrepresented in prisons, European travelers did. These visitors from abroad, interested in the democratic experiment and its new institutions, saw what American reformers could not.

The history of crime and punishment is written in America almost exclusively from the perspective of those in authority and is sympathetic to the use of imprisonment to deter crime. In these accounts, prisoners are either an abstraction or are absent entirely. Fragments of evidence of prisoners' perspectives have survived, however, and historians are beginning to explore this dimension of crime and punishment. Some inmates wrote about their ideas and beliefs in letters and a few narratives. One such narrative captures the injustice of imprisonment as perceived by an inmate. The blacksmith Patrick Lyon, incarcerated at the Walnut Street prison in 1798, decried the legal and penal systems of the early national era, proclaiming "If the small fry get in the least entramelled in the meshes of the law, they are generally fastened in the net, and often times punished wrongfully."

See also **Penitentiaries.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beccaria, Cesare. *On Crimes and Punishments.* Translated by David Young. Indianapolis, Ind.: Hackett Publishing, 1986.

Brissot de Warville, Jacques-Pierre. *New Travels in the United States of America, Performed in 1788.* New York: A. M. Kelley, 1970.

Friedman, Lawrence. *Crime and Punishment in American History.* New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Howard, John. *The State of the Prisons.* London: J. M. Dent, 1929.

Jefferson, Thomas. "A Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments." In *Thomas Jefferson: Public Papers.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Library of America, Literary Classics of the United States, 1984.

La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, François Alexandre Frédéric, duc de. *On The Prisons of Philadelphia, By An European.* Philadelphia: Moreau de Saint-Méry, 1796.

Lyon, Patrick. *The Narrative of Patrick Lyon, Who Suffered Three Months Severe Imprisonment in Philadelphia Gaol . . .* Philadelphia: Francis and Robert Bailey, 1799.

Meranze, Michael. *Laboratories of Virtue: Punishment, Revolution, and Authority in Philadelphia, 1760–1835.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de. *The Spirit of the Laws.* Edited by Anne M. Cohler, Basia Carolyn Miller, and Harold Samuel Stone. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Philip, Cynthia Owen, comp. *Imprisoned in America: Prison Communications, 1776 to Attica.* New York: Harper and Row, 1973.Rothman, David J. *Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1971.

Rush, Benjamin. *An Enquiry into the Effects of Publish Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society.* Philadelphia: Joseph James, 1787.

Teeters, Negley K. *The Cradle of the Penitentiary: The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia, 1773–1835.* Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1955.

Leslie Patrick

CURRENCY AND COINAGE   Although the colonies occasionally minted their own money, such coins remained extremely rare because the region lacked natural deposits of gold and silver. Coins issued by Spanish mints in the Americas circulated instead, and gold and silver from England, Portugal, and other European nations proved popular as well. The most famous of the Spanish coins was the piece of eight, otherwise known as the Spanish or Mexican dollar.

Whatever its origin, the colonists had great difficulty acquiring and keeping specie (money in coin). Thanks to mercantilism, the prevailing economic theory of the day, most of the hard currency in the colonies disappeared in remittances to England, and the demand for money always outstripped the supply. Making a virtue of necessity, the colonists bridged the gap with a far cheaper alternative in the late 1600s, issuing the first state-sponsored paper currency in the Western world. In the succeeding centuries paper money arguably played a more important role in the American economy than it did in that of any other country.

By the mid-1700s, all thirteen of the colonies issued paper money known as bills of credit. In some cases, the colonies issued bills to pay for military ex-

AMERICAN DOLLARS.

REVERSE.

SIX DOLLARS.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY Hall and
Sellers. 1776.

U.S. Six Dollar Note. By the mid 1700s all thirteen colonies were issuing paper money. This six dollar "continental" was printed in 1776 in Philadelphia. HULTON ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES.

penditures; in others, they commissioned notes to pay for public works projects. Colonial legislatures also established "public loan banks," institutions that loaned paper currency to private individuals in exchange for collateral, most often real estate mortgages or silver plate. All these currencies fluctuated in value against one another, and against gold and silver coin.

Despite the confusion, paper money gained numerous advocates, most notably Benjamin Franklin,

who profited from securing contracts to print money for several colonies. Yet much of the paper money depreciated, hurting British creditors. Eventually the British Parliament suppressed paper money issued by the colonial legislatures and their proxies. Though many of the colonies continued to approve new issues of paper money, the Currency Acts of 1751, 1764, and 1773 exacerbated the perennial money shortage and heightened tensions between the colonies and Britain.

With the outbreak of the Revolution, Congress turned to the printing press to finance the war, issuing paper money called continentals. Because the colonists had grown accustomed to reckoning prices in terms of Spanish currency, Congress ordered these new notes denominated in dollars or fractions of dollars. The states also issued a flood of dollar-denominated notes. All told, the Continental Congress issued $241 million, with the individual states contributing an additional $210 million.

In theory, these notes could be equivalent to an amount of specie, but the scarcity of gold and silver ensured their swift depreciation. That the British and their Loyalist allies avidly counterfeited the notes did not help matters. By the end of the war, a single gold or silver dollar could purchase a thousand dollars' worth of continentals, and the phrase "not worth a continental" entered the popular lexicon around this time.

In the 1780s Congress ceased to issue paper money, as did several of the states. Yet some states continued to approve paper issues, and many also encouraged private mints to produce copper coins. Nonetheless, paper money remained in short supply, exacerbating tensions between debtors and creditors that culminated in conflicts such as Shays's Rebellion, which in turn encouraged the reforms enacted at the Constitutional Convention.

In 1792 the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coin money, as codified in the Mint Act. The act made the American dollar equivalent to a Spanish dollar but dispensed with the Spanish practice of dividing the dollar into eighths, replacing it with a decimal system that split the dollar into one hundred cents.

In 1793 the Philadelphia mint began producing small quantities of its first circulating coins: copper cents and half cents. Beginning in 1795 and 1796, the federal mint began coining silver dollars and various fractions of a dollar as well as gold coins worth $2.50, $5, and $10. The continuing shortage of domestic gold and silver supplies nonetheless guaranteed that foreign gold and silver remained the de facto

metallic currency of the country, and as early as 1793 Congress conferred legal-tender status on non-American coins. Foreign specie remained a central currency until the 1850s.

At Alexander Hamilton's urging, in 1791 Congress created the Bank of the United States. The bank served as a repository for federal funds and issued a uniform paper currency from its home in Philadelphia as well as a growing number of branches. Although the bank's charter lapsed in 1811, problems with financing the War of 1812 led to the establishment of the second bank of the United States in 1816.

At the same time, a growing number of state legislatures began chartering banks and other corporations with the right to issue their own paper money, or bank notes. The number of these institutions grew from a handful in the 1780s to 369 by 1829. They issued thousands of different notes in a bewildering array of denominations, and counterfeiters plied their trade amid the confusion. State-chartered banks injected much-needed liquidity into the economy but often faltered in times of economic contraction or panic, when they failed to redeem their notes with specie. Indeed, state-chartered banks issued notes far in excess of their reserves. After the failure of the Bank of the United States in the 1830s, a new era of private money creation began that lasted until the Civil War.

See also **Bank of the United States; Banking System; Coinage Act of 1792; Constitutional Convention; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Mint, United States; Panic of 1819; Shays's Rebellion; Wealth.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Doty, Richard. *America's Money—America's Story.* Iola, Wisc.: Krause Publications, 1998.

Ernst, Joseph A. *Money and Politics in America, 1755–1775: A Study in the Currency Act of 1764 and the Political Economy of Revolution.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973.

Hammond, Bray. *Banks and Politics in America, from the Revolution to the Civil War.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1957.

Newman, Eric P. *The Early Paper Money of America: An Illustrated, Historical, and Descriptive Compilation of Data Relating to American Paper Currency from Its Inception in 1686 to the Year 1800.* 4th ed. Iola, Wisc.: Krause Publications, 1997.

Taxay, Don. *The United States Mint and Coinage: An Illustrated History from 1776 to the Present.* New York: Arco Publishing Company, 1966.

Stephen Mihm
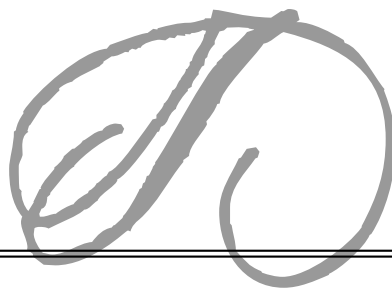
DAIRY INDUSTRY Changes in American dairy production after 1750 reflected the growth of cities. Up to that time, milking was important for farmers, but it was seldom a major economic activity. Commercial dairying developed close to growing towns and cities, where butter and cheese, not fluid milk, were the most valuable commodities. Milk was expensive for most urban consumers because it perished quickly, varied widely in quality, and was often used on farms to feed hogs.

The butter trade was the most important aspect of commercial dairying. Properly washed and salted butter could last for months, which made it a merchantable product for farmers who were willing to haul it to markets. Each urban resident consumed between thirteen and twenty-five pounds of butter per year. In the mid-1700s Philadelphians exported butter to the West Indies and mainland destinations, with disruptions during the Revolution (1775–1783), the Embargo of 1807 (1807–1809), and the War of 1812 (1812–1815). Some southern planters also produced butter for the market. By the 1760s some overseers' wives were earning money supervising enslaved women in the manufacture of butter at Carter's Grove near Williamsburg, Virginia.

Westerners began dairying as soon as they moved across the Appalachians. In Ohio's Western Reserve, settlers from New England by 1815 made cheeses and then sold them in western Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh. In the 1820s they sold cheese along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers from Wheeling to New Orleans. Ohio butter, however, had a reputation in New York City for being rancid and brought low prices before 1830. Many farmers in western New York switched from raising wheat for the market to butter and cheese after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825.

The experiences of farm families who produced dairy products varied. One study of Burlington County, New Jersey, from the 1760s to the 1820s indicates that most families owned from one to nine cows, with an average of approximately five cows per farm. Milk production figures are estimated, but by the mid-1800s cows produced from two to seven quarts per day, with farmers who paid more attention to feed, shelter, and cow health obtaining higher production than the majority who provided little care for their animals. Tending cows, making butter or cheese, and marketing dairy products were women's jobs on most farms, although men sometimes cared for and milked cows. Many families milked cows outdoors rather than in barns. As butter became more valuable to urban consumers in the 1700s, many women in Chester County, Pennsylvania, abandoned textile production in favor of butter.

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S MAMMOTH CHEESE

On 1 January 1802, Baptist elder John Leland of Cheshire, Massachusetts, presented a 1,235 pound cheese to President Thomas Jefferson in Washington. Leland admired Jefferson's views regarding the separation of church and state and organized the Republicans of Cheshire to make a giant cheese as a token of their esteem for the president and the cause of republicanism.

Loyal Republican farmers of Cheshire brought the curds from an entire day's milking to be made into the cheese on 20 July 1801. They pressed the cheese, measuring four feet in diameter and eighteen inches tall, in a cider press for eighteen days. Leland and others transported the cheese overland to Hudson, New York, and then by water to Washington City. Along the way, Federalists mocked the cheese and the president while Republicans praised the Cheshire farmers, their cheese, and the president.

Jefferson received the cheese and tasted it with gratitude. The cheese became a symbol of the virtue of worthy Republican farmers and was served at Republican gatherings for over a year.

J. L. Anderson

One Massachusetts store ledger from the 1820s indicates that butter was the principal item brought in by women who traded in their own names.

Dairy production provided cash and credit for farm families as well as valuable calories for the growing urban population. Farmers who lived close to cities used butter as a commodity for economic security and, in some cases, prosperity.

See also **Agriculture: Overview; Farm Making; Work: Women's Work.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clark, Christopher. *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Dreisbach, Daniel L. *Thomas Jefferson and the Wall of Separation between Church and State.* New York: New York University Press, 2002.

Gates, Paul W. *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815–1860.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.

Hurt, R. Douglas. *The Ohio Frontier: Crucible of the Old Northwest, 1720–1830.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996.

Jensen, Joan M. *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750–1850.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Russell, Howard S. *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976.

Wacker, Peter O., and Paul G. E. Clemens. *Land Use in Early New Jersey: A Historical Geography.* Newark: New Jersey Historical Society, 1995.

Walsh, Lorena S. *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997.

J. L. Anderson

DANCE   Dance played a vital role in the new American nation, as the country struggled to unite and assimilate its diverse cultural, ethnic, and racial traditions into a new "American" identity. As the nation transformed throughout the early national period, dance styles shifted to keep pace with rapidly changing ideas about social relationships and cultural aesthetics.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the dancing assemblies of the elites in both Philadelphia and Savannah issued extensive guidelines for their members. The elites' organized balls and assemblies proceeded according to social status and strict rules of etiquette. Evenings began with the French minuet, a slow, delicate dance led by the highest-ranking couple present. As the evening progressed, couples enjoyed French quadrilles, Scottish reels, and English jigs. Indeed, by the mid-eighteenth century, social dancing had become much more than a simple pastime in which participants worried only about mastering the steps. It had evolved into a complicated ritual that could indicate who did or did not "belong."

Dancing manuals had been a staple of colonial society, including *The Art of Dancing* (1715) and *The Compleat Country Dancing-Master* (1731). These manuals contained every kind of dance, from jigs to cotillions to minuets, and they featured intricate diagrams to guide readers through the steps. Dancing schools in Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Maryland trained pupils in the most fashionable French and English dances. Letters and diaries of the colonial period record the colonists' love of dancing.

DANCING IN EVERYDAY LIFE

While balls and assemblies entertained the colonies' wealthiest citizens, many Americans enjoyed less formal celebrations. Almost any public occasion offered an excuse for dancing, including weddings, court days, barn raisings, corn shuckings, harvest festivals, and market fairs. Country (or "contra") dances were the favorites, because unlike the minuet, rigadoon, or jig, they required less intricate steps and could be learned more easily. The dances held at weddings and fairs reflected the musical traditions of a wide range of ethnic and regional backgrounds (rather than what was popular in the courts of Europe). While the governor and his lady might dance to the music of an orchestra, a country wedding might feature a fiddle, a flute, a fife, or even a bagpipe for accompaniment.

REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION

The Revolution brought a reduction (though not a complete cessation) in the young country's craze for dancing. While resolutions passed by the Continental Congress in 1774 and 1778 tried to discourage any luxurious entertainments that might distract citizens from the war effort, occupying British forces in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere frequently staged balls for the entertainment of their officers and American Loyalists.

In the wake of the Revolution, many colonists tried to reestablish the traditions and pastimes the war had interrupted. Yet they met with opposition from those who categorized such entertainments as too "European" for American sensibilities. However, dancing was too much a part of the social fabric of the nation to be easily eradicated. Dancing schools reopened throughout the new nation, many of them run by actors seeking extra income, or even by French refugees from the Haitian rebellion. Dancing masters created a demand for their instruction by hosting public balls; one even bragged in a 1791 newspaper advertisement that he would "take the opportunity of shewing the improvement of his scholars by a double Minuet . . . and several new Cotillions" (Bond, p. 10).

PROFESSIONAL DANCE

By the 1790s, professional dancers played in theaters as well as dancing schools. While most plays featured some kind of dance (a minuet or cotillion or jig) as part of the performance or as an entr'acte (between acts), as a growing number of dance artists came to the United States, dancing occupied a greater and greater share of the theatrical repertoire, ranging from John Durang's solo hornpipes to elaborate pantomime ballets such as *Les deux chasseurs*, presented at the Holliday Street Theatre in Baltimore on 19 August 1795. Theater managers cleverly incorporated patriotic themes into dance performances, celebrating the Fourth of July or the anniversary of a major battle. Professional dance continued to expand until the advent of America's own native stars in the mid–1830s.

ALTERNATE TRADITIONS

While the development of American dance owed much to its heritage from England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, other traditions shaped the nation's dance history as well; perhaps African American culture had the most significant impact of these. Historians have chronicled the preservation and transformation of African dance rituals from Catherine Market in New York, to the rural plantations of the South, to Congo Square in New Orleans.

After a number of eighteenth-century slave uprisings, African Americans were prohibited from using drums in their performances, so they evolved new styles of dancing (including tap, where the percussive rhythm mimics the telegraphic beat of the drum) and incorporated new instruments, including the banjo and the "bones" (usually pig bones, used as a kind of rattle or percussive instrument). One of the most widespread performances was known as the *juba*, an African-inspired dance that used the entire body to create rhythmic variations, often by "patting" parts of the body or stamping the feet. Slaves on the plantation might incorporate "Patting Juba" into a corn-shucking ritual, a Christmas holiday, or harvest celebration.

In 1819, the architect Benjamin Latrobe described the dancing he witnessed among the slaves and free blacks in Congo Square as, "a moving hieroglyph that appears, on the one hand, informal and spontaneous, yet on closer inspection, ritual and precise." Latrobe's recognition of the "ritual" in African dance was, in many ways, ahead of its time. As blackface minstrels appropriated African American culture in the 1820s, many of the dances lost their original significance.

NEW STYLES

The nineteenth century introduced a dance that scandalized the young nation: the waltz. Writing in 1827, future president John Tyler described it to his daughter as a "dance which you have never seen, and which I do not desire to see you dance. It is rather vulgar I think" (Marks, p. 74). Unlike the sprightly

jigs or dainty minuets that kept partners at arms' length, the waltz involved close and sustained personal contact. As the dance historian Joseph E. Marks III has suggested, the new styles of dancing "characterized the age of the common man. . . . They were wild, reckless, daring" (Marks, p. 76).

As young men and women crowded into urban centers seeking employment, as they stepped out of the shelter of their family homes to taste life in the wicked city, many older adults feared that a dance which allowed men to put their arms around the waists of unmarried women would result in the downfall of civilized society. And as working-class audiences poured into theaters to witness minstrel shows and dances, the cultural traditions of Africa, England, Scotland, Ireland, and France finally merged on the popular stage, completing over a century's worth of transformation.

See also **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; Theater and Drama.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, Roger D. *Singing the Master: The Emergence of African American Culture in the Plantation South.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1992.

Bond, Chrystelle T. "A Chronicle of Dance in Baltimore, 1780–1814." *Dance Perspectives* 66, no. 17 (1976): 3–48.

Brooks, Lynn Matluck. "The Philadelphia Dancing Assembly in the Early Eighteenth Century." *Dance Research Journal* 21:1 (1989): 1–6.

Carson, Jane. *Colonial Virginians at Play.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1989.

Magriel, Paul. *Chronicles of the American Dance.* New York: Holt, 1948.

Marks, Joseph E., III. *America Learns to Dance: A Historical Study of Dance Education in America before 1800.* New York: Dance Horizons, 1957.

Heather S. Nathans

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE V. WOODWARD

Dartmouth College was founded in 1754 to train missionaries and educate Indians in New England. The supporters of this public charity, including Lord Dartmouth, obtained a royal charter for the college and then became its trustees. After the Revolution the new state of New Hampshire recognized the validity of the college and the old charter, and Dartmouth continued to operate as a private college. By 1816 Dartmouth was a Federalist bastion in a state dominated by Jeffersonian Republicans. In that year the state amended the old charter, removed the existing trustees, and created Dartmouth University. In 1817 the old trustees and most of the faculty operated the college, which had ninety-five students, while the new Dartmouth University functioned as a state institution with only fourteen students. The old trustees (Dartmouth College) then sued William H. Woodward, the secretary of the new university, to recover the college's records, charter, and seal. Woodward had been the secretary of Dartmouth College before 1816, but had taken all these things with him when he began to help run the new state-sponsored university. The college hired its most famous alumnus, Daniel Webster, to argue its case. Webster accepted a hefty fee for his efforts.

Relying on the contract clause of the U.S. Constitution, in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819) the Supreme Court upheld Dartmouth College's claims. Chief Justice John Marshall construed the charter to be a contract between the donors and the government. Thus New Hampshire could not amend the charter without violating Article I, section 10 of the Constitution, which declared that "No State shall . . . pass any . . . Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts."

The decision was a victory for the college, but more important, it made clear that state-chartered businesses or institutions could not be destroyed when changing political circumstances made the business or its owners unpopular. In a separate opinion, Justice Joseph Story anticipated state hostility to such a sweeping opinion. He suggested that when granting charters of incorporation states simply reserve the right to regulate the corporations in the future, or even revoke the corporate charter. The states would do this in the future. Thus *Dartmouth College* set the stage for future economic development in which business interests knew how their investments would be protected and how the state might regulate them. In that sense, this case can be seen as a key to the transition from the economy of the early national period, with few corporations or large economic players, to the economy of antebellum America, when corporations would form to build railroads and huge factories in the nation.

See also **Corporations; Education: Colleges and Universities; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Marshall, John; Supreme Court.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Stites, Francis N. *Private Interest and Public Gain: The Dartmouth College Case, 1819.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972.

Paul Finkelman

DEATH AND DYING   At a time when illness and death were understood to be the result not of germs but of imbalances in the body, and preferred treatments included bleeding and purging via induced vomiting and bowel movements, death was a common part of life. Life expectancy at birth for white Americans probably ranged from between thirty-five and forty-five years, compared to about seventy-five in the United States in the early 2000s. For African Americans and Native Americans, the reality was harsher. Among slaves and free blacks, life expectancy probably was ten to fifteen years below that of their white neighbors. Native Americans, especially in the West, continued to suffer from the catastrophic mortality that had followed from contact with Old World diseases.

RITUALS OF DEATH

In a world of frequent and unpredictable death, rituals of death provided comfort and guidance for Americans in their times of loss. Around 1800, these rituals underwent significant changes. Among the white, Protestant populations, rituals emphasizing preparation, resignation, and memory were especially prominent. Preparation was essential for every soul, since the time of death was uncertain, and a good Christian needed to be ready at his or her moment of judgment to die well. Dying well meant being in control of one's last moments and accepting the inevitable calmly. The early Puritans placed special emphasis on preparation but also believed most were nevertheless damned. By the 1750s a gentler theology offered more reassurance of salvation (especially for children), making the moment of death easier. Resignation to God's will, not always easy to achieve in practice, taught the necessity to accept one's loss and temper one's grief. Rituals of memory were also important, whether through letters and diary entries, funeral sermons, or gravestones.

The circumstances surrounding a person's death determined which particular rituals would receive emphasis. The death of a newborn rarely required the same emotional expression as that of a spouse. Sudden deaths might call forth more extensive periods of grieving than when a family was able to pre-

pare in the face of a lingering illness. Epidemics, in which numerous citizens died, often in spectacularly unpleasant circumstances, were known to have disrupted normal rituals. Some historians have interpreted death rituals as part of the cultural elites' efforts to establish control over the common people, and have provided evidence of transgressions against the norms by common folk aimed at subverting the elite's authority.

Around 1800 major changes in the rituals associated with death occurred for Americans and other parts of Western society. The French historian Philippe Ariès identified a shift from "One's own death," with an emphasis on dying well, to "Thy death," with an emphasis on the loss to survivors. American historians have defined the change as involving the rise of romanticism and emotion, or a shift from a "prospective" concern with salvation after death to a "retrospective" stress on the life just lived. Gravestones were no longer made of dark stone but were instead made of white marble. Although the shape of the marker remained in the form of a tablet, skulls or soul effigies reminding one of death were replaced by a willow and/or urn expressing loss. A typical epitaph that before 1800 might have warned "prepare for death and follow me," later came to lament "dearest Mother, thou hast left us." Funeral sermons, which often warned listeners of the need for preparation, maintained their basic form into the nineteenth century but by 1830 were being replaced by memorial biographies celebrating the life of the deceased.

AFRICAN AMERICAN AND NATIVE AMERICAN VARIATIONS

The dominant Protestant culture affected, but did not completely control, rituals followed by African Americans and Native Americans. Students of slavery have noted the continuity of African cultural preferences in slave funerals well into the nineteenth century. The funeral is a central part of African culture, needed to maintain a proper balance between the living and the dead. African patterns repeated in America include: processions with emotional outpourings, decoration of graves with broken crockery used by the deceased, and "double" funerals separating burial and memorial activities. In his narrative of his life as a slave around 1805, Charles Ball noted that African-born slaves believed they would return to Africa and their families when they died and that they sought to provide grave goods to facilitate the journey. American-born slaves, by contrast, stressed a happy life in heaven based on their Christian faith, with wicked slaves and cruel masters suffering separate punishment. According to Ball, slaves who com-

Rachel Weeping. Charles Willson Peale's painting of a mother grieving for her dead child, 1772–1776. © PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

mitted suicide were denied even the few Christian rituals granted to slaves under normal circumstances. Masters also tried to limit the size and timing of slave funerals, fearing large gatherings of emotionally distraught bondsmen and -women as potentially dis-

ruptive. At times of resistance, masters mutilated the corpses of rebellious slaves, drawing on fears based in African culture that the soul of a person who died unnaturally, or who was not properly buried, would be doomed to wander. Both free blacks in the North-

ern cities and slaves on plantations were buried in segregated grounds. Burial societies among African Americans were among the first social institutions formed by recently freed slaves.

Native American death customs were substantially different from Europeans' at first contact. Indians were often buried upright, in a flexed position, facing west, with grave goods intended to ease their journey to the afterlife. Seventeenth-century letters from Jesuit missionaries to France describe elaborate celebrations among Northern Woodland peoples in which the remains of all who had died in the previous twelve years were disinterred for reburial in a common grave. The Iroquois nations incorporated condolence ceremonies in their public political relations and made use of "mourning wars" to rebalance losses from deaths in war. By 1750 some Native Americans had converted to Christianity, adopting the death customs of Europeans. Even those who did not convert might incorporate European trade goods into the funeral bundle, or bury bodies lying down flat. Old World diseases continued to cause disastrous epidemics, during which normal death customs were abandoned.

See also **Cemeteries and Burial; Health and Disease; Monuments and Memorials.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ariès, Philippe. *Western Attitudes toward Death: From the Middle Ages to the Present.* Translated by Patricia M. Ranum. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.

Axtell, James. "Last Rites: The Acculturation of Native Funerals in Colonial North America." In *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America.* Oxford, U.K., and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981.

Isenberg, Nancy, and Andrew Burstein, eds. *Mortal Remains: Death in Early America.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Ludwig, Allan I. *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols*, 1650–1815. 3rd ed. Hanover, N.H.: Wesleyan University Press published by University Press of New England, 1999.

Roediger, David R. "And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death, and Heaven in the Slave Community, 1700–1865." *Massachusetts Review* 22 (1981): 163–183.

Stannard, David E. *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wells, Robert V. *Facing the "King of Terrors": Death and Society in an American Community*, 1750–1990. Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Robert V. Wells

DEBT AND BANKRUPTCY   Debt was an inescapable fact of life in early America, whether one was an Atlantic merchant or a rural shopkeeper, a Tidewater planter or a backwoods farmer, an urban artisan or a frontier trapper, male or female, free or slave. Ubiquity, however, is not uniformity. Debt meant different things to different people. To some, it represented entrepreneurial opportunity. To others, a burdensome necessity. To still others, it signified destitution or, for slaves, being sold for their masters' debts. Common to all of these was the uncertainty that faced both debtors and creditors when indebtedness became insolvency. What should become of debtors and their property when what they owned was not enough to pay what they owed? Did creditors' claims to repayment of what they had lent extend to the bodies of the debtors to whom they had lent it? Could creditors imprison their debtors or bind them to service? Could insolvent debtors ever hope for release from their debts, short of repayment in full? These questions found one set of answers at the beginning of the eighteenth century and a quite different set at the end.

Early in the eighteenth century, ministers preached a moral economy of debt in which failure to repay was not an economic offense but a moral one for which the debtor's conscience would suffer the penalty. They addressed God as the "Great Creditor" who casts insolvent souls into the debtors' prison of hell. Debtors and creditors alike measured themselves and each other against an ideal that presupposed the dependence of debtors and the omnipotence and inherent justness of creditors. At the same time, however, a few ministers, most notably Cotton Mather, recognized that trade could not exist without credit and so conceded that some debt was necessary. In this concession lay the seed of a distinction that bedeviled debtor relief later in the century. If commercial debts—and, by implication, commercial debtors—were different from other kinds of debt and debtors, they might merit different forms of relief when their indebtedness became insolvency.

Until mid-century, the law essentially codified the moral economy. Every colony allowed creditors to imprison their debtors. Few colonies had procedures for their release, and then only occasional ones limited typically to indigent debtors who owned too little to turn over to their creditors and therefore too little to be worth keeping in jail. Several colonies bound debtors to their creditors in service to work off their debts, most involuntarily. Two fleeting experi-

ments with bankruptcy discharges early in the century left little mark.

ECONOMIC COMMERCIALIZATION

At the middle of the eighteenth century, the law of debtors and creditors and the moral economy of debt began to diverge. Changes in the economy prepared the way. Increasingly commercial economies created new opportunities for success. They also multiplied the risk of failure. Agricultural expansion spurred the growth of market towns and ports with concentrated populations and market orientations that promoted artisans, merchants, and the specialization of business enterprise. The lure of greater local trade opportunities induced people to enter the lists as small traders, while the production of agricultural surpluses and the growing demand for manufactured goods encouraged merchants to become exporters and importers. Their ability to do so was facilitated by the introduction of paper money and the rapid spread of written credit instruments, both of which contributed to a transformation in the relations between debtors and creditors. With the kind of optimism possible in an atmosphere of prosperity and expansion, ambitious men launched their ventures with large aspirations and little capital. Credit bridged the gap, whether for traders who needed goods to trade or farmers who needed land and livestock to expand. Commercial development rode the crest of a rising tide of indebtedness, a tide that reflected the confidence of prosperity as farmers and planters, artisans and shopkeepers, traders and merchants, borrowed against anticipated profits to finance their undertakings. Many succeeded. But economic expansion also enabled more people to fail owing greater sums of money to larger numbers of creditors than had been possible in the smaller, more insular local economies of the seventeenth century.

WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

The legal landscape of debt changed dramatically after about 1755, coincident with the Seven Years' War. Wartime economic expansion, coupled with wartime economic risk, followed by postwar economic contraction, created a fluid economy in which success and failure both flourished. The sharp rise in prices of foodstuffs and supplies brought profit to sellers and expense to buyers, while the movement of goods assured that everyone along the chain of commerce was both seller and buyer, so that even those who initially reveled in high prices were squeezed as they acquired goods for resale. War also exacerbated the normal scarcity of money, driving

up the cost of borrowing, enriching those with money to lend, and building pressure on colonial legislatures to issue paper money, which promptly depreciated, causing additional dislocation. The vagaries of war magnified the normal vagaries of production, trade, and investment so that economic success was never a guarantee against future failure.

The economic uncertainties of war were prelude to those of peace. Economies that had expanded to meet wartime needs and opportunities suddenly contracted. Everyone suffered from a worsening shortage of specie. To make matters worse, tightened enforcement of British imperial policy, such as the long-ignored Molasses Act of 1733, together with high taxes by the colonies themselves to repay war debts and new parliamentary measures to bind the colonies more closely to Britain, notably the Currency Act of 1764, combined disastrously to block sources of hard currency, drain paper money from the economy, and prevent new emissions of paper currency. As the supply of money shrank, commercial transactions required hopelessly long credits or reverted to barter, taxes could not be collected, and debts could not be paid. Insolvencies multiplied, from urban merchants to rural traders and beyond.

With the economic impact of war and its aftermath clear for all to see, it became harder to stigmatize insolvency as moral failure. War made everyone familiar with risk, economic risk included. Within a two-year period, from 1755 to 1757, New York, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts enacted bankruptcy systems that distributed insolvent debtors' assets among their creditors and discharged them from further liability on their debts. Connecticut followed suit in 1763. Each of these experiments quickly expired or was repealed, leaving behind at best mechanisms for distributing debtors' assets without relieving debtors themselves, and at worst nothing at all. Their mere existence, however, marked a change in popular attitudes toward insolvency. So, too, did the arguments against imprisonment for debt and for outright bankruptcy discharges that began to appear in print. Writers and aphorists—notably Benjamin Franklin in his famous *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757)—continued to warn against the dangers of debt in moral terms, but their target now was consumer debt, not commercial debt. The redefinition of debt from moral failure to economic risk applied principally to debtors who were themselves entrepreneurs in the changing economy. Critics of debt reserved their strongest opprobrium for the purchasers rather than the purveyors of consumer goods, even though both acquired the items on credit. Thus,

when Americans began to question imprisonment for debt and to promote bankruptcy legislation, their animating concern was the plight of people who trafficked in credit rather than those who merely purchased on it.

The Revolution accelerated these changes. Although the war created economic opportunity, it also disrupted foreign trade, which was the linchpin of the entire economy. Peace did not undo the disruption, as the American economy contracted more or less steadily throughout the 1780s. British merchants flooded the American market with higher-quality, lower-priced goods than those produced locally, and pressed commercial credit on coastal import merchants to enable them to feed the pent-up demand for consumer items. The tentacles of credit followed the goods from importers to wholesalers to retailers to consumers, from the ports to the backcountry. Exports fell, imports grew, income and wealth declined. Spreading business collapses deepened the understanding of failure as the downside of entrepreneurial risk and spurred mercantile calls for bankruptcy laws.

Alongside the growing volume of private debts loomed the massive public debt. The Revolution was fought on credit in the form of direct loans and of paper currency and scrip issued by the Continental Congress and the state governments. These emissions comprised a system of "currency finance" in which Congress and the individual states issued bills of credit and loan certificates to purchase supplies and pay soldiers on the promise to pay interest or to redeem them in the future in specie or, more commonly, by accepting them in payment of tax obligations. The huge emissions of new currency required to sustain the war effort precipitated a sharp decline in the value of the currency in circulation. Depreciation was aggravated by inflation as large-scale government purchases drove prices upward, prompting Congress to print even more currency. By the end of the war, Congress had issued some $200 million in continental currency, which had fallen in value from near par with specie to considerably less than one hundredth of the value of specie. The states had emitted a similar amount. In addition, Congress had sold about $60 million to $70 million in loan certificates to investors and borrowed perhaps $12 million from European sources.

BANKRUPTCY AND OTHER LEGISLATION

The tightening coil of indebtedness in the 1780s, further aggravated by the aggressive efforts of British creditors to collect prewar debts, generated different responses. Pennsylvania enacted a bankruptcy law for commercial debtors in 1785. New York enacted a dizzying succession of short-lived insolvency and bankruptcy statutes. Massachusetts erupted in rebellion when large Boston merchants and their allies in the legislature repudiated the paper money schemes that had financed the war and pursued monetary policies that benefited the merchants in international markets. Alone among the new states, Massachusetts required that all taxes and private debts be paid in specie. The demand of coastal merchants for specie to satisfy their foreign creditors echoed across the state as debt collection suits flooded the courts and imprisoned debtors crammed the jails. Particularly hard hit were the farmers of Worcester and Hampshire Counties, who could not opt out of the credit economy. These debtors were at the end of the chain of credit that ran from British merchants to Boston wholesalers to inland retailers and other commercial intermediaries. Desperate, they petitioned the legislature in Boston for paper money, tender acts, stay laws, and tax relief. When rebuffed, they closed the courts and took up arms in the short-lived Shays's Rebellion, easily the most traumatic event of the Confederation period.

The rise of speculation as the investment of choice in the 1790s fundamentally transformed indebtedness. Whether they dealt in bank stock, government securities, or land, speculators stood at the center of a financial vortex. Their competition for capital drove up the interest rates they had to offer to investors, which in turn attracted investments from ever-widening circles, both demographically and geographically. When they failed, the effects of their failure rippled outward, often engulfing those who had loaned them money. The two financial crises of the decade were triggered by the collapse of speculation schemes—the bursting of William Duer's speculations in bank stock and government securities in 1792 and the failure of large land ventures in 1797, many of which involved Robert Morris. The resulting economic distress far surpassed any that had occurred before. For the first time, numerous prominent men found themselves imprisoned for their debts or fugitives from their creditors. Their presence in the pool of insolvent debtors confounded the normal expectations of social and economic status and altered the political dimensions of debtors' relief.

Congress eventually responded with the controversial, short-lived Bankruptcy Act of 1800: "Controversial" because it enabled debtors to escape debts they could not repay and granted that boon only to

commercial debtors whose success had allowed them to amass debts that were beyond the means of less prosperous debtors. "Short–lived" because its extension of federal authority and its elevation of commerce over agriculture made it too ideologically charged to survive the Jeffersonian revolution. Congress repealed the law in 1803, eighteen months before it would have expired on its own, amid vague claims of abuse and fraud that were never verified. Nevertheless, the act demonstrated that Cotton Mather's early perception that commercial debt was different from ordinary debt had ripened into a national statement of the "principle" that release from debts was a boon reserved for capitalist entrepreneurs, while simpler debtors should, by implication, remember the sanctity of their obligations.

For nearly a century after the Act of 1800, whatever relief was available to debtors in the long lacunae between federal enactments was a matter of state law. Even that relief was uncertain. In 1814, amid widespread business failures and other economic dislocations caused by Thomas Jefferson's embargo, foreign depredations on American shipping, and the War of 1812, Justice Bushrod Washington of the Supreme Court of the United States, sitting as circuit judge, cast all state bankruptcy laws into doubt by declaring a Pennsylvania bankruptcy statute unconstitutional because it discharged debts incurred prior to its enactment and because Congress had exclusive power to legislate in the bankruptcy field. The Supreme Court itself barely clarified matters five years later in *Sturges v. Crowninshield*, when it declared a New York relief law unconstitutional because it discharged prior debts but left uncertain the constitutionality of state laws that applied only to subsequent debts. As a result, debtors and creditor alike faced the Panic of 1819 and the economic depression that followed with little to rely on when failure loomed.

See also **Bankruptcy Law; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Revolution: Impact on the Economy; Shays's Rebellion; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Balleisen, Edward J. *Navigating Failure: Bankruptcy and Commercial Society in Antebellum America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001.

Coleman, Peter J. *Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607–1900.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Warren, Charles. *Bankruptcy in United States History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.

Bruce H. Mann

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE The Declaration of Independence of 1776 was both the culmination of a decade of protests against what the colonists saw as arbitrary British policies and a statement of political principles that shaped public life in the United States long after its adoption. In order to understand the Declaration, then, one must understand both the historical circumstances that created it as well as the influence it has had in the years since independence.

BACKGROUND

When the Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in May 1775, the dispute between Great Britain and its American colonies had the preceding month erupted into open warfare at Lexington and Concord. What had begun as a dispute over parliamentary taxation escalated into a conflict that would soon tear the British Empire apart.

Despite the seriousness of the crisis they faced, many of the delegates to the Congress were still wary of outright independence. Instead, they wanted to maintain an allegiance to King George III while disavowing any connection to the British Parliament. As a result, even as they were preparing a military campaign against Quebec in the summer of 1775, many delegates sought reconciliation with the crown.

The king played a crucial role in the escalating crisis. Instead of using his prerogative to disallow parliamentary legislation, he chose to act as a constitutional monarch and concur with Parliament in its attempts to control the empire. As such, the king refused to receive the Olive Branch Petition sent by Congress in July 1775. Rather, the following month he declared all of the colonies in open rebellion. In December 1775 the king gave royal approval to the Prohibitory Act, which built on earlier restrictions on colonial commerce by declaring all trade with the colonies illegal and putting colonial shipping out of his protection.

As a result of these actions by crown and Parliament, the delegates from the two most populous col-

First Draft of the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson's initial draft of the Declaration of Independence was written in June 1776 during the Second Continental Congress. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The Declaration of Independence, 4 July 1776 (c. 1787–1819). John Trumbull's painting of the Assembly Room in the Pennsylvania State House (now Independence Hall) was based in part on Thomas Jefferson's account of the day's events. Jefferson stands at the center, surrounded by (left to right) John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and Benjamin Franklin. They face John Hancock, who sits at the right. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

onies, Massachusetts and Virginia, both recommended that the Congress formally declare independence. In May 1776 the Congress recommended that the various colonies disavow the governing authority of the crown and "adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents." On 7 June, responding to instructions from the Virginia House of Burgesses, its senior delegate, Richard Henry Lee, moved "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." At the same time as the Congress was deliberating, a host of other declarations were issued by local and state authorities, each making the case for independence from the crown in similar terms.

DRAFTING THE DECLARATION

Due to the hesitancy of delegates from Pennsylvania and New York, Congress decided to put off the vote on Lee's resolution until early July. However, on 11 June 1776 Congress appointed a small committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Roger Sherman, and Robert Livingston to create a draft declaration which, if approved, would implement Lee's call for independence. This committee then appointed Jefferson as the chief author, most likely because, as Adams argued many years later, he was a Virginian and thus untainted by the rebellious reputation of Massachusetts. As Adams also noted, Jefferson had acquired a reputation within the Congress as an uncommonly gifted writer.

Jefferson wrote quickly, submitting a draft to the committee on 28 June. The committee then made a few changes, mostly stylistic, and submitted it to Congress sitting as a committee of the whole. After delegates from all of the states but New York voted to approve Lee's resolution for independence, Congress turned its attention to Jefferson's Declaration, which they approved with changes on the evening of 4 July.

The committee of the whole left Jefferson's now-famous introductory paragraphs relatively untouched. However, it made several changes to the body of Jefferson's draft. In the process, it eliminated about a quarter of the text and, most scholars agree, significantly improved it in the process. In its final form, then, the Declaration of Independence was a collective effort, as much the work of the Congress as it was of Jefferson.

The most striking change that the Congress made to Jefferson's draft was its decision to eliminate an entire passage in which Jefferson had made a forceful critique of the king's role in the Atlantic slave trade. According to Jefferson, the king had "waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's [*sic*] most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people . . . captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere." Jefferson further accused the king of using "his negative" to prevent "every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce." Having accused the king of being responsible for the slave trade, Jefferson, referring to the Virginia governor Lord Dunmore's offer of freedom to slaves if they supported the crown, also accused him of "exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom *he* also obtruded them."

The passage exemplified Jefferson's ambivalence about slavery. Although it contained a strong moral condemnation of human bondage based on an argument from natural equality, it was a critique primarily of the slave trade and not of the institution of slavery itself. In addition, it undermined even this qualified antislavery message by then condemning the king for inciting the slaves to seek their liberty.

Jefferson, who was generally unhappy with the revisions made by the Congress, blamed the elimination of this passage on the proslavery sentiments of the delegates from South Carolina and Georgia. Although this was certainly a factor, it is also likely that the Congress did not want to draw attention to the widespread colonial practice of chattel slavery in a document that was premised on the theory that "all men are created equal."

THE DECLARATION'S ARGUMENT

In order to make the case for independence, the Declaration had two main parts. One was a theoretical preface that stated the intellectual argument upon which the colonists were declaring their independence. It was followed by a lengthy list of colonial grievances against the crown.

Intellectual foundation. The theoretical part of the Declaration drew heavily on John Locke's political philosophy, of which Jefferson gave an uncommonly eloquent and succinct rendering. Beginning with the claim that "the Laws of Nature and Nature's God" justified the colonies assuming a "separate and equal Station" among the nations of the world, Jefferson then offered his reasons for this claim: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness."

Having offered this powerful claim for equal rights, Jefferson—following Locke—offered a theory of the origins of government: "to secure these rights," he argued, "Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed." Drawing again on Locke, Jefferson argued "that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

Although Jefferson, like Locke, held that "Prudence" dictates "that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes," he argued that "when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations . . . evinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security." In this one sweeping paragraph, Jefferson outlined a comprehensive theory of the origins and purpose of government, along with a justification of the colonists' right to dissolve their allegiance to the crown and to create new governments in the several states in such a form as would best secure their natural rights.

Grievances. The remainder of the Declaration is devoted to a lengthy list of indictments of royal policy toward the colonies. Although often overlooked today, they were crucial to the Declaration's argument, as they constituted the proof that, as Jefferson put it, "The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States." They were, as Jefferson insisted, the crucial "Facts" that needed to be "submitted to a candid World." A careful atten-

tion to these grievances also provides valuable insight into the mind-set of the Revolutionaries on the eve of independence.

These grievances can be grouped into several broad categories. The first set accused the king of violating the rights of the colonial legislatures by, among other things, using his prerogative powers to suspend colonial laws from taking effect until he had approved them. It also denounced him for dissolving colonial legislatures because of their opposition to "his Invasions on the Rights of the People" and for then failing to call new ones in their place.

The Declaration also accused the king of undermining the independence of the colonial judiciary by continuing to insist that colonial judges sit at his pleasure instead of during good behavior, as had been the practice in England for most of the eighteenth century. In a series of further charges, many of which referred to the Coercive Acts directed against Massachusetts in 1774, the king was held responsible for abolishing trial by jury, taxing the colonies without their consent, violating colonial charters, forcibly quartering troops in colonial homes, and maintaining standing armies in the colonies during peacetime.

The juxtaposition of the Declaration's theoretical introductory paragraphs with this lengthy list of specific legal grievances demonstrates the extent to which the American Revolutionaries were able to combine an intense concern for English constitutional rights—many of which would appear in state and federal bills of rights in the decades following independence—with a philosophical argument for resisting constituted authority when these rights were violated.

Although it had eliminated Jefferson's lengthy denunciation of the slave trade, the Congress retained his charge about royal involvement in slave revolts with a reference to the king having "excited domestic Insurrections." In the same passage, the Congress also accused George III of inciting the American Indians to make war on the colonies. Both of these actions had served to alienate the colonists from the king in the years leading up to independence.

The Congress concluded its brief against the king by noting that the colonists had repeatedly made their "British Brethren" aware of these injustices to no avail. Having received no redress, the Declaration stated that "the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA . . . do, in the Name and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States." The Declaration then contended that these new states were fully sovereign under the law of nations, with "full Power to levy War, conclude Peace . . . and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do."

Unlike earlier English and colonial petitions to the king, the Declaration was a truly revolutionary, indeed treasonous, document, proclaiming as it did a sundering of all allegiance to the crown. It thus required some courage for the members of Congress to sign their names to it, and as the final sentence reads, "pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor."

AFTERMATH

After agreeing upon the final version of the Declaration on 4 July, the Congress distributed copies to the Continental Army, where Washington insisted that it be read to the troops. Beginning in Philadelphia on 8 July, this process was repeated with civilian audiences throughout the colonies. News of the Declaration was also spread by broadsides. By the end of July, it had also been printed in thirty colonial newspapers.

The reception that the Declaration met in Britain was not rapturous. Much ink was devoted to a detailed refutation of the Declaration's specific charges against British authority. In addition, some commentators—influenced by a nascent skepticism about political arguments based on natural law—criticized what they saw as the philosophical incoherence of Jefferson's claims about rights and equality in the Declaration's opening paragraphs. However, the foreign reception of the Declaration outside of Britain was more positive. The Declaration was translated into many foreign languages, and starting in the late 1770s, it began to influence revolutionary movements in Europe and around the world.

Within the new United States, the formal work of the Declaration was done once independence had been proclaimed. However, the fact that the Declaration derived its right to revolution from a political philosophy of equal natural rights and government by consent meant that its ideals could be employed by a multitude of groups within American society seeking justice. In 1848 advocates of women's rights issued a declaration at Seneca Falls, New York. Explicitly based on the Declaration of Independence, it proclaimed that "all men and women are created equal." Also in the nineteenth century, abolitionists invoked the Declaration's ideals in their crusade against human bondage. In turn, antebellum defenders of slavery began to attack the Declaration and the

very idea of equal natural rights. In response to these proslavery arguments, Abraham Lincoln, with great eloquence, made the Declaration into a moral standard for judging existing society, calling it "the leading principle—the sheet anchor of American republicanism." In this guise, the Declaration has continued to shape the nature of political debate in the United States into the twenty-first century.

See also **Continental Congresses; Jefferson, Thomas.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Armitage, David. "The Declaration of Independence and International Law." *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 59 (2002): 39–64.

Becker, Carl. *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 1970.

Boyd, Julian P. *The Declaration of Independence: The Evolution of the Text.* Rev. ed. Edited by Gerard W. Gawalt. Charlottesville: Library of Congress, 1999.

Dumbauld, Edward. *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2001.

Gerber, Scott Douglas. *To Secure These Rights: The Declaration of Independence and Constitutional Interpretation.* New York: New York University Press, 1995.

Jayne, Allen. *Jefferson's Declaration of Independence: Origins, Philosophy, and Theology.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1998.

Maier, Pauline. *American Scripture: Making the Declaration of Independence.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Onuf, Peter S. *Jeffersonian Legacies.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

White, Morton. *The Philosophy of the American Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Wills, Gary. *Inventing America: Jefferson's Declaration of Independence.* New York: Vintage, 1979.

Craig Bryan Yirush

DECORATIVE ARTS   *See* **Art and American Nationhood; Furniture.**

DEISM   Many members of the founding generation of 1776 would have understood the reference to "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" as the source of their rights not in terms of orthodox Christianity but in the context of the Enlightenment's discourse of Deism. Deism originated more than a century earlier in England as a somewhat loosely defined pattern of beliefs that had evolved from liberal Christianity, the Newtonian description of a material universe apparently ruled by rational law, and the empirical description by John Locke (1632–1704) of human reason. Deists came in a variety of shades of opinion and belief, from believers in a rational Deity who were content to remain within the confines of a traditional denomination to anticlerical skeptics. There was no Deist church, although the Unitarianism that emerged at the end of the eighteenth century was imbued with much of the Deist spirit, and when Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) came to define "Deist" in his *Dictionary* (1755), he could only offer the highly generalized description of "a man who follows no particular religion but only acknowledges the existence of God, without any other article of faith."

DEISTIC BELIEFS

There was rather more to Deism than that, however, and Deists shared to one extent or another several central beliefs. Common to all Deists was the belief in a rational creator of a rational, orderly universe governed by laws that could be understood by reasoning human beings. The laws of motion of Isaac Newton (1642–1727) suggested for his contemporaries the reality of a universe that operated in predictable, mechanical fashion, like a clock as some saw it, and that consequently seemed to be the work of God as the Supreme Artificer. Christian thinkers were quick to integrate the new science into an older theological worldview by insisting that biblical revealed truth was independent of the truth of the so-called book of nature, which complemented and confirmed it. Thus, Cotton Mather could publish his *Christian Philosopher* (1720), which praised the rational design of the natural world and at the same time maintained belief in God's direct providential intrusion into the events of the natural world. Deists departed from exponents of natural religion, however, by rejecting the possibility of miracles and other supernatural interventions into the natural, created world. The title of English Deist John Toland's famous work, *Christianity Not Mysterious* (1696), suggested as much from the very first page and went on to call into question the authority of many parts of the Bible itself. Matthew Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation: or, the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature* (1730), a book often referred to as "the Deist's bible," seemed to obviate the need for the Bible at all.

DEISM AND RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

Deists followed up on these ideas by asserting that the God of the Creation was the deity worshipped by all religions regardless of sect or denomination. They also insisted, as Anthony Collins did in his *Discourse of Free-Thinking* (1713), on the right of individuals to think for themselves on matters of religion and to publish their opinions freely. Deists followed Locke in calling for religious toleration, the notion that since religious opinion is a private matter the state, while possibly authorizing an official church, ought to tolerate at least all shades of Christian opinion. In the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom (1786), Thomas Jefferson and James Madison extended this idea to its logical conclusion by demanding that the state separate itself entirely from supporting religion, either by raising taxes to support churches or by compelling people "to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever." If Jefferson and Madison were in advance of many of their fellow citizens about the separation of church and state, they were not alone in defending religious toleration. A large number of Virginians, like George Washington and many other members of the gentry, shared liberal notions of a deistical sort. Jefferson had remarked in his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), "it does me no injury for my neighbour to say there are twenty gods, or no god. It neither picks my pocket nor breaks my leg" (*Writings*, p. 285). He advised his nephew, Peter Carr, in 1787, to "Read the bible then, as you would read Livy or Tacitus. . . . You must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, & neither believe nor reject anything because other persons or descriptions of persons have rejected or believed it. Your own reason is the only oracle given to you by heaven" (*Writings*, p. 902). Jefferson may here have been echoing the words of another American Deist, Ethan Allen, whose *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* had appeared in 1784.

AMERICAN DEISTS

Jefferson's comment in *Notes on the State of Virginia* about his hypothetical neighbor's faith caused him to be attacked by Federalist ministers in the election of 1800 as an atheist, and the ideas of Deists were often conflated by their critics with those of atheists, as in Richard Bentley's 1692 Boyle lecture, *The Folly of Atheism and (What Is Now Called) Deism.* Deists could find themselves being led by the oracle of reason into socially inconvenient situations. Benjamin Franklin, perhaps the first notable American Deist, was already questioning his youthful indoctrination into New England orthodoxy when as a typesetter in London he worked on an edition of William Wollas-

ton's *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1724). Franklin used Wollaston's own assumptions about an orderly nature as the work of a rational creator to overturn Wollaston's arguments about human agency and ethical responsibility. Franklin's *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity*, *Pleasure and Pain* (1725) denied human free will and ethical responsibility and argued that "since there is no such Thing as Free-Will in Creatures, there can be neither Merit nor Demerit in Creatures" (*Writings*, p. 62). At the conclusion of the *Dissertation*, Franklin admitted that "the Doctrine here advanc'd, if it were to be publish'd, would meet with but an indifferent Reception" (*Writings*, p. 71). Franklin did publish the dissertation; later, in his *Autobiography* he admitted that this was one of his youthful "errata."

If Franklin was indeed serious about the ideas in the *Dissertation*, he backed away from them in later years. However, he did not ally himself to any particular church in Philadelphia but contributed to ministers and congregations of various denominations on the grounds that they all could exert a good influence on public morals and that each paid tribute to the same deity. Deists before the American Revolution did not tend to publicly criticize orthodox forms of Christianity but held their beliefs as a private matter. Jefferson refused to respond to the attacks on his presumed atheism, although he sought to reassure friends that he was indeed, by his own lights at least, a Christian. He sent to a few close friends, including Benjamin Rush (not himself a Deist), the Unitarian Joseph Priestley, and John Adams, who shared Jefferson's Deist inclinations, copies of his "Syllabus of an Estimate of the Merit of the Doctrines of Jesus" (1803), which praised Jesus as a moral philosopher, but he also asked these friends to keep the "Syllabus" to themselves. Earlier Deists in England and America had, as a consequence of their belief in reason as an adequate guide to religious belief, frequently expressed criticism of the Bible, at least in its accounts of miracles that defied the ordinary workings of nature. Jefferson's "Syllabus" and his later scissors edit of the Gospels, "The Life and Morals of Jesus," attempted to build upon this critique of the Bible by presenting Christ as a rational moralist, eliminating the miracles and foregrounding the Sermon on the Mount. Published in the twentieth century as *The Jefferson Bible*, this text was for his private use during his life or for a few friends who understood and sympathized with his beliefs. He could express his hostility to "priestcraft" in private letters, accusing the "priests" of abusing "the pure and holy doctrines of their master," but like his rational reading of the

Bible, he confined his anticlerical comments to private letters.

Other Deists in the years after the Revolution were not so shy about expressing their criticism of the Bible and their anticlerical sentiments. Ethan Allen, the former Green Mountain Boy, interpreted the Bible with the aid only of his own reason and a dictionary. His *Reason the Only Oracle of Man* found it to be a book full of scientific absurdities, superstitious fancies, and "arbitrary impositions upon the tribes of Israel." More heated controversy resulted from the publication of the two parts of Thomas Paine's *The Age of Reason* (1794–1795). Paine's text received a much wider circulation than Allen's. It was much more aggressively polemical than Allen's text, and, more important, Paine was a notorious radical closely associated with the French Revolution. The earlier Deists had found their inspiration in the less politically engaged English writers, but critics of Deism in the 1790s saw in Allen and Paine the specter of the French atheism that threatened traditional faith, moral order, and political stability. The most active radical Deist in 1790s America is probably the least familiar. Elihu Palmer, a onetime Presbyterian minister, espoused increasingly liberal interpretations of the Bible and eventually became a sort of Deist circuit rider. He traveled through the eastern seaboard states preaching the Deist message, founding what were called Deistical Societies and editing Deistic newspapers such as *The Temple of Reason.* Unlike earlier Deists who shrouded their opinions in gentlemanly privacy, Paine and Palmer appealed to artisans and workers, further outraging orthodox Federalist ministers.

Palmer's masterwork, *Principles of Nature, or a Development of the Moral Causes of Happiness and Misery among the Human Species* (1801), appeared five years before his death. Deism as an active force lasted hardly longer. Jefferson had prophesied that within a generation all Americans would become Unitarians, but rational Christianity had little appeal in the face of the emotional force of the Second Great Awakening, and Palmer's Deistical Societies aside, Deism never found an adequate institutional form. Liberal denominations like the Unitarians and the Universalists adopted some Deist principles, but after Allen, Paine, and Palmer put their stamp on Deism, no religious body would admit to being Deist. The liberal traditions of Deism left their mark on American culture, however, in the form of the principle of separation of church and state and the phenomenon of a pluralistic religious culture.

See also **Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; Rationalism; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Franklin, Benjamin. *Writings.* New York: Library of America, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels: "The Philosophy of Jesus" and "The Life and Morals of Jesus."* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

———. *Writings.* New York: Library of America, 1984.

Koch, G. Adolf. *Republican Religion: The American Revolution and the Cult of Reason.* New York: Holt, 1933.

Walters, Kerry S. *The American Deists: Voices of Reason and Dissent in the Early Republic.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992.

Frank Shuffelton

DELAWARE By the start of the French and Indian War in 1754, Delaware had already been an English colony for ninety years. It was not included in the Albany Plan of Union, which was proposed by some American colonists the same year. However, the colony did participate in the First and Second Continental Congresses. Delaware approved the Declaration of Independence on 2 July 1776. In August and September of that year, Delaware wrote its own constitution. During the Revolutionary War, Delaware was the site of one minor battle. On 3 September 1777, Delaware militia attacked English soldiers marching to Philadelphia at the Battle of Cooch's Bridge.

After independence, Delaware ratified the Articles of Confederation in 1779 and became the first state to ratify the federal Constitution, doing so on 7 December 1787. Between 1790 and 1830, Delaware's population grew by nearly 30 percent. In 1790, the total population was 59,096. In succeeding decennial censuses, the total state population increased from 64,273 in 1800 to 72,674 in 1810 to 72,749 in 1820 to 76,748 in 1830. Though a slave state, Delaware's free black population increased from 3,899 to 15,855 in the forty years between 1790 and 1830, while the number of slaves decreased from 8,887 to 3,292 over the same duration. The latter trend is partially explained by the state constitution's prohibition on importing slaves into the state and by the presence of active abolition societies, which were first established in Dover and Wilmington in 1788.

Native Americans inhabited the Delaware area for hundreds of years before European migration. Although there was some presence of the Nanticoke tribe, the largest American Indian population included members of the Lenape group, later renamed the Delaware by European settlers. Delaware Indians in fact comprised three groups, the Munsee, the Unalachtigo, and the Unami. William Penn signed a treaty of friendship with the Delaware confederation in 1682. Later, however, other tribes and the English forced the relocation of most Delaware Indians to areas west of the Mississippi River.

The growth of political parties in Delaware was shaped by the personalities of leaders, contentious issues of the era, and by the development of national parties. Prior to the founding of the Democratic Party, Delaware strongly backed Federalist candidates. Between 1789 and 1828, Delaware voters elected ten Federalist and three Democratic Republican governors. At the presidential level, state electors endorsed Federalist candidates in every election until 1820, when James Monroe outpolled John Quincy Adams.

See also **American Indians: Middle Atlantic; Politics: Political Parties.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Christensen, Gardell Dano, and Eugenia Burney. *Colonial Delaware.* Nashville, Tenn.: Thomas Nelson, 1974.

Hancock, Harold Bell. *Delaware 200 Years Ago: 1780–1800.* Wilmington, Del.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1987.

Hoffecker, Carole E. *Delaware, the First State.* Wilmington, Del.: Middle Atlantic Press, 1988.

Munroe, John A. *Delaware Becomes a State.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987.

Samuel B. Hoff

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS   The Democratic Republicans, sometimes known as Jeffersonian Republicans, and the Federalists created a vaguely defined, ramshackle first party system that played an important role in the politics of the new nation and several of its states between the early 1790s and the early 1820s. Frequently described as the democratic, liberal, republican, and secular alternative to the aristocratic, conservative, and religiously oriented Federalists, the Democratic Republicans have often been perceived as an extension of the ideas and ideals of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other figures. However, this essay, instead of focusing on

Democratic Republican Campaign Poster. This emblem adorned a poster that circulated in 1816 in support of James Monroe, the Democratic Republican candidate for president. Monroe ran against Rufus King, the Federalist candidate. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

their famous leaders, will examine rank–and–file Democratic Republicans, the party's relatively weak organizational structure, and its position on important national and state issues. It will also consider the centrality of war and foreign relations to the party's development and eventual fragmentation.

SUPPORTERS

A complex amalgam of sectional, class, ethnic, and cultural interests supported the Democratic Republicans. In the national elections between 1792 and 1816, they completely controlled the western states of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, along with Georgia in the Deep South. After 1800 they dominated South Carolina and, during the entire period with relatively minor exceptions, both Virginia and North Carolina. They had to contest Maryland with the Federalists and failed to carry Delaware. At the other extreme, New England remained Federalist territory, with the Democratic Republicans carrying only a minority of the congressional elections. Also, with the exception of 1804 and 1816, they lost all the New England states to the Federalists in presidential elections, except for Vermont in 1808 and 1812. Victory or defeat depended upon the mid–Atlantic states, where a decision for George Clinton or for his nephew DeWitt Clinton in Pennsylvania would have

made the uncle the vice president in 1792 and his nephew president in 1812. A victory in this state for John Adams in 1800 would have given him a second term as president. Jefferson, on the other hand, could have won the presidency in 1796 by carrying New York.

The same sectional patterns determined state politics. The Democratic Republicans controlled the western states and, barring a few elections, the entire South except Maryland and Delaware—where the Federalists remained dominant. In New England the Federalists usually won. Even when voter turnout reached extremely high levels in the gubernatorial elections of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire before and during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), levels that matched those under the second party system, the Federalists remained closely competitive. In Pennsylvania the Democratic Republicans, after winning the closely contested election of 1798, lost to an independent candidate supported by the Federalists in 1808, but they had little difficulty winning the 1805, 1811, and 1814 gubernatorial elections. In New York, after losing to John Jay in 1795 and 1798, they bounced back with a victory for George Clinton in the gubernatorial election of 1801; three years later Morgan Lewis, a Democratic Republican, defeated Aaron Burr. Despite Federalist opposition that received from 42 percent to 48 percent of the vote, they won the remaining gubernatorial elections between 1801 and 1816.

While sectional patterns became relatively clear, it is more difficult to associate the Democratic Republicans with specific class, ethnic, or cultural groups. Virtually everyone in the West and Georgia, regardless of these variables, voted for the Democratic Republicans, as did the great majority in most elections in the Carolinas and Virginia. In these states the elite, whether planters, the wealthy, or speculators, remained firmly aboard the Democratic Republican victory wagon. In contested states, the Democratic Republicans received support from merchants, manufacturers, gentlemen farmers, and Revolutionary worthies, as well as votes from yeomen farmers and immigrants. In New England both Democratic Republicans and Federalists turned themselves into popular parties in the period after 1807. Scattered data indicates that immigrants and poorer electors in coastal cities tended to vote for Democratic Republicans, but even there the Federalists received support from a significant proportion of these groups. In New England, especially Connecticut and Massachusetts and perhaps in New Hampshire and Vermont, the Democratic Republicans received support from

Baptists and other religious denominations that believed themselves harmed by the peculiar state-local-Congregational Church establishment, and in Maine (then part of Massachusetts) the Democratic Republicans won the support of many who contested the land titles of wealthy speculators. But the overall picture indicates a much more complex portrait than the conventional one, which sketches aristocratic Federalists battling yeoman and artisan Democratic Republicans.

ORGANIZATION

The Democratic Republicans provided some cohesion to this mixture of sectional, group, and individual interests through organizations, legislative cohesion, patronage, and a powerful press. At the national level they organized a congressional caucus in 1800 that made significant nominations for the vice presidency that year and in 1804, 1812, and 1816 and that selected James Monroe as their presidential candidate over William H. Crawford in 1816. Organization in the Senate and the House resulted in cohesive voting patters among Democratic Republican members of Congress during the battle over Jay's Treaty (1794) in 1795; the divisions from 1797 through 1801 resulting from the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) and the election of 1800; the 1808–1809 session, which bowed to Federalist and factional Democratic Republican pressure and repealed the embargo; the sessions leading into the declaration of war in 1812; and those during the war itself. Cohesion among the Democratic Republicans broke down after the war and during periods when the Federalists found themselves unable to offer effective opposition.

The Democratic Republicans were best organized in the contested states. Legislative caucuses selected gubernatorial and other candidates, and in some instances party structure ran down into congressional districts and counties. The Democratic Republicans also attracted seemingly nonpartisan organizations to their cause. Ethnic associations, fraternal organizations such as the Tammany Society, and the Democratic Republican societies of the mid-1790s are merely examples of the large numbers of organizations that often allied themselves with the Democratic Republicans. In states where they faced little or no opposition, the Democratic Republicans did not need to generate much organization.

A powerful press supported the Democratic Republicans. Many well-known editors continued their anti-British rhetoric after the Revolution and supported the Democratic Republicans when they

emerged in the 1790s. From their beginning, Democratic Republicans always had key newspapers in the national capitals of Philadelphia and Washington and in most of the state capitals and leading towns. The papers and their editors created a network that distributed news, propaganda, and ideology to Democratic Republican voters and leaders. Patronage overlapped with the press as the national and state governments distributed printing contracts to editors and jobs, at various levels, to party supporters. Patronage sometimes created difficulties as party factions battled for contracts and jobs. While nowhere near the strength of later political organizations, the Democratic Republicans helped begin a process that would be further developed by the Whigs and Democrats.

ISSUES

These somewhat haphazardly organized Democratic Republicans took identifiable positions on a wide range of national and state issues. In 1790 and 1791 a group of former Federalists, led by James Madison, opposed the efforts of Alexander Hamilton to assume state debts and charter a public–private Bank of the United States. They and many former anti-Federalists joined together to oppose what they considered excessive taxation. Furthermore, during the bitter battles over the Quasi–War with France, they supported the freedoms of the Bill of Rights against efforts to pass and then to enforce the Sedition Act (1798) and also continued their opposition to increased expenditure for an enlarged army and navy. When they came to power in 1801, they let the Sedition Act die, repealed a new judiciary act that established circuit courts, failed to renew bankruptcy legislation, cut expenditures for the army and navy, and eliminated direct and excise taxes. The implementation of their early policies reached a high point when they refused to recharter the Bank of the United States in 1811.

They then discovered that waging a successful war required an expansion of national power. During the War of 1812 they raised taxes, resorted to borrowing, and attempted to strengthen military and naval forces. This new initiative continued after the war, and during the famous 1815–1816 session of Congress, the Democratic Republicans—aided by the evaporation of foreign policy as a major issue and the splintering of Federalist opposition—took a new tack and passed legislation that chartered a Second Bank of the United States, imposed a small protective tariff, backed programs for a more powerful peacetime army and navy, provided for new coastal forti-

fications, and gave aid to the states for internal improvements. Those Democratic Republicans supporting these policies were by 1817 well on their way to becoming National Republicans, while those who remained loyal to their previous values considered themselves to be the true and Old Republicans.

During this period the states made most of the important political decisions. The supposedly more democratic Democratic Republicans gave similar backing to bills for gradually ending slavery in New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) than did their Federalist opponents. They also gave little attention to strengthening the legal and political status of women; did little to amend or reform state constitutions; and, except in Massachusetts and Connecticut, gave little support to efforts to expand the suffrage. They did attempt to dismantle the complex state and town congregational establishment, and in Massachusetts they gave assistance to the residents of the Maine district who opposed the claims of land speculators. In some states they attempted to modify the judicial system and reduce the power of judges. They had little enmity toward banking or internal improvement projects chartered by the states. They also, despite the rhetoric of Thomas Jefferson, gave relatively little assistance to establishing and funding systems of public education. Like their opponents, they kept taxes low and had little hesitation in using state libel laws to attempt to silence those of their editorial opponents who were most offensive to the Democratic Republicans.

The Democratic Republicans backed measures that favored the expansion of the new nation at the expense of foreign powers and native tribes, and supported American commerce against the Barbary States. Democratic Republican presidents purchased Louisiana in 1803, recognized a coup that seized the Spanish portion of eastern Louisiana in 1811, put pressure on Spain to cede Florida, and mounted a frustrated effort to seize Canada in 1812. At the same time they pressed for treaties with the native tribes that would surrender their land to the United States and backed efforts by William Henry Harrison, the territorial governor of Indiana, to seize control of large areas in the Northwest. During the War of 1812 James Madison, the second Democratic Republican president, supported the efforts of both Harrison and Jackson to destroy Native American military power in both the Northwest and Southwest and concluded treaties that seized a large portion of their lands.

In the first years of the nineteenth century and again in 1815, Democratic Republican presidents

sent naval expeditions against the Barbary powers to support American commerce in the Mediterranean, and they pleased their southern slaveholding supporters by refusing to recognize Haiti, the Western Hemisphere's second republic, which had been created by a massive slave insurrection.

FOREIGN POLICY

Differences over foreign policy overshadowed other differences between the two parties at both the national and state levels in defining the distinctive position of the Democratic Republicans. They supported the French Revolution even when the revolutionaries became involved in a war with most of the other European powers. During the early 1790s, they argued that the ideology of the French Revolution should be supported by good republicans. They accused their Federalist opponents, who seemed lukewarm toward the revolution, of being disguised aristocrats who planned to turn the new nation into a pale copy of William Pitt the Younger's Great Britain. Even when the Directory and Napoleon dampened Democratic Republican enthusiasm about the French and the direction of their revolution, the party remained critical and suspicious of the British; Democratic Republicans claimed that Britain used its hostility to France to control and even harm the rapidly growing commerce of the United States. During the years between 1795 and 1800, the Federalists used confrontation with France as grounds for supporting a larger army and navy and for passing the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798).

The Convention of 1800 ending the war with France, Jefferson's election victory that year, and peace in Europe temporarily removed foreign policy as a central issue and led to a brief period of almost complete Democratic Republican hegemony. But resumption of the world war and efforts by the British and French to throttle each other's commerce led to increasing tension. The British, having more opportunity to harm American commerce and to impress American sailors, again became the target of Democratic Republican hostility. Confrontation boiled over with the *Chesapeake* affair in 1807, which led to Jefferson's embargo, designed to protect commerce by preventing trade. This ended when the resurrection of the Federalist Party led to divisions among the Democratic Republicans, which in turn resulted in the repeal of the embargo and its replacement with nonintercourse legislation. The Democratic Republicans hoped to use this approach to force either or both the French and British to cease their assault on American shipping. These efforts failed and led to a declaration of war against Great Britain in June 1812. The war led to an intensification of partisan politics, American defeats, and substantial changes in Democratic Republican policies. The Treaty of Ghent ended the war but did not achieve any of the war's goals. The defeat of the French in early 1814, Napoleon's return from exile and defeat in 1815, and the conclusion of the War of 1812 the same year eliminated partisanship from much less vital foreign policy issues that had provided the Democratic Republicans with their basic reason for being since the early 1790s. The relaxation of partisan tensions led to the twilight of the Federalist Party, the end of the Democratic Republican Party, and the fading away of the first party system.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Bank of the United States; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Embargo; Federalist Party; Internal Improvements; Jay's Treaty; Newspapers; Politics: Political Patronage; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Presidency, The: James Madison; Presidency, The: James Monroe; Quasi-War with France; Tariff Politics; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1975.

Charles, Joseph. *The Origins of the American Party System: Three Essays.* Williamsburg, Va.: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1956.

Cunningham, Noble E., Jr. *The Process of Government under Jefferson.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Goodman, Paul. *The Democratic-Republicans of Massachusetts: Politics in a Young Republic.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Horn, James, Jan Ellen Lewis, and Peter S. Onuf, eds. *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002.

Perkins, Bradford. *Prologue to War: England and the United States, 1805–1812.* Berkeley: University of California Press,1961.

Risjord, Norman K. *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Columbia University Press,1965.

Stagg, J. C. A. *Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Van Beck Hall

DEMOCRATIZATION The process of creating, extending, and sustaining democracy has intrigued observers since the end of the eighteenth century, when democratic revolutions and movements broke out in America, France, and other parts of Europe. The failure of many of these early democratic revolutions has provoked further interest in the specific and the general reasons for democracy's few initial successes and many failures. The American democratic experiment became the subject of intense scrutiny to determine whether it was the harbinger or the exception to the European political future. For this reason Alexis de Tocqueville, the French writer and politician who visited the United States in the 1830s, turned his attention from American prisons to consider why and to what extent American democracy had succeeded. In *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840), Tocqueville took a surprisingly modern, empirical approach to explaining American democratization, paying particular attention to the underlying civic culture of the United States. Since Tocqueville's time, American democratization has been at the center of the debate as to whether popularly elected governments were replicable from one culture to another.

THEORIES OF DEMOCRATIZATION

Later-nineteenth-century observers took a more detached and theoretical approach to the idea of democracy and democratization. The utilitarians, particularly the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, produced what Joseph Schumpeter later called the "classical doctrine of democracy": this was primarily concerned with describing the sources of authority and the purpose of government in democratic regimes. The utilitarians saw democracy's source of authority in popular consent, and the purpose of democratic government was the collective good. Although popular consent and the common good seemed eminently rational and achievable goals before World War I, these goals seemed far more naïve and utopian to the social scientists who wrote about democracy at the onset of World War II, when the West was beset by the perils of totalitarianism.

Writing in 1942, Schumpeter rejected the classical doctrine of democracy as too reliant on the object of the collective good based on utilitarian reason. Schumpeter and other postwar social scientists urged a focus on the procedures common to democracies instead. This they judged to be a more "objective" approach to understanding democracy and democratization. During the cold war, amid the heated competition between the Soviet-style "people's de-

mocracies" and those of the West, the procedural school developed a set of common characteristics that they said defined functioning as opposed to sham democracy.

Although Robert A. Dahl has attempted to combine proceduralism with an informed, normative description of democracy, most social scientists concerned with democratization have followed the procedural approach of Samuel P. Huntington. According to Huntington, a democracy is a state in which the "most powerful collective decision makers" are chosen in "honest and periodic elections." Moreover, in a democracy, "virtually" the entire adult population is eligible to participate.

Although accused by his critics of being simplistic, Huntington has maintained that his definition's simplicity is essential to understand democracy and democratization on a global scale. The proceduralists argue that what is most important is often cast in much wider terms, encompassing such values as liberty and freedom but rejecting particularistic notions like a "civic culture" that determines the extent of democracy in a particular place.

Since the end of the cold war, some proceduralists have been accused of determinism in arguing that certain conditions inevitably bring about the emergence of democratic regimes. Francis Fukuyama has come in for some of this criticism, arguing for the global triumph of liberal democracy, which according to his definition must have electoral competition, attendance to market forces, and "judicial rights."

Huntington has argued that democratization has occurred in three historic waves: the First Wave, from 1828 to 1926, occurred after the extension of American suffrage and continued until after World War I, when it encompassed all of Western Europe, North America, and Australasia. The second wave of democratization occurred in the midst and the aftermath of World War II, from 1942 to 1962. It restored democracy to Western Europe and planted democratic regimes in the former European colonies of Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent. The Third Wave, from 1991 to the present, followed the end of the cold war, and included the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, some of the states within the former Soviet Union, and most of the countries in Latin America. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, all the states in Europe with the exception of Ukraine and Belarus claimed to be democratically elected regimes. Similarly in Latin America, outside of the Caribbean, all of the states claimed to be democratic, to one degree or another.

DEMOCRATIZATION IN AMERICA

Oriented toward empirical evidence rather than theory building, American historians have taken a more nuanced approach than the proceduralists in considering democratization in the United States. Historians have typically focused on two related aspects of democratization: political participation, as measured by voter turnout, and political power, as measured by sociological patterns in officeholding and community leadership.

In the mid-twentieth century, it was standard to date the beginnings of democratization to 1828, with the election of Andrew Jackson and the dawn of the so-called Age of the Common Man. Over the next half-century, historians greatly complicated this simplistic narrative. In the 1960s William Nisbet Chambers and David Hackett Fischer argued that democratization in voting actually began with the competition of the first party system, between the Hamiltonian Federalists and the Jeffersonian Republicans. Since then the American Antiquarian Society's First Democracy Project has amassed new voting data showing that voter turnout in Federalist vs. Republican elections sometimes surpassed 70 percent of the total adult male population, a rate of sustained participation that no European state achieved until nearly the end of the nineteenth century. By some measures, then, the first wave of democratization began in the late eighteenth century and was practically complete by the time of Andrew Jackson's presidency.

Other historians have taken issue with this idea, arguing that democratization awaited the competitive national parties of the 1830s and 1840s, the Whigs and Democrats. Historians like Ronald P. Formisano and William G. Shade have described some of the practices of the earlier Jefferson-era politics as predemocratic, or what Formisano has called a "deferential-participant" culture dominated by local notables with little input from ordinary citizens. The social historians Glenn Altschuler and Stuart Blumin have gained some adherents for the argument that ordinary voters were indifferent to party politics even during the supposed mid-nineteenth-century heyday of the mass political parties. Altschuler and Blumin built on an older tradition, dating back to the writings of the great postwar historians Richard Hofstadter and Lee Benson, which debunked the so-called Age of the Common Man. According to these scholars, the rhetoric of the Jacksonian era was a cynical charade of powerful elites to flatter their inferiors.

A similarly complex picture has emerged concerning the democratization of political power in early America. Ardent debunkers of "Jacksonian democracy" like Edward Pessen argued that the antebellum United States groaned under the almost unbroken rule of nearly hereditary regional elites whose roots dated back to the colonial period. Sidney Aronson's study of federal officeholding more or less substantiated this idea. From John Adams to Andrew Jackson, high national, state, and local officeholders largely came from the same wealthy, educated class that they always had.

At the same time, historians have found a good deal of evidence for incremental change. Clearly the intensifying demands of democratic politics drove some of the gentleman politicians of the founding era (and their sons) from the fray. Numerous scholars have commented on the apparent professionalization of politics in the early nineteenth century, as less socially and intellectually gifted politicians who expected to make their livings in politics became much more predominant than they had been in the days of Jefferson and Washington. Sean Wilentz has written of the "*embourgoisement*" of American politics, noting that by Jacksonian times, wealth and professional success could as easily allow entry into the political as the family connections that were formerly essential. Jeffrey L. Pasley has upheld a more genuine but also compartmentalized form of democratization by pointing to the more than seventy newspaper editors appointed to office by Andrew Jackson and the hundreds more elected or appointed after that. In the North, most of these editor-officeholders were former journeymen printers or hardscrabble rural lawyers with little formal education, making their elevation a real advance for common men, if not the Common Man in general.

In the most systematic study of these matters yet produced, Whitman H. Ridgway analyzed political leadership in local communities, using Maryland as his test case. Ridgway argued that traditional oligarchies continued their domination in relatively homogeneous areas such as the rural South. More diverse and economically dynamic locations like the city of Baltimore underwent a *specialization* of leadership rather than full-out democratization. After the 1820s, the "wealthy and prominent men" who had controlled the oligarchic politics of earlier eras increasingly "eschewed direct competition in the political realm in favor of concentrating their energies in other specialized areas" such as private business, where the real power increasingly lay. Although the old oligarchs continued to wield great influence be-

hind the scenes, during the Jacksonian era they learned to share public power with other men whose status was based more on ability and effort than wealth and family connections. The result was a system of plural oligarchies that Ridgway labels "polyarchy."

At the start of the twenty-first century, the debate among historians over democratization has moved beyond questions of officeholding and adult male voter turnout. A new wave of political history has sought to broaden the definition of democracy to include a much wider range of behaviors that should be redefined as political. Historians have shown that those on the margins of formal politics or even excluded from citizenship altogether—including landless laborers, free people of color, and women of all social classes—found ways of making their interests felt in the public sphere of the early nineteenth century. David Waldstreicher and Simon Newman have shown that parades, street demonstrations, and riots had their place in a rambunctious political culture only beginning to define who was let in and who was left out of this raucous popular scramble for a voice.

Scholars who analyze political language have also discovered the critical importance that changes in rhetorical style played in transforming the United States into a more democratic political culture in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. American political rhetoric on the printed page took on the spontaneous, emphatic quality of the stump speech. Politicians and editors found it necessary to communicate with a mass audience that needed to be informed as well as interested. The result was a simpler, cruder, starker—more democratic—mode of discourse.

Women's historians have made it clear that women's role in the early nineteenth century remained a public one that exercised critical influence on reform movements, the operations of government, and even the party politics from which they were officially excluded. Women as suffrage advocates, society hostesses, abolitionist activists, and plantation mistresses exercised a powerful role in politics even if formal democratization for women had to wait until a later century.

See also **America and the World; American Character and Identity; Citizenship; Class: Overview; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1828; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalist Party; Founding Fathers; Government; Individualism; Jackson, Andrew; Liberty; Natural Rights; People of America; Politics; Popular Sovereignty; Presidency, The; Women: Political Participation.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allgor, Catherine. *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a City and a Government.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000.

Altschuler, Glenn C., and Stuart M Blumin. *Rude Republic: Americans and Their Politics in the Nineteenth Century.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Aronson, Sidney H. *Status and Kinship in the Higher Civil Service: Standards of Selection in the Administrations of John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Andrew Jackson.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Chambers, William Nisbet. *Political Parties in a New Nation: The American Experience, 1776–1809.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Dahl, Robert A. *On Democracy.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998.

Formisano, Ronald P. *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971.

———. "Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789–1840." *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–487.

———. *The Transformation of Political Culture: Massachusetts Parties, 1790s–1840s.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man.* New York: Free Press, 1992.

Huntington, Samuel P. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers": Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic.* Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001.

Pasley, Jeffrey L., Andrew W. Robertson, and David Waldstreicher, eds. *Beyond the Founders: New Approaches to the Political History of the Early American Republic.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Ridgway, Whitman H. *Community Leadership in Maryland, 1790–1840: A Comparative Analysis of Power in Society.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979.

Robertson, Andrew W. *The Language of Democracy: Political Rhetoric in the United States and Britain, 1790–1900.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1995; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2005.

Schumpeter, Joseph A. *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy.* New York: Harper, 1942.

Shade, William G. *Democratizing the Old Dominion: Virginia and the Second Party System, 1824–1861.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996.

Varon, Elizabeth R. *We Mean to Be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Waldstreicher, David. *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776–1820.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Wilentz, Sean. "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America." *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 45–63.

Jeffrey L. Pasley
Andrew W. Robertson

DEMOGRAPHY Rapid, unprecedented population growth was the salient feature of American demography from 1754 to 1829. The astounding expansion of that interval came about primarily through exceptionally high fertility rates and relatively low mortality rates. Although immigration was an important growth factor both earlier and later in U.S. history, during those years it paled by comparison to the rate of natural increase in the native population. In fact, inward migration generated less than 4 percent of overall population growth in that period.

The burgeoning population was no match for the vastness of the new nation. Throughout the colonial and early republican era, people spread thinly across the land, making labor scarce and epidemics few. Consequently, wages were good and public health excellent by the standards of the day. Free white American males had an enviable quality of life and level of material well-being. They lived longer than populations elsewhere and better than many people alive outside the United States today. Women and slaves did not fare as well, but their life expectancy was at least comparable to that of their counterparts elsewhere.

TOTAL POPULATION AND GROWTH RATES

The population of British America rose by about 3 percent annually from 1750 to 1830, with a slightly higher growth rate in the mid-Atlantic area and a somewhat lower rate in New England. As a result, the number of people doubled about every twenty-five years. Philosopher and doomsayer Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) foresaw dire consequences of such rapid growth; Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), on the other hand, celebrated the peopling of the new nation. Most Americans of the time tended to view population growth as a sign of progress and a way to reduce the hazards of the sparsely inhabited frontier.

Although establishing accurate population counts is difficult for the early years, scholars esti-mate that the colonies contained about 1 million residents in 1740 and nearly 2.5 million by 1775. More than half a million Europeans had come to North America as indentured servants by that date. Nearly half a million blacks—only about eighteen thousand free—resided in the colonies when America declared its independence from Britain. One of these was Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave and the first man to die in the name of American freedom. After the American Revolution, national census records indicate a population of 5.3 million by 1800 and nearly 13 million by 1830. As Table 1 indicates, the nonwhite population remained a stable proportion of the total throughout the period from 1790 to 1830. Most people resided in rural areas, although the percentage of urban dwellers steadily grew over time.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY RACE

More than 70 percent of individuals living in the colonies were native born by 1700. People of European descent came mostly from British stock; by 1750, descendants of British emigrants outnumbered those with French blood by nearly twenty to one. This is not surprising, given that Spain and England were the primary owners of North American territory at this time. France, which ceded the Louisiana Territory in 1762, did not reacquire it until 1800, and then held it only to 1803. By 1760, settlers had spread throughout New England, down the Atlantic coast, and into the Piedmont. The population of the original thirteen colonies divided roughly into thirds among New England, the mid-Atlantic, and the South at the time of the American Revolution.

Even before the Revolution, intrepid pioneers had begun to cut through the Cumberland Gap and enter what became Kentucky and Tennessee. The Northwest Territory joined the original colonies during the 1780s, and the Louisiana Purchase added large amounts of land in 1803. Florida came into the mix in 1819. This was the sum of the United States for over twenty years. Not until the 1840s did the country expand again.

By the time Britain and the United States engaged in another war in 1812, just over 1 million people—about 15 percent of the total population—lived west of the Appalachians. In that year, the center of population (COP) moved westward from Maryland to Virginia. Population growth rates west of the Appalachians ranged from 5 to 7 percent annually in the early decades of the nineteenth century, and the area that became West Virginia contained the COP each decade from 1820 to 1850. Escalating growth continued to be a hallmark of the trans-

TABLE 1

Population of the United States, 1790–1830

Year	POPULATION (millions)			PERCENTAGE		% Increase in Total from Previous Decade	% Increase in Total Due to Immigration
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite	Urban		
1790	3.9	3.2	0.7	17.9	5.2		
1800	5.3	4.3	1.0	18.9	6.1	35.9	n/a
1810	7.2	5.9	1.3	18.1	7.3	35.8	3.3
1820	9.6	7.9	1.7	17.7	7.2	33.3	2.1
1830	12.9	10.6	2.3	17.8	11.7	34.4	3.8

Appalachian area, which hosted almost half of all Americans when the first shots were fired at Fort Sumter.

The southern population differed from that in the rest of the nation long before the Civil War. As Table 2 shows, the South was home to fewer than 40 percent of whites but over 90 percent of blacks—mostly slaves—throughout the early republican era.

FERTILITY

Early Americans were notoriously fecund. Although precise measures of fertility are impossible to obtain, demographers have used various indirect ways to estimate typical family size. These include the number of children born per one thousand people, number of children born per one thousand women of childbearing years, number of children under age five per one thousand women of childbearing years (also known as the child-woman ratio), and total fertility rates. Infant mortality rates as well as fertility obviously affect the child-woman ratio, but data available for early years often yield no other measure of fertility. Total fertility rates attempt to measure the number of children the average woman would have had if she lived throughout her entire child-bearing period (usually ages twenty to forty-four).

White birthrates in North America per one thousand women were from about forty-five to fifty in colonial days, as compared to just under thirty in Europe at the same time and twelve in the United States in 2004. Virtually all children were born to married couples, and colonial women married early, at an average age of between twenty and twenty-three—about two years earlier than their European counterparts. Fragmentary evidence indicates that the average woman in 1800 married before age twenty and bore seven children, with very few women remaining unmarried. Not until after the 1810 birth cohort

of women (who began having children by about 1830) did marital fertility begin to decline significantly.

Obtaining estimates of family size for the white population is challenging; doing the same for nonwhites is nearly impossible. Perhaps the best evidence comes from interviews with ex-slaves conducted by the Works Progress Administration during the 1930s, which indicate that the average number of children depended upon family type. These data suggest that two-parent consolidated households (about half of families) had 7.2 children on average, whereas two-parent divided households (one-eighth of families) had 8.0 and one-parent female-headed households (one-third of families) 5.7 children. Naturally, these figures pertain to antebellum families rather than those from the colonial or early republican era. Nonetheless, they suggest that black fertility was comparable to white fertility in those days.

MORTALITY

After the first years of starvation in the colonies, low mortality rates prevailed. During the colonial period, the annual death rate in Europe was about forty per thousand people; in the colonies, the figure was more like from twenty to twenty-five per thousand. White American males achieved an unheard-of life expectancy. Table 3 compares life expectancy for groups of British residents and U.S. native-born white males. Not surprisingly, British peers (nobility) could expect to enjoy a longer lifespan starting at birth than the ordinary population. Yet peers at age ten anticipated from four to nine fewer years of life on average than white male Americans born from 1750 to 1825.

Another notable feature of the American experience was the low rate of child mortality. Before 1750, children and infants suffered high death rates

TABLE 2

Southern Population by Race, 1800–1830 (millions)

	SOUTHERN WHITES		SOUTHERN BLACKS			Slaves as % of Free Persons in the South
	Number	% US Whites	Number Slaves	Number Free	% US Blacks	
1800	1.70	39.5	0.86	0.06	92.0	49
1810	2.19	37.1	1.16	0.11	97.7	50
1820	2.78	35.2	1.51	0.13	96.5	52
1830	3.55	33.5	1.98	0.18	93.9	53

everywhere. But by 1800, the death rate in the United States had slowed to about twenty per thousand babies dying before their first birthday. This was far lower than death rates elsewhere in the world. By comparison, the figure for the early twenty-first century is less than ten per thousand in the United States.

Table 3 specifies two mortality measures: life expectancy at birth for English subpopulations and life expectancy at age ten for English and American subpopulations. Researchers using historical data often rely upon the latter so as not to confound trends in adult mortality with trends in infant and child mortality. Evidence suggests that life expectancy at age ten rose through most of the eighteenth century in the United States. Food, fuel, and housing materials were plentiful, and thinly populated areas kept the communication of diseases to a minimum. But the first three decades of the nineteenth century were not so kind, and life expectancy declined, partly because of crowding, poor sanitation, and unsafe water.

Aggregate patterns mask an important gender difference, however. Throughout the period, white males who survived infancy lived into their sixties, whereas women could expect to die in their forties. Given the high fertility rates and significant possibility of death during childbirth, this difference, however lamentable, is understandable.

As with fertility, less is known about the mortality of the nonwhite population. Recent scholarship suggests that, although infant mortality among slaves was relatively high, slaves who survived past childhood enjoyed life spans nearly as long as those of their masters.

IMMIGRATION AND POPULATION GROWTH
External migration dominated American population growth only in the early days of European settlement. Very rough estimates put the flow of immigrants into the United States at 115,000 between 1730 and 1760, 444,000 from 1760 to 1790, and 673,000 from 1790 to 1820. By 1775, only 1 in 10 whites and about 2 in 10 blacks were foreign-born. The birth rate of the native white and black population in the last decade of the eighteenth century was about 55 per 1,000 and the death rate about 28 per 1,000, leading to a rate of natural increase of 27 per 1,000—almost exactly the same as the rate of population growth overall. As Table 1 indicated, immigration mattered little for population growth between 1790 and 1830 as well. Although black slaves were imported into the United States in significant numbers until the ban on the trans-atlantic trade in 1808, natural increase was far more important as a source of population growth for them, just as it was for their white masters.

ETHNICITY AND DEMOGRAPHY: A NOTE
Overall birth and death rates were similar for blacks and whites in British North America. This was an anomaly, since elsewhere in the Americas, black life expectancy was quite short. In part, U.S. slaves lived longer because of agricultural work that was less brutal (not necessarily as a consequence of kinder masters, but rather, as a result of easier crops to raise and better climates), a superior diet, and a more even gender composition. The distribution of imported relative to native blacks shows the contrast sharply. Only about 6 percent of the slaves crossing the Atlantic came to the United States. Yet by 1825 the country contained 36 percent of slaves in the Western Hemisphere.

The main group excluded from the demographic bounty of the New World was Native Americans, who were devastated by smallpox and measles early on and forced migration later. By 1715, nonindigenous people dominated North America. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 set the stage for the tragic Trail of Tears, on which one-quarter of the Cherokee tribe

TABLE 3

A Comparison of Life Expectancy for U.S. White Males, British Male Peers, and the English Population			
	England and Wales (both sexes)	British Peers	U.S. Native-Born White Males
1750–1774	36.3	44.6 46.3	55.8
1775–1799	37.0	46.9 46.1	51.9
1800–1825	41.5	49.3 48.3	52.3

died while traveling from North Carolina to Oklahoma in mid-winter.

See also **Childbirth and Childbearing; Contraception and Abortion; Domestic Life; Health and Disease; Immigration and Immigrants: Overview; Immigration and Immigrants: Race and Ethnicity; Slavery: Slave Trade, African.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bogue, Donald J. *The Population of the United States.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959.

Coale, Ansley J., and Melvin Zelnik. *New Estimates of Fertility and Population in the United States.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Fogel, Robert William, and Stanley L. Engerman. *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1974.

Forster, Colin, and G. S. L. Tucker. *Economic Opportunity and White American Fertility Ratios, 1800–1860.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America, 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Smith, Daniel Scott. "The Demographic History of Colonial New England." *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 165–183.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical Statistics of the U.S.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960, 1975. Also available at http://www.census.gov.

Wahl, Jenny. "New Results on the Decline in Household Fertility in the United States from 1750 to 1900." In *Long-Term Factors in American Economic Growth.* Edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

Jenny B. Wahl

DENOMINATIONALISM Religious denominationalism—the peaceful co-existence of multiple churches within one community or nation—was nothing new when it became a distinguishing feature of the new Republic. Denominationalism had existed since the very beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, when the intoxicating concept of the priesthood of all believers provided many a sixteenth-century religious reformer with the empowering conviction that he and his adherents, whether large or small in number, could create the "true" Christian church. No society could survive for very long under these circumstances without an eventual agreement that "true" churches might exist side by side. What made denominationalism distinctive in the new Republic was the context of unprecedented religious freedom and competition in which it flourished.

DENOMINATIONALISM TOLERATED

In 1689, the English Parliament's Act of Toleration officially introduced to the nation and empire the concept of a denominationalized Christianity regulated by a tax-supported (established) church. By this time, the transition to a liberal religious order was already apparent in the British American colonies where toleration had been written into colonial compacts in Rhode Island and Maryland in the 1630s, West Jersey in the 1670s, and Pennsylvania and East Jersey in the early 1680s.

The Church of England (Anglican) consequently expended considerable energy and resources to compete with its offshoots in America, creating a distinctive but European-influenced denominational system. At first it struggled mainly against New England Congregationalists and mid-Atlantic Society of Friends (Quakers), but Presbyterians and the Regular (Calvinist) Baptists were rising in the colonial mix, as well as Dutch Reformed, Lutherans, and German Reformed, and smaller groups like the Moravian Brethren, Roman Catholics, and Sephardic Jews. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church succeeded in establishing tax-supported parishes throughout the southern colonies and in the lower counties of New York. It also initiated a building renaissance that transformed the landscape of British America. By the late 1730s, on the eve of the first Great Awakening, most Americans paid taxes to an established church (the Congregational still in New England as well as the Anglican), just as the crown's subjects did in Britain. Even in Pennsylvania, whose policy of toleration was celebrated by enlightened philosophers, Quakers, dominated the provincial government until the French and Indian War (1754–1760). Most churches still looked to Europe for models of organization and leadership.

Even the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s—embodying the first rise of evangelical revivalism in America and increasing the scope of religious choice—was still promoted largely by Calvinists migrating from Europe.

DENOMINATIONALISM UNBOUND

The American Revolution transformed denominationalism, both conceptually and practically. For one thing, independence as good as destroyed the idea of a tax-supported church co-existing with other churches. For another, the Revolution initiated the conversion of a largely European model of denominationalism into an American one. Twentieth-century religious historians had widely diverging takes on how this occurred.

Writing in the 1920s, H. Richard Niebuhr was contemptuous of the tendency of American Protestants to reflect social mores (which he defined as often racially biased and class-based, both in his time and in the past) rather than enduring Christian values. By contrast, Sidney E. Mead described "the denomination" as unique to the United States and unprecedented in Christendom. His six characteristics of American denominationalism remain pertinent: (1) a sectarianism heedless of history and tradition, (2) the church understood as voluntary association, (3) an emphasis on missionary enterprise, (4) tactical dependence on revivalism, (5) the flight from reason in religious practice, and (6) competition for membership. In yet another contrast, Sydney E. Ahlstrom, in his magisterial survey, *A Religious History of the American People* (1972), emphasized the persistence of European influence on American religion, but far-flung across a vast American continent.

Denominationalism as religious history has fallen out of fashion with American scholars. Yet the continuous dividing and subdividing of religions into competing groups before and after the Revolution and, significantly, the rejection of toleration in favor of the bolder concept of religious freedom, have by no means been exhausted as singularly American subjects. And institutional issues, particularly state-church relations and the changing internal structure of churches, are critical to understanding religious expansion in the era of nation building.

To take just two cases: the Baptists, both the Regular (Calvinist) and the older but smaller Free Will varieties, benefited from the popularity of the Great Awakening, partly because of the ease with which Baptist churches could be organized by traveling preachers, and preachers themselves could be raised up by churches. Additionally, this rising denomination embraced the powerful new definition of religious freedom as a natural right. Combining forces with freethinking politicians in Virginia, John Leland (1754–1841) and co-religionists aggressively pursued the disestablishment of the Anglican Church, or of any other form of tax support for churches. Their victory was codified in Thomas Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom in 1786. Isaac Backus (1724–1806) was less successful in New England, where a form of church taxation remained in place until 1833 in Massachusetts. But in the meanwhile, Baptist congregations and membership steadily proliferated throughout the disestablished South and the West.

And then there were the Methodists. Multiple variables account for the perfectionist and anti-Calvinist evangelical movement of John Wesley (1703–1791) and its unexpected triumph on the American continent. But the Methodists' success derived in part from their rapid and pragmatic organization into the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784, just in time to compete with the newly formed Protestant Episcopal Church. Ironically, despite their reputation for empowering women, working men, and slaves (much like the Baptists), the Methodist ministerial hierarchy (unlike the Baptist) was among the most autocratic in the country. Bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816) controlled many aspects of Methodist preachers' lives. Yet this control permitted the bishop to create an expansive organization capable of sending itinerants into any part of the American states at virtually a moment's notice. Methodist membership throughout the nation, but especially in the South and West, soared after 1800. The Revolution provided opportunities that made the religious order of the colonies look restricted and strongly derivative of European models by comparison.

DENOMINATIONALISM AMERICANIZED

Three major late-twentieth-century interpretations will likely shape twenty-first-century understandings of the character of American denominationalism after 1800. Nathan O. Hatch's *The Democratization of American Christianity* (1989) revives an older historiographical concern with what he argues is the uniquely democratic ethos of American religion. Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross* (1997) attributes the rising dominance of evangelicalism in the South to the eager adoption of the South's culture of male mastery by Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian ministers. Mark A. Noll's *America's God* (2002) traces the intellectual and social evolution of mainstream American theology from the Great

Awakening to the Civil War, arguing that American religious culture forged the core of American national identity over the same time.

For these and many other reasons, Americans evinced greater religious faith in the years following disestablishment of churches rather than less. It was not necessarily because they agreed with each other. While churches made efforts to cooperate in camp meetings, in urban Bible and other tract societies, and in missionary work (long-standing among Native Americans), the high tide of the Second Great Awakening was marked by sometimes virulent denominational and theological conflict, especially between the Methodists and the Calvinist churches. Earlier and new splinter movements also thrived, among them the Shakers, Universalists, and Swedenborgians; the Unitarians, Christians, and Disciples of Christ; and German Pietist and Methodist breakaway sects. In the 1840s would come the Millerites and Seventh-day Adventists, and ultimately outpacing them all, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons).

Disputes were also common between blacks and whites in the larger churches, prompting preachers like Richard Allen to lead black membership into separate denominations, especially the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1816) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1822). African Baptist churches were legion, especially in the South. Denominational splinterings also affected, and were affected by, gender relations. An unusually large number of women became prophets and preachers in the Second Great Awakening, and an unusually large number of these first burst forth in small movements like the Free Will Baptists; the Christians; the Primitive Methodists; and later, the Millerites. How institutionalization changed gender roles is one of many understudied issues relating to American women and their churches.

Despite this diversity, the two churches that had accepted religious freedom from the start—the Methodists and the Baptists—replicated themselves spectacularly, becoming the overwhelming majority in much of the country as early as 1830. Among the older churches, Congregationalists survived in New England; the Presbyterians in northern New Jersey, western Pennsylvania, and other parts of the Appalachian West; and the Roman Catholics in Louisiana. Episcopalians and Quakers likewise remained concentrated in small congregations in various parts of the country. But while American denominationalism encompassed a tremendous variety of groups practicing an extraordinary variety of faiths, it was also influenced by the increasingly dominant evangelical Methodists and Baptists in all parts of the country.

In conclusion, the denominational order in the new Republic was shaped by the old-fashioned issues of disestablishment, religious competition, and Americans' rising acceptance of freedom of conscience unimpeded by government regulation. The rejection of the concept of toleration in favor of religious freedom, along with the sensitivity to church and state relations it demanded and the cultural, particularly evangelical, energies it unleashed, remains among the most important transformations in American history.

See also **African Americans: African American Religion; Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Congregationalists; Disciples of Christ; Disestablishment; Methodists; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Moravians; Presbyterians; Professions: Clergy; Quakers; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Shakers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Andrews, Dee E. *The Methodists and Revolutionary America, 1760–1800: The Shaping of an Evangelical Culture.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Bonomi, Patricia U. *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brekus, Catherine A. *Strangers and Pilgrims: Female Preaching in America, 1740–1845.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Gaustad, Edwin Scott, and Philip L. Barlow. *New Historical Atlas of Religion in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Hatch, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity.* New Haven, Conn.: University Press, 1989.

Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt.* New York: Knopf, 1997.

Lambert, Frank. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Mead, Sidney E. *The Lively Experiment: The Shaping of Christianity in America.* New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Mullin, Robert Bruce, and Russell E. Richey, eds. *Reimagining Denominationalism: Interpretive Essays.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Niebuhr, H. Richard. *The Social Sources of Denominationalism.* New York: Holt, 1929.

Noll, Mark A. *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Smith, Timothy L. "Congregation, State and Denomination: the Forming of the American Religious Structure." *William and Mary Quarterly* 25, 3rd ser. (1968): 155-76.

Dee E. Andrews

DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY RELATIONS, AMERICAN INDIAN

How did American Indians shift from being essential allies with the ability to shape imperial destinies to being marginalized dependents of the United States, a new nation determined to dominate the continent? Between 1754 and 1815, American Indians and colonizers shared in the creation of diplomatic and military customs that underscored the interdependence of both societies. However, the dramatic events of the Revolutionary and early national eras foreshadowed Indian removal. By the end of those eras, American Indians long accustomed to selecting their own leaders from the village to the tribal levels found themselves residing on reservations monitored by American bureaucrats who worked to create national tribal governments modeled after the United States. American Indian destinies were shaped by inexorable environmental, technological, and demographic changes that neither side controlled. Nevertheless, the continental vision of early Americans, the belief that the United States could possess the continent and exploit its natural resources to become a powerful nation, ultimately determined that American Indians and Americans would live in separate societies. Americans used the dependency of native peoples to estrange them from their homelands and consolidate their control of the land and the people within it.

FIGHTING IN THE AMERICAN MANNER

At the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1760), early Americans and American Indians depended on each other. George Washington quickly discovered this truth as a young man. In October 1753, Washington volunteered to investigate reports of French encroachments on Virginia's western frontier. Washington worked as a surveyor and owned more than two thousand acres of land at the time. Therefore, he had a vested interest in stemming French encroachment. Like many nascent Revolutionaries, including Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, Washington speculated in Indian lands. Investors in colonial land companies were often political and military leaders who used their influence to challenge the French and their Indian allies.

In May 1754 the twenty-one-year-old Washington became commander of the Virginia Regiment, raised to oppose the French and their Indian allies in the Ohio Valley. Ironically, British colonial militias depended on Native Americans in their quest. A party of Seneca Indians escorted Washington over the western rim of the Appalachian Mountains. The Senecas and their Iroquois confederates had been allied with the British since the mid-seventeenth century. They joined Washington as part of their commitment to the covenant chain, a series of English-Indian alliances that brought a measure of stability to Indian-white relations in the Northeast and laid the groundwork for Iroquois dominance over other Native Americans in the region during the eighteenth century. On 28 May 1754, Iroquois warriors led Washington to a French encampment south of modern-day Pittsburgh, where they surprised approximately thirty French regulars and massacred the encampment. French survivors, including their senior officer, Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville, quickly surrendered. Washington, however, was powerless to stop his Indian compatriots from driving a hatchet into the French commander's brain. A leading Seneca warrior named Tanaghrisson then washed his hands in the soft tissue in a ritual murder designed to illustrate the covenant chain's power over its French enemies. Washington's first military engagement ended disastrously, with clear violations of European rules of war. The French called him a war criminal. The English historian Horace Walpole correctly stated that, "the volley fired by a young Virginian in the backwoods of America set the world on fire." The French and Indian War, an imperial war for global dominance, thus began with an engagement that illustrated fighting in the "American manner."

The French had their reckoning with Washington in two separate engagements the following July. On 3 July 1754, Washington's badly outnumbered troops surrendered to seven hundred French and Indian warriors at the Battle of Fort Necessity. One-third of his three hundred men lost their lives. Then, on 9 July 1755, British general Edward Braddock, George Washington, and thirteen hundred men (one-quarter of whom were colonials) engaged a force of nine hundred French and Indians near Fort Duquesne at the Battle of the Wilderness (also called Braddock's Defeat). The French and Indian force killed nine hundred men, including Braddock, largely because they were unaccustomed to wilderness combat. Washington joined frontiersman Daniel Boone to rally the survivors.
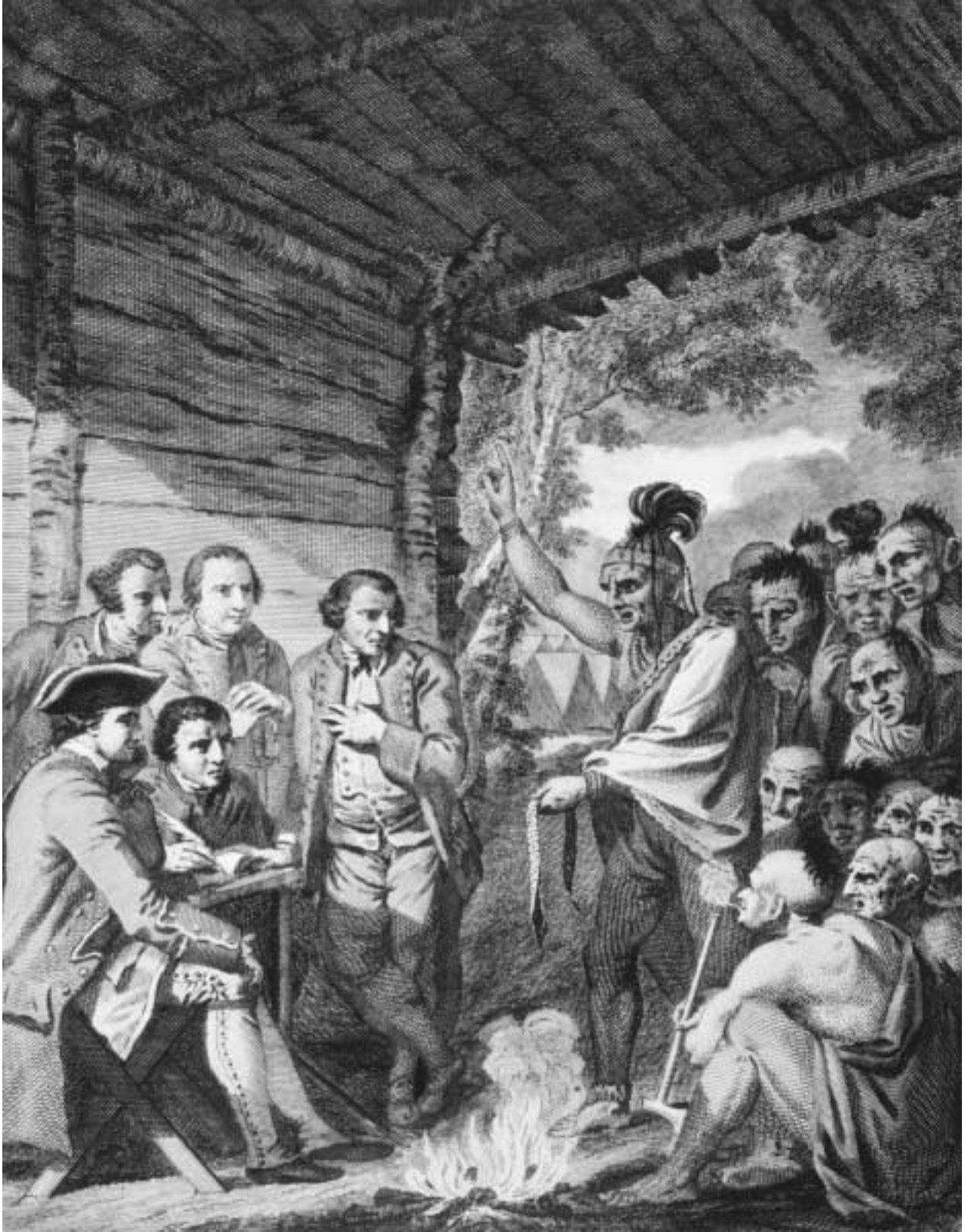
Henry Bouquet Negotiates with the Indians. When Colonel Bouquet began a campaign in 1764 to subdue Shawnees, Senecas, and Delawares in Ohio, he was approached by a delegation of Indians who agreed to return hostages in exchange for a cessation of hostilities. This 1766 engraving depicts the meeting, which occurred near the Muskingum River. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

Anglo-Americans such as Washington survived and adjusted to warfare that reflected American Indian traditions. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the Indians' weapons, including the club, the spear, and the bow and arrow, required close physical combat. Warriors developed military tactics, such as the ambush, that enhanced their chance of survival and derived from their intimate knowledge of the land. "Fighting in the American manner," even with the benefit of European military technology, typically referred to wilderness combat in which an unseen enemy surprised its opponent. Colonial militias and British regular armies were ill prepared for this kind of combat. British North Americans modeled their armies after European nations. In their view, disciplined, hierarchically organized troops, trained to march in close formations, worked best. Anglo-American armies thus made ideal targets for ambush. Indian warriors easily shot down heavily burdened troops hauling cumbersome equipment over unfamiliar terrain. Until the 1790s, when American armies had clearly adjusted to Indian warfare, American Indians had a decided advantage in the deep woods. Conversely, Anglo-Americans achieved their best results through sieges of forts and villages.

CONSEQUENCES OF BRITISH VICTORY

On 8 September 1760, Pierre François de Rigaud Vaudreuil de Cavagnial surrendered to British general Jeffrey Amherst at Montreal, formally ending France's control of much of the North American continent. British victory in the French and Indian War significantly limited the autonomy of tribes throughout the Eastern Woodlands. The Spanish retained hegemony over a vast tract of North American land west of the Mississippi commonly referred to as the Spanish Borderlands. But the removal of the French from the interior of America meant that the tribes now had few alternatives for trade.

In 1763 the British tried to end intercultural diplomacy and to rationalize the fur trade. The exchange of furs for European goods would continue, but only at prices set by the British. A host of changes came with this transformation. First, unlike the French, who used intermarriage to create alliances with tribes, most British traders did not have real or metaphorical kin ties with the tribes with which they dealt. Second, the British significantly limited the use of gift exchanges, which for centuries had formed the keystone of alliances between Indians and whites. Third, Anglo-American land hunger threatened the interior tribes, who understood that the Anglo-Americans' primary objective was the dis-

possession of the Indians. The Creeks referred to the governor of Georgia as Ecunnauaupopohau (always asking for land). Similarly, the Shawnees referred to the Virginians as Long Knives, underscoring the latter's intentions.

A series of localized native rebellions erupted in response to these changes. Inspired by an Ottawa Indian leader named Pontiac and a Delaware holy man named Neolin, warriors from many different tribes joined forces and destroyed British forts across the Great Lakes. The British then enacted the Proclamation of 1763, the first of many attempts at creating a cultural barrier between Indians and whites. The Proclamation line restricted white settlement beyond the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The British quelled these revolts, known collectively as Pontiac's Rebellion, through tough military action and even biological warfare. In June 1763 British traders knowingly gave smallpox-infested blankets to a visiting delegation of Delaware diplomats. An epidemic soon ravaged the Ohio Valley. General Amherst encouraged these measures, writing that the British needed to "try Every other method that can serve to Extirpate this Execrable race."

IMPACT OF THE CONQUEST THEORY

The Proclamation line antagonized American Indians and alienated American colonists from the British Empire. For one thing, colonists objected to the assertion of King George III's right of soil, based on the claim that land taken from the French in war belonged to the king rather than the people. On the other hand, colonists overwhelmingly subscribed to the conquest theory, whereby Indian tribes that had sided with the French (and later, the British, in the American Revolution) had forfeited their right to the soil. Settlers then could exercise their preemption rights, meaning that they would gain title to Indian lands by surveying and improving tracts that could later be purchased.

De facto adherence by the British to the conquest theory gained momentum after the French and Indian War, for Indians were regarded as nonpersons in British law and even well-meaning officials lacked the resources and the influence to protect them. Full-scale warfare between Indians and whites became commonplace. During the Cherokee War of 1759–1761, the Cherokees attacked encroaching settlements, indiscriminately killing men, women, and children along the Carolina and Virginia frontiers. In December 1763, Pennsylvania vigilantes known as the Paxton Boys killed a group of peaceful Conestogas. Perhaps the most egregious example of total, ra-

cialized warfare is the Gnadenhutten Massacre. On 8 March 1782, along the banks of the Muskingum River in eastern Ohio, another group of Anglo vigilantes rounded up ninety Christian Indians, divided the men and women, and used mallets to murder them. Periodic campaigns of ethnic cleansing accelerated on both sides of the frontier. Richard White's *The Middle Ground* (1991) shows that by the mid–1770s, "murder gradually and inexorably became the dominant American Indian policy" (p. 384). Even so, commercial and cultural ties between Indians and whites remained important. In 1770 skins and furs were the third-leading export in Georgia and the Carolinas.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By 1774, on the eve of the American Revolution, settlers had effectively challenged the Proclamation of 1763. Their settlements reached beyond the Appalachian Mountains into western Pennsylvania and Virginia. Pioneers began to force the hand of colonial officials, who could not control the movement westward. Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company hired Daniel Boone and other pioneers to explore what is now Kentucky and to establish a presence there. Shawnees, Delawares, Miamis, and a host of Algonquian tribes from the Ohio Valley reacted to these developments by forming an alliance known as the Scioto Confederacy. Multitribal alliances became increasingly common in the Revolutionary and early national periods. Native peoples recognized the fatal consequences of tribalism and sought an alternative in the pan-Indian efforts of warriors such as the Miami chief, Little Turtle, and the Shawnee warriors, Bluejacket and Tecumseh. On 10 October 1774 the Scioto Confederacy engaged Virginians at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers at the Battle of Point Pleasant. The Virginians lost eighty-one men, a larger number than the Shawnees. However, the Shawnees were devastated by the outcome of the battle as prominent fighting men, including Tecumseh's father, Puckeshinwau, died.

Following their victory at Point Pleasant, the British forced the Scioto Confederacy to acknowledge boundary lines established in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1768), which ceded most of Kentucky to American settlement. Less than a year after the battle, in April 1775, Boonesborough, Kentucky, was founded. The violence over Kentucky continued, but scorched earth campaigns led by George Rogers Clark and bands of Kentucky volunteers between 1778 and 1781 forced the Ohio Valley tribes to concede Kentucky.

Warfare erupted along the southern frontier as well. Between 1775 and 1781, Chickamauga Cherokees led by Dragging Canoe waged a series of attacks on settlers in eastern Tennessee. Independence-minded Americans such as the noted Indian fighter John Sevier fought back. Many historians speculate that these frontier engagements informed John Dickinson's *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Their Taking Up Arms* (1775) as well as Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence in 1776. Thomas Paine joined the chorus early in 1776 with *Common Sense*, in which he referred to King George III as "that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes against us." Patriot forces allied with the Catawba Indians, long-standing enemies of the Cherokees, eventually achieved victory over the Chickamaugas. Peace between the United States and the Cherokees was not achieved until 28 November 1785 with the Treaty of Hopewell, which resulted in massive Cherokee land cessions in South Carolina, North Carolina, and Tennessee.

The Revolution in the backcountry resulted in familiar cycles of war and dispossession. Anthony F. C. Wallace's *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (1999), identifies a four-part process: (1) whites encroach on Indian lands and commit atrocities against the Indians; (2) native peoples engage in a bloody, equally random retaliation; (3) British or American troops, or both, invade or threaten to invade Indian lands to protect settlers and punish the Indians; and (4) a peace treaty is signed that results in a significant land cession. In the many military engagements between Indians and whites, colonial powers intervened in response to protracted warfare between neighboring Indians and whites. Both British and American policymakers reacted to frontier violence that they could not control.

Disease, overhunting, and the consequences of total warfare combined to significantly weaken American Indian tribes during the American Revolution. A massive smallpox epidemic raced through Indian communities from Canada to Mexico between 1779 and 1783. Outbreaks of smallpox often coincided with the most dramatic conflicts between Indians and whites. In 1779 George Washington ordered Major General John Sullivan to systematically burn Iroquois cornfields, orchards, and villages in an attempt to break the covenant chain linking the British to the Iroquois Confederacy. Iroquois survivors of this scorched earth campaign—refugees from forty devastated villages—faced a long northern winter without food. The Iroquois Confederacy between the

Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Tuscarora tribes disintegrated as the Revolutionary War divided the loyalties of the tribes between the central antagonists.

FORMATION OF AN INDIAN POLICY

War and disease contributed to the attrition of Indian communities throughout the eastern United States. A series of immediate and unforgiving consequences followed. After the Revolution, land replaced deerskins as the primary unit of trade. By 1800 approximately six hundred thousand American Indians faced just over five million whites and African Americans. The weakness of the Articles of Confederation created a vacuum of power that a host of competing entities exploited. Using the conquest theory, between 1784 and 1786 land companies, state governments, and private individuals signed a number of treaties with American Indians. In their rush to acquire Indian land, fraudulent treaty makers failed to negotiate with approved tribal leaders and rarely received congressional approval for their actions.

Endemic warfare, particularly north of the Ohio River, began to undermine the social order of Indian communities. The Shawnee town of Chillicothe, originally located along the Scioto River in south-central Ohio, was attacked by Kentuckians and reconstituted by Shawnees four times between 1774 and 1794. Indian men, accustomed to clearing fields, hunting, and regulating the civil affairs of their communities, were long absent. Time-honored harvest ceremonies were interrupted. Kin groups weakened from the loss of members and leadership turned to their culturally related neighbors for support. Native peoples increasingly reconstituted themselves according to their disposition toward war and peace, militant resistance or accommodation.

In August 1786 the Confederation Congress attempted to stem the violence on American frontiers when it created Indian departments north and south of the Ohio River. Under Henry Knox, secretary of war under both the Articles of Confederation and President George Washington, these departments evolved into a series of Indian agencies. Similarly, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which was designed to reverse the years of mayhem that had accompanied Indian–white relations during the Revolution. Among other things, the Northwest Ordinance ended both the conquest theory and the preemption rights that followed from it. After 1787, land west of the Mississippi had to be purchased from the Indians, regardless of their disposition toward the United States. Moreover, treaty making became the exclusive privilege of the United States and its agents.

These policy changes did not diminish hostile actions between Indians and whites. Settlers continued to push north from Kentucky into what is now Ohio. In response, the Miami and Shawnee tribes assembled another multitribal alliance to stem the invasion of their lands. Between 18 and 22 October 1790, Brigadier General Josiah Harmar retaliated by launching the first major assault against the Ohio tribes. The multitribal alliance achieved a decisive victory over Harmar, with 183 of his 1,500 men reported killed or missing. In retaliation, President Washington ordered General Arthur St. Clair to launch another attack on the Ohio tribes. Little Turtle of the Miami tribe and Bluejacket of the Shawnee led an estimated one thousand men against two thousand soldiers under St. Clair in a series of engagements that climaxed on 4 November 1791. At sunrise, a force of Wyandot, Seneca, Ottawa, Potawatomi, Ojibwa, Shawnee, Delaware, and Miami warriors surprised St. Clair's forces. The Americans lost 630 killed, with another 283 wounded, in what amounted to the second-worst defeat of a European force north of Mexico.

It took the United States another three years to mount an effective campaign against the Ohio tribes. On 20 August 1794, Major General Anthony Wayne engaged what remained of Bluejacket and Little Turtle's multitribal confederacy in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. In a series of conflicts earlier that summer, the comparatively undisciplined members of the Indian alliance had steadily withdrawn. Little more than four hundred warriors faced thirty-five hundred Americans. The American victory ended large-scale conflict between Indians and whites north of the Ohio for more than fifteen years. On 3 August 1795, Wayne forced the Ohio tribes to cede all of south and central Ohio to the United States in the Treaty of Greenville.

Under Washington, Henry Knox further developed the civilization strategy. Knox understood that warfare strained both the federal budget and the U.S. military. He argued that a policy of appeasement involving the establishment of Christian missions and the active promotion of Indian leaders willing to compromise made far more sense than indiscriminate, genocidal warfare against native peoples. Also, the Indian trade had to be regulated and linked to land cessions. Between 1796 and 1822, Congress oversaw a factory system in which the U.S. Treasury Department operated a series of trading houses in which traders were licensed and regulated by the

United States. The factory system was essential to Thomas Jefferson and other American presidents, who used the trading houses to accelerate the acquisition of Indian land.

Following the Indian wars of the 1790s, the United States redoubled its commitment to what became known as the "civilization strategy." Benjamin Hawkins served as U.S. Indian agent to the Creeks from 1796 to 1816. During his tenure, Hawkins played a vital role in maintaining peaceful relations between Indians and whites. Frequent correspondence with Thomas Jefferson during his two terms as president (1801–1809) underscored the importance of his post. The Creeks referred to Hawkins as an *isti atcagagi*, or "beloved man," a title that denoted respect and political power among the Creeks.

As president, Jefferson inherited an increasingly effective civilization program. The Eastern Woodland tribes had been significantly weakened by the long backcountry revolution, spanning the years roughly from 1774 to 1794. They soon came to the negotiating table. Jefferson's civilization program had four essential points: (1) traders should charge high rates so that hunters would become indebted and consequently would be forced to sell their lands; (2) influential chiefs should be bribed with land and money; (3) friendly leaders should be formally recognized with trips to the nation's capital and other symbolic gestures designed to bolster their authority and to overawe them with the power of the United States; and (4) if tribes refused to negotiate, traders and government agents should threaten a trade embargo or war. Jefferson's policy achieved remarkable success during his tenure as president. Between 1801 and 1809, he and his associates acquired nearly 200,000 square miles of land that laid the basis for the future states of Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri. His agents negotiated thirty-two treaties in those years as well.

On 30 April 1803, when the United States purchased Louisiana from France, Jefferson created the conditions necessary for the eventual removal of American Indians from the eastern United States. Branches of tribes, including the Chickamauga Cherokees, Delawares, Shawnees, Kickapoos, Weas, Piankashaws and others of the Great Lake area, began to move westward in a series of voluntary removals designed to forestall the deep cultural changes demanded by the United States. In justifying the purchase of French lands beyond the Mississippi, Jefferson argued that western lands might act as a safety valve for the "Indian problem" further east.

REVITALIZATION AND THE WAR OF 1812

Some tribal leaders, such as the Seneca holy man, Handsome Lake, forged a survival strategy intended to avoid removal and retain the cultural sovereignty of his people. In 1799 he created a religious revitalization movement known as the Gaiwiio, or the "good message." Like many of his people, Handsome Lake suffered from the poverty that came with the destruction of animals, the reduction of tribal lands, and the alcohol trade. After a particularly devastating alcohol-induced coma, Handsome Lake awoke with a message born out of a conversion experience reminiscent of the Second Great Awakening. He attempted to revitalize Seneca culture by altering it in accord with many of the central tenets of the civilization program administered by the Quaker missionaries among his people. Men would farm, women would assume control of the domestic sphere, Senecas would disavow alcohol and divorce and make other reforms. The Seneca reservation would resemble, in rough outline, the typical frontier settlement. However, the Code of Handsome Lake (also known as the Longhouse religion) was created by and for the Seneca people. More than three thousand Iroquois follow the Gaiwiio to this day.

In contrast, a significant number of Creeks and Seminoles known as the Red Sticks became a part of a millenarian movement in the early nineteenth century. The Red Sticks fought against both the United States and those Creeks and Seminoles who supported them. For the Red Sticks, a day of fiery judgment was at hand, a time in which those who had supported colonizers and adopted American ways would be defeated. In short, the Red Sticks waged a civil war against those who hoped to compromise and coalesce with the new American Republic. They identified each other by the wands they carried, which were painted red, the color of war. The Chickamauga Cherokee, Dragging Canoe, and the Shawnee brothers, Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa, aroused similar internal discord among the Ohio Valley tribes. In each case, however, the majority of their people rejected militancy, choosing instead to stop the cycle of violence and create a settlement with the Americans that might allow them to retain their lands and some semblance of their distinctive culture.

Nevertheless, the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States unleashed internal discord within tribes. In the Red Stick or Creek War of 1813–1814, the Creek warrior Hillis Hadjo engaged the United States in the Southeast. On 30 August 1813 the Creeks laid siege to Fort Mims, an American outpost in what later became Alabama, and killed ap-

proximately 250 of the fort's inhabitants. Nearly half of the 750 warriors who besieged the fort were also killed. Between September 1813 and March 1814, Major General Andrew Jackson, setting out from Tennessee, quickly put an end to the Red Stick Rebellion. Like the Red Sticks, Jackson did not differentiate between friend and foe. On 27 March 1814, Jackson used the enveloping line, a tactic in which the military units on the tips of the line turned inward as soon as units at the center of the line made contact with the target, to vanquish the Red Sticks at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend.

Like the Red Sticks, the pan-Indian resistance movement led by the Shawnee warrior Tecumseh ended in defeat and death. On 5 October 1813, Tecumseh was killed by American troops at the Battle of Thames. The Creeks, Shawnees, and their Eastern Woodland neighbors then signed treaties that clearly defined their dependent status and yielded vast amounts of land to the Americans. On 9 August 1814, the Creeks agreed to the Treaty of Fort Jackson, which ceded twenty-two million acres, two-thirds of their territory, to the United States. Following these wars, American Indian tribes east of the Mississippi became dependents of the United States who resided on reservations monitored by Christian missionaries and government agents. Tribal leaders no longer seriously considered military conflict with the Americans. The survivors of the Indian wars looked toward a future as nations within a nation.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Proclamation of 1763; Revolution: Military History; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, Fred. *Crucible of War: The Seven Years' War and the Fate of Empire in British North America*, 1754–1766. New York: Knopf, 2000.

Aron, Stephen. *How the West Was Lost: The Transformation of Kentucky from Daniel Boone to Henry Clay.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Calloway, Colin G. *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Cayton, Andrew R. L., and Fredrika J. Teute. *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi*, 1750–1830. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Dowd, Gregory Evans. *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity*, 1745–1815. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Ethridge, Robbie. *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and their World.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. "Biological Warfare in Eighteenth-Century North America: Beyond Jeffrey Amherst." *Journal of American History* 86 (2000): 1552–1580.

Hinderaker, Eric, and Peter C. Mancall. *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Martin, Joel W. *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees' Struggle for a New World.* Boston: Beacon, 1991.

Merrell, James H. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier.* New York: Norton, 1999.

Richter, Daniel K. *Facing East from Indian Country: A Native History of Early America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Sturtevant, William C., gen. ed. *Handbook of North American Indians.* Volume 4: *History of Indian-White Relations*, edited by Wilcomb E. Washburn. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1988.

Sugden, John. *Blue Jacket: Warrior of the Shawnees.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000.

Wallace, Anthony F. C. *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region*, 1650–1815. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Stephen Warren

DISABILITY   In keeping with the popular use of the word, "disability" is defined here rather narrowly as the presence of a long-term physical or mental impairment in an individual. Traditionally, historians have neglected to examine the experiences of disabled people, and our knowledge of the circumstances they faced in the past is very limited. This is as true for early American history as it is for other periods. It is difficult to know how many disabled Americans there were in the colonies or the early Republic, as it was not until 1830 that the decennial federal census began to include data on disability; even then, the census was concerned only with the deaf, "dumb," and blind (of which there were, according to the 1830 count, 11,550 in the United States). The precise number of Americans with nonsensory impairments at that time remains unknown. Despite the problem of quantification, it is certain that disability was widespread throughout the late eighteenth and early

nineteenth centuries. Congenital disorders, accidents, wars, disease, or simply the effects of aging, coupled with the rudimentary state of medicine, meant many Americans were disabled in body and mind.

A disability that restricted a person's ability to work for a living often compounded, or caused, the poverty of America's most needy citizens. Unsurprisingly, therefore, the poor-relief records of early American towns are littered with references to the "lame," "crippled," "impotent," and "lunatic." Yet not all disabled people were confined to the lower classes. There is abundant evidence that disability was common to all socioeconomic groups, including the economic and political elites. For example, though it is rarely acknowledged by historians, several important members of America's Revolutionary leadership were disabled. Such individuals include the one-legged Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), who helped write the federal Constitution, and Stephen Hopkins (1707–1785), who is reputed to have had cerebral palsy and was a governor of Rhode Island and a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

As well as a failure to quantify the scope of disability in early America and acknowledge its presence in the lives of prominent Americans, historians have yet to study adequately the social, economic, and political consequences of physical or mental impairment to ordinary people. A central research question that needs to be answered concerns the level of marginalization, or exclusion, experienced by the disabled during this time. Were they more integrated into American society than is the case today? Research into the experiences of disabled Revolutionary War veterans suggests at least that they may have been. A recent study indicates that, compared to nondisabled veterans, disabled veterans occupied no worse an economic or social position in the early Republic than nondisabled ones. These men achieved almost identical levels of wealth over the course of their lives and appear to have been no more susceptible to poverty than the rest of the veteran population. Disabled veterans also labored for a living, got married, had children, established households, and generally participated in the life of their local communities in a similar manner, and number, as their nondisabled comrades. Of course, the fact that these disabled people were veterans, men, and overwhelmingly white may have affected their status and standing. Until historians have more fully examined the lives of disabled women and blacks, it is difficult to know how exactly gender and racial identities affected the experiences of the disabled, though they surely did.

Unlike the situation faced by many disabled people in the twentieth century, institutionalization was not a common feature of the disability experience in early America. The institutions specifically designed for the disabled, such as the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut (founded in 1817), that did exist were few in number and only established very late in the early national period (the first American schools for the blind were not opened in Boston and New York until 1832). Rather than being confined to hospitals, asylums, or residential schools, most disabled Americans living in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who required disability-related care or support usually received it in their own homes, or in those of their family, friends, and neighbors. Nevertheless, the emergence of special-education schools and insane asylums in the early national period, while admittedly very small in scale, promoted the idea that disability was a "problem" that required the intervention of trained staff within a specially created institutional setting. This laid the ground for the more widespread and systematic institutionalization of disabled Americans that was to occur in the future.

See also **Asylums; Education: Education of the Deaf; Hospitals; Mental Illness.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Braddock, David L., and Susan L. Parish. "An Institutional History of Disability." In *Handbook of Disability Studies*. Edited by Gary L. Albrecht, Katherine Seelman, and Michael Bury. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 2001.

Rothman, David J. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic.* Rev. ed. Boston: Little, Brown, 1990.

Daniel Blackie

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST   The Disciples of Christ was organized formally in 1832, but the denomination's essential doctrines and practices first appeared in eighteenth-century Scotland among Restorationists—Christians who undertook to restore the faith and practice described in the New Testament, casting aside ideas and practices developed both by the Catholic Church and by the most powerful churches formed by the Protestant Reformation. The Scottish leaders of this movement were John Glas (1695-1773); Robert Sandeman (1718–1771); and later, the Haldane brothers, Robert Alexander (1764–1842) and James Alexander (1768–1851).

The two most important founders of the Disciples, Barton W. Stone (1772–1844) and Alexander Campbell (1788–1866), developed their views independently. Stone, a native of Maryland, was converted in North Carolina by the Presbyterian revivalist James McGready (1763–1817), whom he followed to Kentucky. After participating in McGready's Logan County Camp Meeting in 1800, Stone became principal organizer of the legendary Cane Ridge Meeting near Lexington in 1801, perhaps the single most important event in the history of American Christianity. Operating mainly outside the rules and regulations of the Kentucky Presbytery, Stone and his allies formed the secessionist Springfield Presbytery in 1803, only to disband it the following year. Calling themselves simply "Christians," they spread their independent congregations throughout Kentucky and eastern Ohio.

Alexander Campbell was, like his father, Thomas (1763–1854), a native of northern Ireland. Thomas arrived in Pennsylvania in 1807; he was preparing to secede from the Presbyterian Church when Alexander joined him in 1809, fresh from theological studies in Scotland. Father and son led in the formation of the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, affirming congregational independence, baptism by immersion, and insistence on the Christian scriptures (the New Testament) as the sole guide to belief and practice: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent" (Ahlstrom, Religious History, p. 447). From 1813 to 1827 the Campbells affiliated with a Baptist Association and Alexander, a prolific writer and spirited controversialist, reached a wide audience as editor of the Christian Baptist (1823–1829). One of the many gifted preachers drawn to the Campbellites was Walter Scott (1796–1861), another immigrant from Scotland who converted to Haldanean principles while teaching in George Forrester's academy in Pittsburgh. By 1830 the Disciples were fully committed to revivals, the equality of congregational members with their ministers, and a straightforward scheme of salvation—affirmation of faith, repentance, and baptism by immersion. Many of them were taking a lively interest in the supposed approach of a millennial Second Coming.

Conceived as a movement to restore original Christianity and thereby unite all Christians under a single banner, the Disciples of Christ nevertheless learned that some organization above the congregational level was necessary. Barton W. Stone and Alexander Campbell, recognizing that their purposes were virtually the same, drew their followers together in 1832; thus, an antidenominational movement formed another denomination. The American frontier proved especially hospitable to the formation of new religious organizations, and America's pursuit of egalitarian democracy especially favored congregational independence and self-government. But also essential to the religious efflorescence of the early nineteenth century was the Second Great Awakening, which began in the long-settled eastern states, with theological ideas imported and adopted from Britain and especially Scotland.

See also **Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sidney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1972.

Harrell, David Edwin, Jr. *A Social History of the Disciples of Christ.* Vol. 1: *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866.* Nashville, Tenn.: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966.

Robert McColley

DISESTABLISHMENT Historians frequently debate the basic nature of the American Revolution, especially whether it was conservative or radical in nature. With respect to religion, its radical nature seems quite clear. A revolution fought for all liberty, both civil and ecclesiastical, set the new nation on an untried and—in the opinion of many—daringly risky course. Most of western Europe continued to assume that a stable society required the joint partnership of the church and state, the two working in a mutually supportive harmony. In challenging that pervasive assumption, the United States would help chart a course toward the modern world.

Colonial America boasted two church establishments, an "establishment" meaning governmental arrangements that followed the European patterns of intimate alliance between the church and the state. These two were Congregationalism in New England (Rhode Island excepted) and Anglicanism in the southern colonies. In the middle colonies, the picture was more mixed. Anglicanism had some roots in New York, though the Dutch Reformed, earlier on the scene, kept Anglican power in check. In Pennsylvania, its Quaker founder, William Penn, who had seen religious persecution back in England, insured that no institutional establishment would prevail there. Quakers were also strong in neighboring New

Jersey, so they, with a scattering of other sects, kept establishment at bay. Where establishment prevailed, disestablishment did not come all at once, either during or immediately after the Revolution, nor did it come without significant public resistance.

Anglicanism was the first to fall, as there was a certain logic in upending the favored position of the Church of England while the colonies were at war against that England. Nonetheless, many legislators in the colonies now on their way to becoming states did not wish to move too swiftly in severing all ties between the civil and the ecclesiastical estates. As the most populous state and the one with the longest history of establishment, Virginia offers the best example of the steady progression toward what would become the signal feature of the American experiment: namely, the separation of church and state.

A dozen years after the founding of Jamestown in 1607, the Virginia House of Burgesses recognized the Church of England, or Anglicanism, as the official religion of the young colony—just as it was recognized in the mother country. This meant that only the Anglican Church had the support and protection of the government, only for the Anglican Church did the state raise taxes to pay the salaries of the church's clergymen and to support the construction of its buildings, only the Anglican Church had its parish boundaries laid out and defined by government. These ties between church and state remained close throughout the rest of the seventeenth century and through most of the eighteenth, until the advent of the Revolution.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN VIRGINIA

Since the Anglican establishment was strongest in Virginia, the most crucial battles for disestablishing it would be fought there. As a member of the legislature, Thomas Jefferson took the lead in revising innumerable colonial laws that protected Anglicanism, disadvantaged all dissenters, and even provided criminal penalties for "heresy" (however defined) or a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). He also wrote a sweeping bill for making religious freedom—not religious establishment—the official stance of the state. Though its passage was delayed until after the Revolution, in 1779 all vestiges of tax support for religion were removed. In this struggle ("the severest contests in which I have ever been engaged," Jefferson recalled in 1821), he was greatly aided by the non-Anglicans in Virginia, notably Baptists, Quakers, and Presbyterians. However, some thought that to sever all ties between religion and the state was neither necessary nor wise. In

the 1780s Patrick Henry took the lead in proposing what could be called a multiple establishment, in which the state was barred from supporting any single church but could support all Christian churches. Because Henry's bill had wide support, especially in the Tidewater region, its defeat was far from certain. And Jefferson was far away, representing his country in France. Into the breach strode James Madison, who penned—and, even more important, gained many signatures to—his famed Memorial and Remonstrance. Presented to Virginia's legislators in 1785 as a counterweight to Henry's bill, Madison's Memorial presented clear, cogent, and ultimately convincing arguments against a religious establishment of any sort. History, Madison pointed out, demonstrated that the fruits of state establishment have been sour indeed, if not rotten, characterized by "pride and indolence in the Clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity, in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution." Why repeat this sorry history, when a full freedom in religion "promised a lustre to our country"? Moreover, a legislature that today can establish Christianity can tomorrow establish a "particular sect of Christians," thereby taking America right back to where it was before fighting a long and costly revolution.

To a great many Virginians, especially those dissenters living in the backcountry, Madison's penetrating questions demanded a defeat of Henry's bill—which never came up for another vote. Now the long-delayed Jefferson Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom could be taken off the legislative table, debated, modestly revised, and passed in 1786. Henceforth, in Virginia, in the words of the bill, "no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever." On the contrary, "all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities." Disestablishment had come to Virginia, and in a few years to all other states where by law the Church of England had been favored.

THE NATIONAL SCENE

The progress of Jefferson's statute was followed closely by the Constitutional Convention of 1787, which kept faith with the Jeffersonian stance by maintaining a separation between church and state. Also, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 quickly pronounced for religious liberty in the region north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River, although only after considerable debate and discussion

did members of the Continental Congress at last agree that religion, unlike education, would not receive any governmental support. Finally, the First Amendment, ratified by the states in 1791, stipulated that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Still, establishment did not immediately disappear everywhere in the new nation. For the First Amendment only specified what the federal Congress could or could not do; it did not directly address the prerogatives of the states. As a result, that other establishment, namely New England Congregationalism, continued for some time after the ratification of the First Amendment.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN NEW ENGLAND

After all, this official church was home grown, not the ally of an English king, not the darling of an English Parliament. Besides, in a series of gradual concessions, dissenters had been excused from paying taxes to the Congregational establishment upon presenting proof of their membership in another denomination. John Adams defended the continued nexus between church and state in the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 as "a most mild and equitable establishment of religion." But by the second decade of the nineteenth century, Adams had grown steadily more suspicious of any alliance between religion and civil power, however "mild" it might initially appear. The restoration of the Jesuit order in 1814 did nothing to calm Adams's spirit, for he saw in the Society of Jesus the epitome of religion joined to power. "I do not like the late resurrection of the Jesuits," he wrote Jefferson on 16 May 1816. And Adams predicted that America would soon be swarming with Jesuits, men who appeared in so many guises: "printers, editors, writers, schoolmasters, etc." Adams acknowledged that under the U.S. Constitution the Jesuits could claim asylum in America, but added that Americans must be ever vigilant.

Jefferson, of course, hardly needed to be reminded of the need for vigilance against clergymen with power. In the bitter presidential campaign of 1800 between Jefferson and Adams, religion played a surprisingly large part. Jefferson was cast in the role of the "atheist," the distinction between an atheist and a Deist being too fine for politicians in the heat of battle. Publicly, Jefferson stood mute before these attacks, but privately his scorn knew no bounds. And he blamed the New England clergy, that "irritable tribe of priests," for the spew of slander. He pummeled the Congregational clergy as "those bigots in

religion and government," "barbarians" who would turn the clock back on the freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution and the First Amendment.

Jefferson, however, was elected to the presidency not once, but twice. It took his eight years in office and a few more before Jefferson and Adams could write to each other in terms of mutual respect. In 1814 and beyond, they found common cause in resisting any combination of religion with power generally, and specifically the establishments in New England. In Connecticut, dissenters (including Episcopalians who, now on the outside looking in, joined with Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers) continued their clamor for disestablishment.

In 1816, the Toleration Party, consisting mainly of Jeffersonian Republicans but now supplemented by disaffected Federalists, came into being. The party name pointed to a growing dislike for the intolerance of Congregational dominance in state offices and state affairs. The Congregational clergy, aided and abetted by Yale College, made up a ruling elite that treated most dissenters with disdain or even contempt, Federalist clergyman Lyman Beecher characterizing them as "generally illiterate men . . . utterly unacquainted with Theology." By 1817, the Toleration Party had won the Connecticut governorship and a slim majority in the lower house of the legislature. The next year, the citizens of Connecticut voted on a new constitution, narrowly adopted by a vote of 13,918 in favor and 12,364 opposed. By the terms of Article VII of this instrument, religious freedom was assured to all. Earlier, seeing the political winds blowing in his favor, Jefferson wrote to John Adams (5 May 1817) his congratulations that this "Protestant Popedom is to no longer disgrace the American history and character." Colonial constitutions were purged of any remaining hints of establishment, and no new state would be admitted to the Union with anything less than a clear commitment to liberty in religion.

Massachusetts, however, maintained its establishment for another decade and a half, the situation there being complicated by an intense quarrel between the orthodox Congregationalists and the liberal Unitarians. It took the state courts of Massachusetts some time to sort out conflicting claims of property and church titles, but in 1833 the citizens of that state resoundingly approved a constitutional amendment that cut all remaining ties between the church and the state. In his inaugural address in 1836, Governor Edward Everett noted that a vital lesson had at last been learned: "the mischief of an alliance of church and state." Jefferson and Adams,

both having passed from the scene a decade before, would have nodded in vigorous agreement.

See also **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Bill of Rights; Congregationalists; Connecticut; Massachusetts; Religious Tests for Officeholding; Virginia; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gaustad, Edwin S. *The Faith of the Founders: Religion and the New Nation, 1776–1826*. Waco, Tex.: Baylor University Press, 2005.

Lambert, Frank. *The Founding Fathers and the Place of Religion in America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Noonan, John T., Jr. *The Lustre of Our Country: The American Experience of Religious Freedom*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Witte, John, Jr. *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment: Essential Rights and Liberties*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2000.

Edwin S. Gaustad

DIVORCE AND DESERTION   Early Americans expected to marry, and they generally understood marriage as the appropriate, even natural, state for adults. Moreover, they believed that stable marriages promoted social order. Conversely, Americans typically considered separation and divorce as personal and moral failures that imperiled society and conceived of divorce as a drastic remedy to an otherwise insolvable problem. Nevertheless, marriages did break down, and unsuccessful couples sought escape from such matches.

Some colonies (after 1776, states) allowed for divorces *a mensa et thoro* (from bed and board). With these limited divorces, couples severed their finances and residences but could not remarry. A full divorce terminated a union and legalized remarriage. In colonial America, only New England allowed full divorces. Some couples in locales forbidding either of these forms of divorce sought legal separations—equitable agreements in which couples divided property but could never remarry. Ending a marriage did not, however, require legal adjudication. Couples self-divorced without consulting authorities. Extralegal separations, often deriving from desertion, remained the easiest and perhaps most common means of ending a marriage between the 1750s and the 1820s.

Because states set marriage laws, the mechanics of pursuing divorce varied widely. In many states in the early Republic (1780s–1820s), legislatures oversaw divorces; in some, courts handled suits. For a time several states operated under a dual jurisdictional system, with both the legislature and courts hearing cases. (As laws governing divorce relaxed and petitions rose, legislators found themselves inundated with requests, so they turned over divorce authority to courts.) Grounds for getting divorces varied by state and included adultery, desertion, cruelty, bigamy, incest, and fraud. As states passed these diverse laws, they inadvertently legitimated and increased divorces.

Americans linked marital bonds and social stability, so divorces in early America were public matters. Legal authorities and communities judged whether separations or divorces seemed justified, based on public interests. Separating spouses needed their neighbors to support their behaviors and legal actions. Petitions often included testimony or signatures of neighbors, which validated the cases, if not in the eyes of the law, at least in the minds of community members.

Because of the presumed link between marriage and social stability as well as the widespread conviction that casually ending unions was immoral, divorce required proof of a gross violation of marital and community mores. Authorities sanctioned divorce only if supporting a marriage threatened order and morals more than did severing it. Further, a successful petition required a guilty party and an innocent victim. For example, a wife seeking a divorce needed to demonstrate both that her husband willfully abrogated his duties and that she fulfilled her obligations despite his failures.

COLONIAL PATTERNS

Before the Revolution the southern colonies, following English precedent, viewed marriage as indissoluble. In England divorce could be secured only by an exceedingly rare act of Parliament, and ecclesiastical court hearings preceded applications to Parliament. In the southern colonies the absence of such courts precluded the legislatures from hearing divorce petitions. No southern colony granted a divorce before the Revolution. Southern courts did occasionally oversee separation agreements between dissatisfied spouses.

New England, conversely, interpreted marriage as a civil contract, and colonies including Massachusetts and Connecticut gave divorces to both husbands and wives. Colonial New Englanders allowed annul-

ments for individuals who proved that their spouse was sexually impotent or committed fraud and bigamy (one partner lied to the other about being single). Cruelty could be legal grounds for a bed–and–board divorce in colonial Massachusetts. Successful petitioners most often proved their spouses guilty of adultery, the ultimate violation of marriage. In all cases, colonial New England required petitioners to prove themselves dutiful and blameless despite their partner's wrongdoing. Not surprisingly, discontented spouses found abandonment their least complicated, and sometimes only, option.

AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Divorce laws and attitudes changed significantly during the Revolutionary era. All but one of the southern states created divorce laws after independence. Pennsylvania also designed clear procedures for divorce in 1785. A statute during this period ensured the right to divorce in the newly created Northwest Territories. In locales that allowed divorce prior to the Revolution, the number of petitions relative to the population rose after 1776. Two states, New York and South Carolina, diverged from this pattern. South Carolina became the only state forbidding divorce in the new nation. It did not allow full divorces until 1868, but revoked that legislation ten years later, continuing the prohibition into the twentieth century. In 1787 New York, in a move similarly at odds with the national trend, adopted a strict code. Despite these exceptions, the nation clearly moved toward more liberal attitudes and laws regarding divorce. The steadily rising divorce rate from the 1780s to the 1860s testified to Americans' growing (if still reluctant) acceptance of the occasional need for ending unsuccessful marriages. Typifying national patterns, Maryland granted its first divorce in 1790. By the 1830s the legislature validated over thirty per year.

While divorce expanded in most parts of the early Republic, the West outpaced the Tidewater states. Western states allowed more grounds for divorce and required shorter periods of residency than eastern states. In some of the western states, proving "marital breakdown" could secure a divorce. Tennessee ranked among the most liberal jurisdictions in the South. Indiana, which coupled expansive grounds with lax residency rules, became renowned as America's first divorce mill.

The move toward more flexible laws in the early national era derived from a growing conviction among white Americans that divorce, in cases where one party egregiously violated the marriage, was a clear right. This new recognition of divorce as a fundamental freedom emerged in tandem with republican political culture. Ideas about the contractual nature of government and the rights of individuals infused Americans' thinking about divorce. Changing marital values reinforced this mind-set. The heightened emphasis on romantic love after the mid-eighteenth century raised marital expectations (and thus disappointments) and produced more divorce as individuals married for love and felt entitled to satisfaction.

This new enthusiasm for individual rights and self-fulfillment clashed with the traditional belief that preserving marriages upheld social stability. Divorce attitudes thus bore the mark of the central political issue in the early Republic: balancing individual rights with civic order. Statistics demonstrate both a growing interest in divorce and a powerful resistance to it. On the one hand, Americans pursued divorce at a much higher rate than that of their colonial ancestors and British contemporaries. Between 1670 and 1857, when Britain revised its divorce laws, Parliament allowed only 325 divorces. In comparison, between 1670 and 1799 Connecticut granted nearly 1,000 decrees. Tennessee's legislature authorized 111 divorces between 1797 and 1833. On the other hand, although more common than in England and the colonial past, divorce in the United States was no simple matter. Cases dragged on for months and years, and many petitioners lost. For example, between 1786 and 1827 only one in five petitioners to the Virginia legislature secured either a divorce or a separation. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court, more accommodating than many, rejected over half the appeals received between 1785 and 1815.

DESERTION

Although divorce became more available and acceptable in the early national era, many unhappy white couples, particularly the husbands in such couples, continued to rely on extralegal means to extract themselves from undesirable matches. Desertion, informal separations, even bigamy (in the form of serial monogamy without legal divorce) offered spouses an effective if illegal escape from unsuccessful marriages. Many more men than women abandoned marriages. Deserters found that the expanse of the nation, the general mobility of the population, inefficient communications systems, and inconsistent record–keeping all abetted their abandonment. Individuals who deserted their marriages sometimes sought divorces in more accommodating jurisdic-

tions such as Indiana; others remarried without formal divorces. Although illegal throughout the nation, bigamy occurred everywhere, in the form of desertion and remarriage. Historians cannot quantify the number of men and women who deserted one family and started another. However, they speculate that desertion was the most common way to end a marriage, as spouses could self-divorce—pursue their individual desires—without the scrutiny, expense, time, and possible failure that legal divorce entailed.

RACIAL VARIATIONS

Native American and African American divorces typically occurred beyond the legal parameters designed for white Americans. Native American nations exercised less oversight over sundering failed marriages (which whites took as evidence of their immorality). Cherokees, for example attached no particular stigma to couples that ended their unions. Although the annual Green Corn Ceremony provided a venue for publicly acknowledging divorces, Cherokees terminated marriages by physical separation. Because of their matrilineal culture (common among native nations), divorcing Cherokee husbands left their wives' households and returned to their mothers or sisters. Children always stayed with their mothers.

African American slaves enjoyed no formal legal sanction for their marriages. Owners wanted to be able to sell or move their "property" as they saw fit, and officially recognizing slave unions would have undercut that power. Legally, slaves could not marry or, consequently, divorce. Within slave communities, couples cemented their relationships through rituals and societal recognition. Those matches sometimes ended when couples grew estranged or when owners sold away one partner. Although African American churches and slave owners sometimes vetted these marital endings, most couples simply had their divorces (like their marriages) affirmed by their communities.

WHITE WOMEN

White women relied more on the new divorce laws and benefited more from them. Wives sought to legally end their marriages more often than husbands, and they usually succeeded at a higher rate. The prevalence of female litigants originated in the colonial period. In colonial Virginia, for example, when courts allowed separate maintenance suits, nearly all benefited women. Men, who typically controlled marital assets, had little to gain and much to lose by appealing to courts. In colonial Massachusetts more

women than men also sued for divorce in part because women sought protection from abusive husbands. Furthermore, far more men than women deserted their marriages, and this left abandoned wives in a precarious position. The doctrine of coverture, which defined the legal status of most white women in colonial America, placed wives wholly under the economic authority of their husbands. Unless she secured a divorce, any property or wages an abandoned wife acquired belonged to her estranged husband. In order to escape such economic exploitation—which never afflicted husbands—wives sought divorces. This pattern continued in the post-Revolutionary era. Pennsylvania's 1785 divorce code made desertion, adultery, impotence, bigamy, and cruelty acceptable grounds. Women benefited far more than men from the law, and their petitions exceeded husbands by almost a 2 to 1 ratio.

Mothers also gained more from shifting child custody assumptions in this era. During the colonial period, children were, in effect, defined as property of the head of household. When marriages ended, fathers could retain custody. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, authorities began to privilege the needs of children over paternal rights. As judges and legislators increasingly considered the relative merits of the mother and the father in determining custody, more women kept their children than ever before.

ANDREW AND RACHEL JACKSON

The 1791 marriage of Andrew Jackson and Rachel Donelson Robards underscores the nature and complexity of divorce in this era. Rachel, a Tennessean, married Andrew Jackson under the incorrect assumption that she was legally divorced from her first husband, Lewis Robards. At the time of the Jackson marriage, Robards had gained authorization from the Virginia legislature only to sue for divorce in court. He finally secured a divorce in Kentucky in 1794—three years after the Jackson nuptials. When Jackson ran for president in 1828, his detractors charged Rachel Jackson with deserting her first husband and living in adultery and bigamy with Andrew Jackson. The couple's supporters insisted that Robards's cruelty destroyed his marriage and defended the Jacksons as victims of political persecution over an innocent legal misunderstanding.

The Jackson case highlights many of the central characteristics of early American divorces. Communities and legal authorities shared responsibility for judging the merits of divorces, which were decidedly public matters. Divorce required assessing blame,

with one innocent and one guilty party. Although easier to secure after independence, divorces required a lot of time and remained controversial. (Andrew and Rachel Jackson lived together happily for over thirty-five years but could not escape scandal.) Geographic mobility and jurisdictional variations made extralegal desertion and bigamous remarriage much easier than legal divorce.

Ultimately, controversies and complications notwithstanding, Americans increasingly, though sometimes reluctantly, came to believe that in marriage individual rights outweighed societal ambitions. Although courts and legislatures tried to define and limit divorce and preserve social order, men and women sought relief from failed marriages and the right, with other, more agreeable mates, to pursue happiness.

See also **African Americans: African American Life and Culture; Childbirth and Childbearing; Courtship; Law: Women and the Law; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Parenthood; Sexuality; Sexual Morality; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Basch, Norma. *Framing American Divorce: From the Revolutionary Generation to the Victorians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

———. "Marriage, Morals, and Politics in the Election of 1828." *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 890–918.

Buckley, Thomas E. *The Great Catastrophe of My Life: Divorce in the Old Dominion.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Chused, Richard H. *Private Acts in Public Places: A Social History of Divorce in the Formative Era of American Family Law.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

Cott, Nancy F. "Divorce and the Changing Status of Women in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts." *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (1976): 586–614.

———. *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Hartog, Hendrik. *Man and Wife in America: A History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000.

Riley, Glenda. *Divorce: An American Tradition.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

———. "Legislative Divorce in Virginia, 1803–1850." *Journal of the Early Republic* 11 (spring 1991): 51–67.

Smith, Merril D. *Breaking the Bonds: Marital Discord in Pennsylvania, 1730–1830.* New York: New York University Press, 1991.

Lorri Glover

DOMESTIC LIFE "Domesticity" has a homey feel to it, conjuring scenes of enduring warmth, safety, and comforting predictability. From the mid-eighteenth century into the early nineteenth century, however, Americans' domestic lives and the ideal of domesticity itself underwent dramatic changes. In fact, the ideological power and emotional resonance of the term "domesticity" seem all the more impressive when historians consider the challenges that real-life domesticity posed to the image. The years from 1750 to 1830 were a time of complex and consequential changes in the household setting, the experiences of individuals within that setting, and the way various groups viewed and valued the ideal of domesticity.

HEARTH AND HOME

A number of households over the course of the period underwent architectural and material changes that reflected newly strengthening values and aspirations within the household. In broad terms, housing arrangements and architectural styles became somewhat more uniform across regions but considerably more divided by class. A trend took shape toward greater elaboration, specialization, and privacy in the layout of houses; this trend developed earliest and continued most strongly among the urban upper and middle classes but also penetrated deeper into rural areas and somewhat lower in the social order. The houses of the gentry led the way, becoming larger, more genteel, and more often built of, or at least faced with, brick.

Such houses, even in cities, increasingly separated themselves from their surroundings. They were set back from the street more, with walkways and gardens marking their boundaries; a visitor might have to pass through a gate or climb steps to knock on the front door. Having entered, visitors would likely find themselves in a large central hall; the hall in turn gave access to formal, public rooms, rooms for entertaining company, and, less and less often, for conducting business. The same hall buffered the private spaces of family members—bedrooms, baths, reading nooks—from visitors. Only intimates penetrated these family areas. And just as the boundaries between public and private spaces—and public and private activities—became more clearly demarcated, so too were the designated purposes of rooms announced: food was cooked in the kitchen (itself safely out of sight in gentry houses) but eaten in the dining room.

As privacy came to be more highly valued within the household, the houses of the upper classes, urban and rural, reflected a growing desire to shield bodily activities—the intimate, the coarse, and the mundane—from public view. Also new was a desire to separate the family and household from the world around them. Altogether, these changes spoke of greater self-consciousness about the emotional and private character of the family, a kind of closing in of the family circle. These new arrangements within the home, and the fine consumer and luxury goods that increasingly graced these households, also reflected growing aspirations to gentility and refinement. From the 1730s on and accelerating throughout the period, a "consumer revolution" brought china, silver, silks, leather-bound books, and expensive furniture to urban gentry houses. It also brought better pottery, more refined eating utensils, a broad range of textiles, and the wares of itinerant portrait painters to middling families in the countryside. Even excavations of slave quarters turn up pieces of Wedgwood and the occasional silver-plated fork, cast-offs from the plantation owners that provide both a metaphorical and a literal demonstration of the trickling down of the consumer revolution. Fine goods contributed to the material comfort of households and their members, reinforcing a growing sense that homes were to be sites of private pleasure and leisure—even as, ironically, they were also sites for displaying wealth, taste, and freedom from work.

FAMILY SIZE AND CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Among the upper and middle classes, while the houses were getting bigger the families were getting smaller. Historians have termed this demographic revolution the "fertility transition." Eighteenth-century wives and husbands knew of, and sometimes availed themselves of, various forms of contraception, some more reliable than others: abstinence, coitus interruptus, prolonged breastfeeding, and herbs and potions thought to be abortifacients (agents that induce miscarriage). A far more sustained and systematic movement toward family limitation occurred in the nineteenth century, especially among white, urban women of the middle and upper-middle classes, most characteristically those of the ambitious professional and business classes. The causes of this transition were complicated, but the results were clear enough: over the course of the nineteenth century, the average number of children born to white women fell from just over 7 to 3.56.

The fertility transition demonstrates the complexity of factors affecting domestic life. The material circumstances and aspirations of middle-class families changed as they became no longer dependent on the labor of numerous children and increasingly concerned to accrue, protect, and concentrate their financial assets for the sake of those children. The family became the new focus of life and emotional fulfillment, with children themselves—who were now to be nurtured and cultivated as never before—at the heart of the family circle. Controlling fertility was an intimate decision with public consequences, a set of individual choices that together formed a broad social pattern. As a demographic revolution, the fertility transition can be measured in terms of family size and birth intervals; as a cultural shift, it can be measured in terms of subtle changes in values and aspirations, the assertion of autonomy and control, and a display of mastery and restraint.

Another point that bears on almost every aspect of domestic life in this period is the ways in which domestic life—as a cultural ideal and as a gritty reality—was shaped by and in turn helped define class distinctions. Middle-class families that could forgo the labor of their children could deliberately limit the size of their families; farming families and urban workers engaged in piecework could not. If the cultural ideal of family life emphasized privacy and autonomy, those were luxuries denied working-class families, black and white, who took in boarders to make ends meet, or enslaved families living in plantation quarters. Social position, social aspirations, and social constraints strongly shaped the different ways in which Americans—gentry and working class, free and enslaved, rural and urban—negotiated the shifting terrain of domestic life in this period.

WORK AND RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

As important as the physical setting is, the core of domestic life resides in the multiple and multilayered relationships and individual experiences of those within the household. Perhaps the single most important determinant of those relationships was work and the requirements it imposed. Work, and control over the fruits of work, structured the lines of authority and dependence within the household and beyond. Three broad changes reshaped the working and domestic lives of most Americans in this period: changes in access to and control over property; a gradual and uneven shift toward commercial and manufacturing work; and the growing separation of work from the household.

In general, hierarchical, patriarchal, and dependent relationships yielded to more egalitarian, con-

tractual, independent, and affectionate ones. Thus landless sons, apprentices, tenants, and wives—the former dependents in such relationships—often gained new freedoms and access to new opportunities; they often encountered new risks and new anxieties, too, or entirely new forms of dependence. Fathers, masters, landlords, husbands—the former superiors—saw their authority eroded in some respects, with ties of obligation and deference weakening somewhat. Although they often found themselves relieved of many traditional, paternalistic responsibilities, many also confronted unfamiliar expectations of them as husbands and fathers. A second impact of changes in domestic life forms a powerful counterpoint to the first: in many circumstances, patriarchal authority reasserted itself, along with a newly crystallized distribution of power along lines of gender and race.

ACCESS TO PROPERTY: THE NORTH
The largest social group of the Northern colonies was white families of the middling order who farmed or raised livestock. Some combined farming with artisanal or commercial activity. These families worked as families, with all but the youngest or physically incapable members contributing productively to the household economy. The father and older sons, with occasional help from neighbors or hired hands, worked the land, repaired the buildings, and hunted and fished as necessary. The mother and older girls, and younger children of both sexes, cooked, washed, fetched water, stoked fires, tended vegetable gardens, and produced clothing and other textiles for home use and sometimes for exchange. In especially busy seasons or for large tasks, they might rely on the labor of young neighborhood women—some of them relatives, some working as part of a system of reciprocal exchanges of labor and goods, and some with the status of servants.

Although all family members contributed to the productivity and success of the household economy, the overriding fact was that the father owned the land. Sons had to wait to come into their own inherited land, and while waiting they worked for their fathers. The basic fact of life for such families was that fathers owned and ruled, and sons inherited.

But it was not an immutable fact of life. Even before the Revolution, especially in New England, such families felt the effects of a growing population and declining availability of desirable land. Such pressures generated considerable momentum to advance white settlement of the western lands. The period after the Revolution saw an explosive increase in population movement, both from the countryside to the city, and from eastern settlements to newly opened western states and territories. Young white men of the rural northern United States—a very large group indeed—could now acquire land independently of their fathers. They did not have to please their fathers, or work for them through their twenties and thirties, or wait to move, marry, and establish an independent household. Fathers often lost authority, a dependent labor force, and a secure transmission of property. Here was a sea change in the dynamic of the household, and it is not surprising that conflicts between fathers and sons fill the accounts of the period, from letters to autobiographies to novels.

ACCESS TO PROPERTY: THE SOUTH
Changes in access to land in the slaveholding South also recast domestic lives but in dramatically different ways. As the plantation system expanded in the eighteenth century and became entrenched by the early nineteenth, a sharpening stratification took place in access to land and slaves and, with them, wealth and privilege. As the slaveholding gentry increased its wealth and consolidated its social position, its patriarchal authority deepened, even as it cloaked itself in benevolent paternalism—in the common usage, a tender care for their "entire family, white and black." The overwhelming beneficiaries of the South's changing social order were the elite planters; the women of the gentry class shared in the privileges of their wealth, class, and race, even as they generally had to submit to their husbands and fathers. Elite men found that the appearance of domestic tranquility and benevolence made it easier to impose and strengthen their domestic authority, even as it masked the exploitation of slavery that underwrote their power.

As the elite extended its control over land and slaves, yeoman farmers faced significant curbs on their economic power and prospects. Seeking to become "masters of small worlds," these men reasserted their authority as husbands and fathers. The privilege of white skin helped secure their tenuous position and sense of authority, a fact that helps explain why so many men who owned few or no slaves nonetheless supported a social order based on slavery.

THE DOMESTIC LIVES OF SLAVES
Of course, most fundamentally and detrimentally, the developing plantation system reshaped the lives, domestic and otherwise, of enslaved persons them-

selves. To describe this process challenges not only one's understanding but one's very vocabulary; above all it tests one's tolerance for complexity. For the members of this society inhabited simultaneously a stark world of law, coercion, and violence, and a fluid world of negotiation and continual contestation. Many masters wanted to believe in their own benevolence and were indifferent to slaves' domestic lives as long as they got the work done. The shrewdest among them recognized that incentives and a fictional appearance of reciprocity might go a long way toward securing the best efforts, stability, and loyalty of their enslaved workers. Within the confines of this oppressive regime, slaves themselves found ways to win concessions; but the struggle to preserve them was precarious, constantly subject to changes in masters' moods and fortunes. Yet these small victories often made it possible to salvage some privacy, some autonomy, some happiness—however fragile—in daily domestic life.

The most important fact—really, the defining condition—of slaves' domestic lives is that all lived with the knowledge that at any time, they or members of their families could be sold. Of all antebellum interstate slave sales, it has been estimated that one-quarter destroyed a first marriage and one-half destroyed a nuclear family. Even in families that remained reasonably intact, slave marriages were not legally recognized. Husbands and wives, especially in the Chesapeake, often lived on different plantations, and women were highly vulnerable to rape and sexual exploitation. Children were put to work as early as age seven.

What slaves achieved, as they struggled to carve out domestic lives for themselves, is astonishing. As the slave system matured, after the tobacco revolution in the Chesapeake and the rice revolution in the Lower South, a number of changes in slaves' domestic routines became possible, even as they varied by region and work regimen. Families typically lived independently in small, rudimentary cabins; slave quarters in the Lower South tended to be located farther from the main house than in the Chesapeake, affording them a greater modicum of privacy. In general, the daily lives of masters and slaves were more intermeshed in the Chesapeake. Slaves there were subject to more direct oversight and personal contact, and owners were more eager to embrace the role of the paternalistic master. Although this made it harder for slaves to protect their domestic lives from their masters' watchfulness, it often made it easier to extract certain concessions from these self-avowed benevolent patriarchs. Thus Chesapeake slaves often

secured release from work on certain days, provision of food and drink for holiday celebrations, control over the naming of children, even permission to keep some part of wages earned off the plantation as hired laborers.

Lower South slaves were less likely to have masters committed to the fiction of benevolence and less likely to have their daily routines quite so bound up together. But the task system of work prevalent in rice-growing regions meant that slaves were more likely to have time recognized as their own—time in which, for instance, they could work their own gardens and keep or sell the produce. Such small preserves of autonomy—a garden here, a customary holiday there—seem hardly to offset the discipline of the slave system. Yet slaves fiercely and vigilantly opposed any suspension or infringement in these areas, attesting to the importance of seemingly small matters. Finally, faced with so many off-plantation marriages and the vulnerability of the nuclear family, slaves forged extended family relationships and kin networks, a striking, and vitally important, feature of their domestic lives.

THE IDEOLOGY OF DOMESTIC LIFE

From one fundamental fact, then—changes in control over property—flowed several transformations in domestic life. As noted, the gradual shift toward manufacturing and commercial work, and the increasing separation of work from the household—changes often joined to growing urbanization—similarly reshaped domestic lives. Young men who moved to larger towns or cities to take up work as clerks or assistants in banks or mercantile houses commonly lived in boardinghouses; while they remained unmarried, their domestic lives were more likely dominated by masculine sociability than familial domesticity. Working-class women, white and black, found work in small manufactories, in piecework, in domestic service, and in prostitution; often freed from paternal constraints, they frequently found themselves subject instead to the demands of employers. Northern slaves, through the alchemy of gradual emancipation, saw their position transform from slave to servant over the long haul of this period; but most continued to live, alone or in small numbers, in the houses or above the workshops of their employers. They, together with Southern urban slaves, found it difficult to secure much privacy and autonomy in domestic life. For all those drawn to cities or to work beyond the household, a defining characteristic of their lives was a new level of mobility, of fluidity—even to the point of restless-

ness, to use a term commonly invoked in the period. Such fluidity opened up new opportunities and bred new anxieties, dissolved old bonds and boundaries, and transformed the cultural meaning of domestic life.

As domestic life became more variegated and ever more differentiated by class, race, region, and form of work, the ideology of domestic life—its ideals, expectations, and norms—became more uniform. Domesticity was a cultural ideal, no less powerful for being highly problematic. The middle-class household placed a new emphasis on privacy, intimacy, affection, and the primacy of children, with a corresponding exaltation of motherhood. The burgeoning literature on domesticity advised women—respectable, white, middle-class women, that is—on how best to keep the hearth and safeguard their virtue. The same literature promised their husbands a refuge from the rigors and competitiveness of the marketplace, a salve for the psychic injuries of the workaday world. Middle- and upper-class women came to be prized as consumers rather than producers of goods; an increasing need for cash income—income earned by men outside the home—rendered women's contributions to the household economy less visible and less valuable, thus diminishing their economic authority. Women who gained some autonomy through employment outside the home were thereby branded unfit for domesticity.

The ideology of domesticity, even as it glorified women's positions, proved an effective trap. The doctrine of separate spheres undercut and delayed recognition of the equality of women, not least by deploying an economic, ideological, gendered, and value-laden division between home and work, productive labor and increasingly "pastoralized" housework. Women's increasingly exclusive identification with family life and household responsibilities erected a formidable stumbling block to gender and economic equality, one whose consequences linger into our own time. The putative benefits of the doctrine of separate spheres, such as the extension of women's influence into religion, reformism, and benevolence, must be understood within the strict confines of legal, political, and social inequality. Even the ideal of companionate marriage, which promised at last middle-class women a kind of domestic parity, must be seen alongside the crippling legal and economic disabilities of women, disabilities that often made the idea of companionate marriage seem an oxymoron.

The emerging cultural ideal of domesticity may have described some rough approximation of real life for a few Northern, Protestant, middle-class families. But its greatest power may have derived from the people and the behaviors it excluded—those seen as unfit, disreputable, disorderly, immoral. The ideal of female domesticity and virtue was intricately bound up with sexual propriety, male authority, class distinctions, social status, economic freedom, and racial consciousness. None were so completely excluded from this ideal as enslaved women, who were consigned to work in the fields, whose bodies were poked and prodded in the slave market, who could not marry legally, whose children could be sold, and whose sexual lives were constantly violated and viciously caricatured. The ideal of domesticity promoted the private, the normal, and the good, even as it rationalized the deforming influence of race, class, and gender. Sojourner Truth might or might not have asked, "Ain't I a woman?" But it was a question that many, on both sides of the racial and class divide, had to ponder in the new Republic.

See also **Class; Divorce and Desertion; Happiness; Home; Marriage; Material Culture; Property; Sensibility; Slavery: Slave Life; Wealth; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.

Berlin, Ira. *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998.

Boydston, Jeanne. *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Breen, T. H. *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Johnson, Walter. *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Kerber, Linda. *Toward an Intellectual History of Women.* Chapel Hill: University Of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Kierner, Cynthia A. *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700–1835.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

McCurry, Stephanie. *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Morgan, Philip D. *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Stansell, Christine. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860.* New York: Knopf, 1986.

Vickers, Daniel. *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Ulrich, Laurel Thatcher. *A Midwife's Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary, 1785–1812.* New York: Vintage Books, 1991.

Wall, Helena M. "Notes on Life since *A Little Commonwealth*: Family and Gender History since 1970." *William and Mary Quarterly* 57, no. 4 (October 2000): 809–825.

Helena M. Wall

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE   Frequency and levels of domestic violence in America prior to the Civil War are very hard to determine. Laws and ordinances varied from colony to colony and state to state, and common-law tradition affected notions of what constituted acceptable "discipline" or means to maintain order within families and the extended household. These common-law traditions in most instances determined whether a case of violence in a domestic situation would result in a complaint and, if a complaint was made, colored court decisions.

In early America the lack of established government and legal systems except for tenuous knowledge of common law left absolute control of the household in the hands of patriarchs. Control of the domestic sphere by the father or the senior adult male in the household was universally accepted. Patriarchal authority included the control of wives, daughters, unmarried sisters, children, servants, slaves, and any other dependent males who happened to be associated with the extended household. Wives and mothers also had their realm of authority, over servants, slaves, and children. Dependent free men and women (and sometimes children) had authority over servants and slaves through *delegatus non potest delegare*, through the father or patriarch.

Violent action against dependents was sanctioned to the greatest degree within the extended household. This situation persisted from the 1750s through the 1850s, until local governments and laws were established to create order and to enforce it. The majority of households in early America contained neither servant nor slave; thus the most frequent instances of domestic violence were between husbands and wives, parents and children, and among children.

Throughout the colonial period and into the early nineteenth century, the use of both physical restraint and violence, short of murder and mayhem, were commonly allowed by law and upheld by society and the courts in their uses by authority figures over dependents. Within the immediate family, the English common-law "rule of thumb" allowed "necessary" physical correction of wives by husbands and children by parents. Such correction could be applied with impunity by means of a stick, rod, or switch no broader than a man's thumb to punish or maintain control.

Stronger measures could be taken to control or discipline servants or slaves. Although indentured servants, and later non-contracted domestic servants, had redress under the law in cases where excessive force or extreme physical abuse could be proven, they still were subject to potentially greater levels of violence by masters seeking to maintain control over them. Domestic servants in the nineteenth century could give notice and leave if the controls and punishments were more than they could bear. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indentured servants, who were contracted to work for from three to seven years, could be legally beaten and whipped by their masters for various infractions, including insubordination and laziness. An overwhelming majority of indentured servants who sued their masters for unreasonable levels of abuse did receive favorable judgments in court, from reduced terms of service to immediate freedom. But justices of the peace would not recommend legal action unless they found evidence of a pattern of continuous violent punishments.

Slaves faced the highest levels of violence sanctioned by law. By the turn of the eighteenth century, laws in all colonies had identified slaves as chattel property subject entirely to their masters' "good will." An owner could treat his own property in any manner he chose. Thus slaves could be summarily beaten, tortured, maimed, or killed "at will" by their masters. Only the temperance advised either by the church or through social pressures stayed the hand of more severe masters. As far as the law and the court system were concerned, the only caution against extreme violence to slaves was that masters be aware of the public consequences of their actions—in other words, how extreme violence against their own slaves might affect the attitudes of other slaves. This became more of a concern when news of slave insurrections or planned rebellions spread through the colonies. After Stono, South Carolina began to limit punishments, and in the period after

the Revolution almost all states criminalized the murder of a slave, even by a master. In addition, in the wake of the Revolution the states prohibited branding, castration, hamstringing, and other forms of excessive cruelty inflicted on slaves.

Attitudes toward domestic violence stemmed in part from America's origins in Puritan New England. New England Puritans viewed children as inherently evil and believed that children's will had to be broken in order for them to accept God. The "breaking" of children involved strict rules and regulations which, if disobeyed, brought routine corporal punishment. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" was an understatement, since Puritan parents, including mothers, believed that their children's very souls were at stake if they were not held to a strict line. Puritan husbands were expected to keep their wives in line through corporal punishment when deemed necessary.

Elsewhere, as in seventeenth-century Virginia, the rarity of women prompted men to develop a more protective attitude toward them. As the number of women in the colony increased, however, instances of violence against wives increased. Courts typically sought proof that the violence was beyond acceptable levels of correction.

Pennsylvanians, both citizens and government leaders, exhibited a greater desire for spousal harmony and domestic tranquility. However, in the eighteenth century Pennsylvania's murder rate per capita was twice as high as London's and the frequency of assaults was higher than in most other colonies. Nearly as many murders and assaults occurred within the household as did in the public sphere. Despite Quaker influence and appeals for peaceful action, most colonists in Pennsylvania, as in the other colonies, saw corporal punishment of dependents as a routine matter. The vast majority of violent punishments were not reported. In more severe cases that came to light, beatings, rapes, and murders of women (nearly two-thirds of the cases were attacks by husbands and fathers against female dependents) were still judged by their potential acceptability as legitimate correction, or seen as beyond the purview of the courts. Close to one-third of domestic assault complaints in colonial Pennsylvania were either dismissed by magistrates or grand juries or dropped by attorneys as not contestable. Over half of the assailants in domestic cases brought to trial in Pennsylvania were found not guilty of exceeding a normal standard of correction. In the face of accepted standards of behavior, both biblical and legal, by household heads, as well as the fear of an embarrassing

public display that would not in any event end or limit abuse, few victims chose to announce domestic violence.

Over time domestic violence came to be defined with greater uniformity across the United States. Likewise, limits began to be placed on the amount of control a household head could exercise over his dependents. Both society in general and local and state governments began to exert more influence and impose more strictures on physical punishments meted out in the home. In many ways, slavery itself became the last bastion of absolute domestic controls.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Corporal Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Divorce and Desertion; Government: Local; Government: State; Home; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Slave Life; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bardaglio, Peter. *Reconstructing the Household: Families, Sex, and the Law in the Nineteenth-Century South.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Brown, Kathleen M. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Daniels, Christine, and Michael V. Kennedy, eds. *Over the Threshold: Intimate Violence in Early America.* New York: Routledge, 1999.

Dayton, Cornelia Hughes. *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Greven, Philip J. *Spare the Child: The Religious Roots of Punishment and the Psychological Impact of Physical Abuse.* New York: Knopf, 1991.

Hoffer, Peter C., and N. E. H. Hull. *Murdering Mothers: Infanticide in England and New England, 1558–1803.* New York: New York University Press, 1981.

Pleck, Elizabeth. *Domestic Tyranny: The Making of Social Policy against Family Violence from Colonial Times to the Present.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Michael V. Kennedy

DRUGS The most common drug recreationally and medicinally in early America was alcohol. Distillation of alcohol became ubiquitous in Europe shortly before the colonization of the Americas, and North American colonists drank all types. Still, other drugs also existed that were used medicinally. Healers, usually women, of all ethnicities and races used cures

Gold and Agate Snuff Box. Circa 1760. © MASSIMO LISTRI/CORBIS.

from native as well as European and African transplanted plants to combat disease and injuries. By far the most universally and successfully used were opium and its derivatives, but the dark side of addiction and overdoses was commonly recognized as well.

Almost all female householders possessed sufficient herbal knowledge to make their own medicines. Women grew needed herbs such as sorrel, sage, anise, marigolds, and thyme among rows of vegetables just as their medicinal formulas lay intermingled with recipes in family cookbooks. All healers, whether elite physicians, journeymen doctors, midwives, or household healers, used herbs in their medicines. Some elite physicians, trained in the method of Paracelsus, the sixteenth-century alchemist and physician, included metals in their formulas. Midwives possessed special recipes containing pennyroyal, ju-

niper, rue, and other herbs to provide additional strength and induce labor and sometimes to induce abortion through miscarriages.

Plants varied widely depending on geographic area, and thus herbal medicines had strong regional differences. Native Americans, African Americans, and Europeans all contributed to the shared knowledge. Native Americans were the most respected of all the groups. Local inhabitants taught French explorers along the St. Lawrence River the curative properties of willow bark for scurvy. Traditional African cures often included food ingredients like licorice, yams, okra, and sesame seeds. Although blacks were commonly denigrated as inferior, many whites sought medical help from them. In one famous case a South Carolina slave was given his freedom for the recipe to his secret cure for rattlesnake bite.

The key medicinal drug was clearly opium. Although poppies were grown throughout the country, only during the War of 1812 were they commercial viable. Otherwise, Americans imported opium in cakes from the Near East, especially Turkey, where rich syrups and juices were used to make the opium product palatable and easy to cut. The thick resinous type of opium used for smoking did not make it to America during this period. Although available in gum and powdered form, opium was mostly mixed with alcohol or water to form laudanum. Physicians prescribed opium for pain relief, anxiety, dysentery, rheumatism, and, among the wealthy, to regulate and control the feelings of women thought to be unruly or hysterical. Most Americans obtained opium not through physicians' prescriptions but in patent medicines (trademarked nonprescription drugs whose contents were in part undisclosed) and homemade herbal cures.

Physicians had long recognized the existence of addiction and tolerance but did not understand their causes or why many addicts were able to remain healthy. Americans did not criticize individuals suffering from addictions. During the early 1820s English Romantics like Thomas De Quincey (whose *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* made him famous) and the poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge popularized opium's recreational use. In America opium was used by artists like the poet and author Edgar Allan Poe, who began to use opium excessively, and the well-to-do.

See also **Alcohol Consumption; Alcoholic Beverages and Production; Pain.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Booth, Martin. *Opium: A History.* New York: St. Martin's, 1998.

Tannenbaum, Rebecca J. *The Healer's Calling: Women and Medicine in Early New England.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Mark C. Smith

DUELING An Old World ritual with a long history, dueling traveled to the New World with the early colonists. Particularly in the more densely populated northern colonies, aggrieved gentlemen sometimes resorted to duels to settle their disputes; over time, dueling became more prevalent in the South. It first gained popularity during the American Revolution, partly as a result of the militarization of American society, partly because of contact with European officers well versed in the *code duello*, and partly because of the wartime instability of American society. Dueling was particularly popular among young officers, who performed its scripted rituals and adhered to its rule-bound code of honor to prove themselves members of a privileged class that was superior to the masses.

Although the *code duello* adapted to various principals and circumstances, and although its precise details varied over time, its core rituals and logic remained constant. If a gentleman felt that his personal character had been insulted, he selected a friend to act as his second and sent his attacker a ritualized letter demanding an explanation. The attacker then selected a second to act as his intermediary, and negotiations began. Responsible for forging a compromise or an apology, a second held his friend's life in his hands. More than one duel was fought because of unskilled seconds who stumbled through the rituals and logic of the *code duello*. However, in most cases, seconds reached an acceptable compromise. Most honor disputes ended with the exchange of letters and little else.

Seriously aggrieved men (or men with clumsy seconds) sometimes felt compelled to go further, proving their merits by risking their lives on the field of honor. Only the literal demonstration of one's willingness to die for one's honor could dispel dishonor of the deepest kind. In such cases, the aggrieved principal sent his attacker a challenge through the channel of their seconds. Some deeply dishonored men were so desperate to redeem their names that they even provoked duels, using deliberate insults or demands for humiliating apologies. Once a challenge was accepted, the seconds then negotiated the precise terms of the impending duel: how many paces apart the principals would stand, what types of weapons they would use, where and when they would meet. (Contrary to popular belief, American duelists did not usually pace away from each other, turn, and fire; rather, they stood face to face at a prescribed distance and fired at the count of three.) In the unlikely event that one of the principals did not appear at the dueling ground at the fated hour, his second was pledged to stand in his place.

Illogical as it may seem, many duelists did not intend to kill their opponents; duelists needed to prove only their willingness to die for their honor. Often, this could be accomplished with an exchange of letters in which both men expressed their willingness to fight and then negotiated a compromise. Even if two men exchanged fire on a dueling ground, the

THE BURR–HAMILTON DUEL

The most famous duel in American history, the 1804 duel between Vice President Aaron Burr and former Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton was the climax of a fifteen-year political rivalry. Ambitious, aggressive, and talented New Yorkers acting within the confines of a limited political stage, Burr and Hamilton seemed destined to clash. Hamilton often took the lead in their conflict, repeatedly striving to deny Burr political power. Convinced that Burr was a self-interested demagogue who would destroy the Republic by seizing power, Hamilton considered it a "religious duty" to oppose Burr's career.

Although Burr ultimately raised himself to the vice presidency under Jefferson, the Virginian distrusted him, casting him out of his administration after one term. Turning to New York State for power and prestige, Burr ran for governor but lost, in part because of Hamilton's avid opposition. Humiliated by this second political failure, Burr felt compelled to maintain his political status by challenging one of his antagonists to a duel. When a friend gave him a newspaper clipping containing one of Hamilton's many insulting comments about Burr (at a dinner party, Hamilton had said something "despicable" about Burr), Burr's course became clear. As one of Burr's followers explained after the duel, had Burr failed to redeem his reputation, his supporters would have abandoned him as a man without power and influence.

On 18 June 1804, Burr wrote Hamilton a letter demanding an explanation for Hamilton's comments. Hamilton's response was poorly planned. Eager to avoid a fight and having successfully explained his way out of a duel with Burr at least once before, Hamilton attempt-

ed to placate him with a discussion of the precise meaning of the word "despicable." Unwilling to appear cowardly, he concluded the letter with a burst of bravado, declaring himself willing to "abide the consequences" for his actions. Deeply insulted, Burr replied with an accusatory letter that outraged Hamilton in return, making it difficult, if not impossible, for either man to avoid the field of honor. Ultimately, Burr decided that nothing but an actual duel could redeem his reputation. To force Hamilton to fight, he demanded that Hamilton apologize for all of his insulting language from throughout their entire fifteen-year rivalry. When Hamilton predictably rejected Burr's humiliating demand, Burr issued Hamilton a formal challenge.

The duel took place on 11 July on the heights of Weehawken, New Jersey, a frequently used dueling ground. Each man fired at the other, but their precise intentions remain unknown. According to Hamilton's second, Nathaniel Pendleton, Hamilton had a "religious scruple" about shooting a man in cold blood and had decided not to fire his first shot at Burr, nor perhaps his second shot. Burr's second, William Van Ness, argued the opposite, alleging that Hamilton had fired directly at Burr, who had naturally returned fire. Unfortunately for Burr, Hamilton's vague insult (something "despicable") and his death at Burr's hand left Burr vulnerable to attack, and political opponents of all stripes seized the opportunity. Accusing him of being a vindictive, unprincipled murderer, they savaged his reputation. For the rest of his life, Burr would be known as the man who killed Hamilton.

Joanne B. Freeman

outcome was not necessarily fatal; many duelists left the field of honor unharmed or with a leg wound. Indeed, the man who killed his opponent often did himself serious damage, opening himself to charges of brutality and murder. In many ways, the survivor of a fatal duel was the loser, failing in his battle for public opinion.

Duels proved a man's superior status and honor in several ways. First and most obviously, they displayed a man's gentlemanly manner: his self-control, his high sense of personal honor, his courage under fire, and his willingness to die in defense of his reputation. Duels also declared a man's precise sta-

tus, for only equals could duel; a man who was insulted by an inferior redeemed his reputation—and demonstrated the inferiority of his attacker—by caning him, whipping him, or "tweaking" his nose. And although dueling was eventually illegal in most states, elite duelists rarely faced legal prosecution until well into the nineteenth century. Men of questionable status who were caught dueling were usually arrested, proving their inferiority in the process.

Despite their seemingly privileged status under the law, elite duelists usually covered their tracks. They referred to their seconds as "friends." They avoided the word "challenge." On the dueling
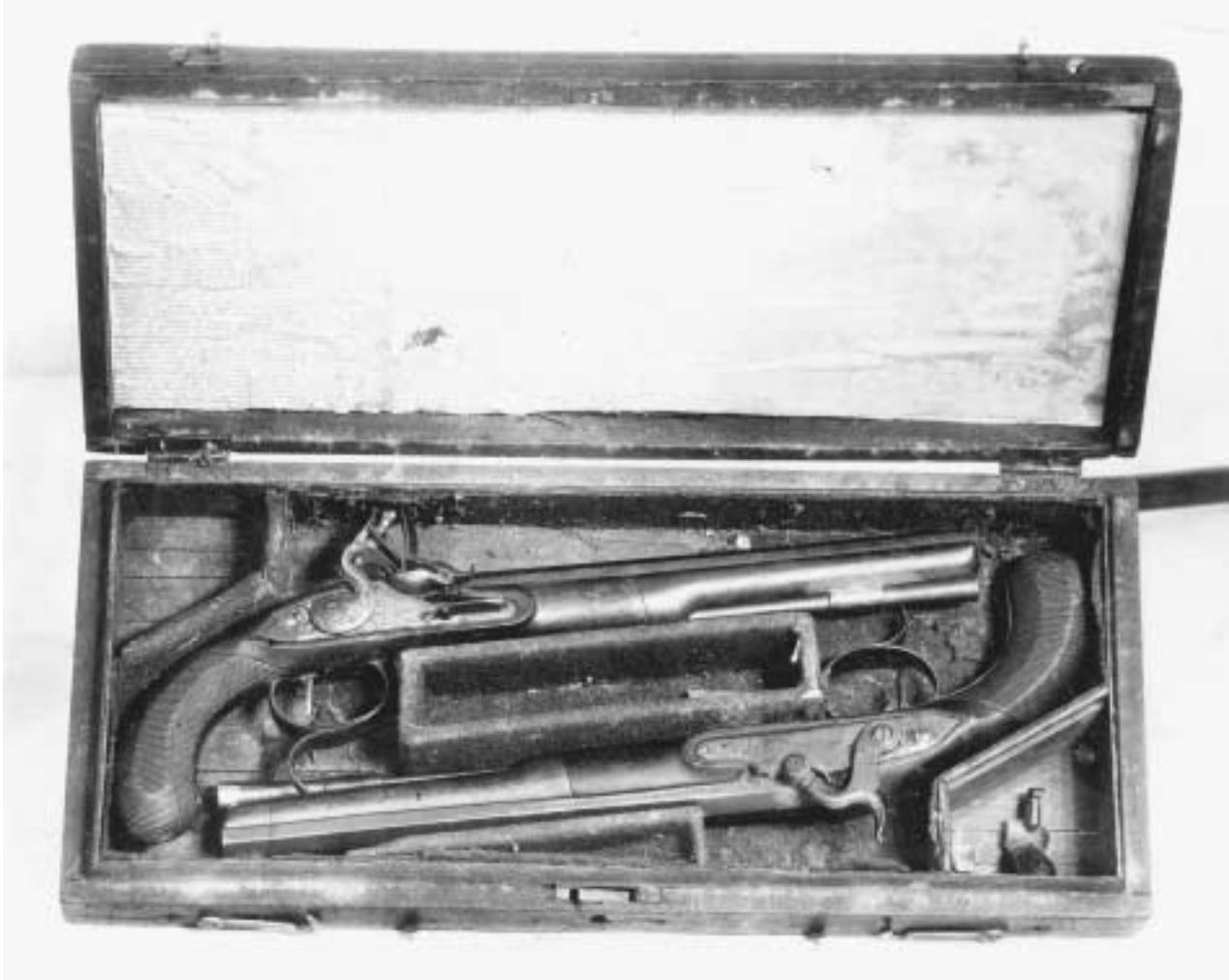
Hamilton-Burr Dueling Pistols. This set of pistols, now owned by JPMorgan Chase & Co., was used in the famous 1804 duel between Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

ground, attending physicians faced away from the dueling ground so they could deny witnessing anything if questioned. Often, participants destroyed written challenges and planning documents after the event, making it difficult to trace duels in the historical record. Political duels had an added wrinkle. Fought to redeem a man's reputation not only as a gentleman but as a leader, they required a certain degree of publicity to accomplish their purpose. Thus, after a duel between two well-known political figures, the two seconds often compiled a joint account of the duel's proceedings for newspaper publication, literally advertising the bravery of the participants. Not surprisingly, many such politically useful duels were bloodless. Duels were particularly common after elections, partly because of rampant mudslinging, but also because they allowed the electoral loser to redeem his reputation. By provoking an

honor dispute with the winner or one of his friends, the loser or one of his friends could attempt to reclaim his status and eligibility as a political leader and a man of power. In a sense, political duelists used the aristocratic *code duello* to counterbalance the personal impact of democratic politicking. Aaron Burr challenged Alexander Hamilton to a duel in 1804 for just this reason.

Although Hamilton's unfortunate fate in that duel provoked an outcry of antidueling sentiment, dueling lingered in the North for years to come, a detested but occasionally unavoidable means of dispelling dishonor among gentlemen. It remained far more entrenched in the less urbanized, more hierarchical South, where habitual violence was more endemic. Not until the 1830s was dueling outlawed in every state, and even then the practice persisted for decades to come.

See also **Character; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Hamilton, Alexander.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Freeman, Joanne B. *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001.

———. "Dueling as Politics: Reinterpreting the Burr-Hamilton Duel." *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (April 1996): 289–318.

Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Honor and Slavery.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Sabine, Lorenzo. *Notes on Duels and Duelling, Alphabetically Arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay.* Boston: Crosby, Nichols, 1859.

Steinmetz, Andrew. *The Romance of Duelling in all Times and Countries.* 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, 1868.

Wyatt-Brown, Bertram. *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Joanne B. Freeman

E

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT The Seven Years' War (1754–1763) spurred unforeseen but profoundly consequential economic changes in British North America. Supplying soldiers and citizens required infrastructure and organization on a scale never before known in the colonies. French and Spanish silver greased the exchange of goods and promoted fuller employment of townspeople, while currency finance—the emission of paper money through provincial governments—expanded the ability of colonists to conduct business on an unprecedented scale. This war was also far more expansive in its operations, and far costlier, than previous wars in North America, and so some colonial governments issued negotiable bonds and provincial Treasurers' Notes to merchants and suppliers, thereby initiating the precedent, although on a small scale, of financing the government's role in war with debt in addition to infusions of currency.

BETWEEN CONFLICTS

Following the Seven Years' War, wartime demand for goods and services shrank. However, the return to a postwar status quo of colonial subordination to English mercantile regulations and general commercial authority was challenged—though not unseated—in three ways by colonial economic maturation.

One way involved the expansion of the British-controlled western frontier, which created new opportunities for colonial trade among Native Americans, settlers and land companies, and towns to the east; a steadily growing population in the West and the land clearing and improvements it brought set the stage for economic development. Agricultural productivity rose rapidly, land values climbed, and settlers' demands for infrastructure to link farms to towns poured in from myriad backcountry locations. By 1775, more than a quarter-of-a-million colonists lived beyond the old fringe of settlement; nearly one-third of the southern white population inhabited the western backcountry, while streams of migrants trod well-worn roads into western New York and Pennsylvania, West Florida, and the lower Mississippi River area.

A second challenge to British control of the North American economy was evidenced in commerce. Although British merchants generously responded to pent-up colonial demand for goods and credit after the war, by then, northern colonial merchants had become more capable of shipping, warehousing, and diversifying enterprises and of distributing goods themselves. Continual shipbuilding, waterfront development, the steady influx of immigrant labor, and capital for investment in goods all enhanced profits during good times and shielded

Tontine Coffee House. The Tontine Coffee House at the corner of Wall and Water Streets in lower Manhattan, shown here in a painting (c. 1797) by Francis Guy, became a central meeting place for merchants, traders, brokers, and underwriters, whose dealings eventually developed into the New York Stock Exchange. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

merchants from the worst downturns. In the Chesapeake regions, prices of exported tobacco tended to rise more than they fell after the 1750s, and planters had ever-larger quantities to export. In the Carolina low country, planters enjoyed a recovery of rice export prices (and higher yields) after 1763, as well as a tremendous surge in indigo production and export. By the eve of the Revolution, as much as one-fourth of colonists' disposable income was spent on imports from British and European sources, although scholars disagree about whether this proportion represented a rising standard of living for a growing number of people or simply the rising demand consonant with an increasing population. Moreover, even if colonists were indeed buying more goods per capita, import figures do not explain how much consumption came from increases in colonial shop and home production.

A third challenge to British economic domination arose from colonial craftsmen; more local industries such as milling, distilling, tanning, smithing, and iron production placed more American

goods in local markets. Some of the expanding production by these colonists was consumed in nearby households and in local exchange; some of it—the proportion disputed by scholars—was targeted for external markets at significant distances. In either case, most colonists experienced periods of relatively modest satisfaction of needs that were punctuated by the ability to purchase desirable comforts. Moreover, coastal merchants were increasingly dependent upon, and the beneficiaries of, diversified local economies able to support a range of skilled lesser entrepreneurs, farmers, retailers, and consumers. Despite periods of recurring depressed conditions, the northeastern and mid-Atlantic economies were maturing rapidly—internally and internationally—by the end of the colonial era.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Many Americans believed the Revolution would release tremendous economic energies to improve, produce, and consume more, thereby shaping them into virtuous citizens even in the midst of their wartime

public sacrifice. To some extent these views were correct, for wartime need spurred home manufacturing, westward expansion, and exploration of new foreign markets. A few iron forges and rudimentary gun manufactories sprang up, and more sophisticated systems of distribution arose to get shirts and food to military fronts. Privateering proved lucrative to a few men even as it ruined others. But the Revolution also introduced numerous short-term disruptions to production and exchange. Many farmers abandoned the fields for the war; mills and shops closed due to scarcities of raw materials, absent workers, and inaccessible markets; armies combed through countrysides for scant supplies of food. British blockades disrupted pre-war commerce, and occupied cities suffered shortages of many necessities. Whole towns and surrounding fields lay burned by one army or the other. Immigration slowed significantly, with the effect of shrinking the available pool of free and bound white labor as well as the number of new slaves entering America.

The Continental Congress and individual new states emitted vast quantities of the popular paper money that, according to eighteenth-century wisdom, was to be retired out of circulation with taxes. But by the late 1770s, the massive sums in circulation were seldom being retired, with the inevitable result that "continentals" and state currencies plummeted in value. Public confidence declined along with the value of currencies; the complex network of debt and credit that distinguished the late colonial economy was thrown into disarray when prices more than doubled in the last four years of the war.

Once the individual colonies and states finally created a loose government under the Articles of Confederation in 1781, nationalists in Congress quickly proposed remedies for pressing difficulties concerning army supply, civilian shortages, and Revolutionary finance. Most important, days before the Articles went into effect they appointed Robert Morris, probably the wealthiest merchant in America at the time, as superintendent of finance in February 1781. By that time purchasing power was at an all-time low and Congress's paper currency was "not worth a continental." Still, seven states renewed their commitment to issuing paper money in large quantities, while in most cases keeping taxes low and thereby initiating new spirals of depreciation. Congress halted its own currency printing presses. In December 1781 Morris persuaded Congress to charter the first private commercial bank in America, the Bank of North America, in which he deposited loans of Dutch and French specie and bills of exchange, as well as large sums of his own money. He then asked Congress to authorize the printing of new continental currency, which would circulate freely with the backing of interest-bearing funds in the bank. Morris also initiated a new contract bidding system for the failing supply system, pledging the confidence and finances of Congress to back it up. Although Morris also wanted to create a national revenue based on taxing imports, which would have been the first national tariff, he failed to secure the required assent of all thirteen sovereign states.

CRISIS AND RECOVERY, 1781–1800

Morris's bold measures had hardly been put into place when the war ended. Nevertheless, the fallout of wartime dislocations and disastrous Revolutionary finance would be felt for another generation. Despite the stereotype of urban merchants being wealthy beneficiaries of the wartime economy, the letters and legal records of many partnerships indicate deep indebtedness and loss of valuable commercial connections. Few knew how to interpret their dislocation—whether they should regret the loss of British mercantilism's protection and encouragement or celebrate their freedom to pursue new opportunities. In addition, per capita income levels achieved by 1775 by many groups of Americans probably did not recover until the late 1790s, and in the South great numbers of people remained indebted and impoverished even longer.

The Critical Period. Everywhere, the initial flood of cheap English goods and the easy credit of 1783 and 1784 came to an end quickly, and northern states began to raise taxes on the property of middling freeholders just as the money and credit supply contracted; as a result, debts went unpaid and investment in new lands and enterprises diminished. Moreover, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia began to pay back, or "assume," large amounts of their state and national debts—debts which nationalists believed should be assumed by Congress in order to attach the loyalties of creditors to the Confederation government. Most of the states discriminated against each other in commerce; while some port cities invited more trade by establishing "free ports" that eliminated most import duties, others promoted their own commercial and manufacturing independence by tightening import regulations against "outsiders," who included foreigners as well as citizens of neighboring states. Newspapers printed stinging denunciations of imported "luxuries." After 1784, a deep depression settled on the cities, and within two years the portent of debtor rebel-

lions rose on many rural frontiers, Shays's Rebellion in western Massachusetts being only the most conspicuous example. Nor did independence bring any immediate economic miracles to the domestic economy, for significant economic innovation and transformation were stymied for some years to come. In fact, the years 1781 to 1789 often bear the name "The Critical Period," which applies as appropriately to the new nation's economy as it does to its political turmoil during those years.

For state and national leaders, the decade's problems were due primarily to the huge debt generated from public and private loans during the Revolution. There was no national taxing and revenue-raising power; only states could tax citizens on internal wealth and services, and only states could levy port duties to raise revenue. Yet most states continued to issue currencies without levying sufficient taxes to retire depreciating paper money. Congress's securities changed hands from veterans, suppliers, and farmers to speculators in all walks of life, depreciating with each transaction. On a scale unknown in North America before this, and involving thousands of individuals, debts of the Revolutionary generation became widely exchanged in securities markets.

The Constitution of 1787 brightened some prospects for a more stable economy. The new federal government assumed the authority to end interstate quarreling over international commerce; created a steady revenue from uniform import duties that proved far greater than proceeds from the sales of western land for decades; sanctioned a single currency; shielded contracts and private property with a host of legislation; promoted more uniform business practices, patent inventions, new entrepreneurship, and money-lending practices under contractual relationships; naturalized immigrants; and more.

Trade. But in other respects, the economy developed according to the opportunities and constraints of individuals and markets during the era. Most merchants still formed small and temporary partnerships for trade, and their transatlantic ships entered and cleared ports only two times a year on average. Personal reputation still mattered immensely, and the incidence of failure was as great as it had been in the colonial period. New markets emerged within established trade networks; for example, merchants already engaged in commerce with the West Indies sent the *Empress of China* to Canton in 1784 with a cargo of ginseng, returning the next year with silks, porcelain wares, and eastern teas—and profits of 30 percent. Although the value of trade to new markets remained small, Cape Horn, Nootka Sound, and San Diego became familiar names in American ports. Then, from 1790 to 1807, exports and imports rose to over six times their pre-Revolutionary levels, shipbuilding revived, insurance and brokerage firms sprang up, ropewalks and cooperages lined dock streets, and carpenters and sailmakers found nearly full employment during many months of those years.

Although many new partnerships and small businesses did not survive the risks of business conditions in this era of Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), sufficient numbers prospered to create a mood of confidence on the waterfront. Moreover, although American merchants encountered hundreds of privateers from foreign governments during the period and had to endure Thomas Jefferson's sweeping embargoes from 1807 to 1809, their mid-Atlantic grain and flour often sold well in the Caribbean and Europe, and southern cotton found ready markets when captains could circumvent hostile interference. Robert Oliver, an Irish immigrant to the budding town of Baltimore in 1783, and probably America's first millionaire, noted that he owed his success not to any commercial innovations, but rather to his "calculated boldness" and his spectacular good luck in West Indian and French markets. Stephen Girard, who migrated from France to Philadelphia, New York, and Cap François during the years of the American Revolution, profited handsomely after 1790 by feeding flour to the starving French and Saint Dominguans during their revolutions. Girard in turn invested in a great complex of mines, canals, shipping, and charity institutions, some of his own creation. Foreign wars also hastened a shift from tobacco to grain production in the Chesapeake and spurred small producers everywhere to raise prices for meat, lumber, fish, and flour during the Napoleonic Wars. The mid-Atlantic region's West Indies merchants claimed the greatest gains, but even the ailing New England shipbuilders profited from sales of vessels.

New institutions. Within the nation, new institutional forms advanced Americans' ambitious goals for economic development before 1800. For example, corporations were chartered by the states for specific purposes, as when in 1792 the Insurance Company of North America became the first joint stock insurance company in the country. The New York Stock Exchange was also loosely organized in 1792. In a few years longer roads, deeper canals, and larger ports attracted the small investments of thousands of Americans, who collectively poured millions of dollars into projects that otherwise might have lan-

guished for want of capital and who also circulated companies' notes alongside banknotes as currency. The Bankruptcy Act of 1800 had a short, three-year existence but paved the way for shifting the blame for crises from individual moral failing to structural economic traumas that required taming with government intervention.

Perhaps the most spectacular institutional innovations before 1800, and possibly the most consequential for the next phase of economic development, involved the organization of a national financial system. In January 1790, Alexander Hamilton's first *Report on Public Credit* established the principle of Congress's obligation to repay its debts to foreign countries, American states, and private citizens; the report proposed the consolidation of state debts into one national fund of interest-bearing securities that would be backed by revenues from import duties and special excise taxes. Despite formidable opposition to Hamilton's funding and assumption plan, it won the day, and soon national securities were traded in all the major cities; this success in turn prompted states and corporations to issue local securities to promote myriad special projects.

In December 1790 Hamilton offered his proposal for the First Bank of the United States, to be capitalized at $10 million, $8 million subscribed privately at $400 a share within the first hours of being offered to the public, and $2 million held by the federal government. Its charter permitted the bank to operate for twenty years with headquarters in Philadelphia and branches in other cities. Again, there was a storm of controversy. At one extreme, advocates such as Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut defended the necessity and constitutionality of the bank, arguing that banks would be of great benefit to an enterprising elite. At the other extreme, opponents attacked banks as reservoirs of aristocratic privilege that enticed the nation's best merchants and entrepreneurs into overextending their credit, and its farmers and small producers into a morass of rising excise taxes and rising prices when public speculation got out of hand. Already in 1791 the Whiskey Tax was widely seen as an egregious imposition on American livelihoods, especially on the frontier; in 1794 opposition erupted into the Whiskey Rebellion.

DEVELOPING THE REPUBLIC, 1800–1819

Banks. Somewhere between these poles of opinion, many Americans welcomed the generous credit of state and local banks, although they also feared the periodic failures of large banks. Even Thomas Jeffer-

son, who argued in 1791 against the constitutionality of the national bank and who divested the government's roughly two thousand bank shares after he became president, used the new financial system to double the size of the country when he paid France $11.25 million of just-printed Treasury bonds to purchase Louisiana in 1803. Napoleon in turn sold the American bonds primarily to British investors, whose capital was used to fund a war on Britain in 1812. Jefferson admitted in 1805 that notes of the bank provided a welcome supply of reliable currency for port merchants, and many Republican leaders believed rechartering the bank in 1811 would provide important regulatory functions for the nearly two hundred state and local banks that printed their own widely circulating notes. Recharter failed, but existing smaller banks dispersed paper money, gave liberal credit, and as a result, expanded public confidence in bold development projects. Foreign investors became eager buyers of securities as well, proving to some observers that international confidence in the Republic was growing, while raising concerns among others that Americans might lose control over their Republic. When it became clear by 1816 that the proliferating state banks failed to protect investors' credit by providing adequate specie reserves for their notes and that most small banks could not make large enough loans to aggressive investors, an influential group of political leaders and investors promoted and secured a charter for a new central bank, the second Bank of the United States.

National growth and transportation. Although the financial revolution of the first post-Revolutionary generation created the most controversy, other fundamental transformations were under way in those years as well. Between 1780 and 1820 the population of the United States doubled. American families were larger than European ones; American death rates were slightly lower, diets healthier, disease and epidemics less traumatic, and average farms larger than in Europe. The size of the country more than doubled during these years with the purchase, conquest, annexation, and settlement of vast areas that had been Native American country for hundreds of years as well as the contested dominion of overlapping English, Spanish, French, and African peoples. As American citizens spread across what Thomas Jefferson called their "empire for liberty," new vistas opened up for agricultural productivity, entrepreneurship, and institutional innovation; fierce warfare against thousands of Native Americans made possible the creation of five new states between 1810 and 1819. Never before or since did so many Ameri-

cans move within the continent to new homes. Since labor was continually in demand, the arrival of a steady stream of immigrants—nearly a million between the Revolution and the 1820s—demonstrated America's capacity to absorb newcomers.

In 1790 the objectives of unifying the country's many regions and "taming the wilderness" seemed formidable. Traveling more than a hundred miles was likely to involve some combination of horses, wagons, flatboats, small sailing vessels, barges, or canoes. Before 1815, most commodities moved within America on small water craft and flatboats that followed the flow of main rivers or in slow-moving wagons that navigated rutted and dangerous roads. It cost as much to send a ton of goods from an American port to a point thirty miles inland as it did to bring the goods across the Atlantic. To get goods from Cincinnati to New York City, freighters maneuvered small boats down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, out the port of New Orleans, through the Gulf of Mexico, and finally up the coastline of the Atlantic, a trip that took seven weeks on average. Cargoes changed hands numerous times because river pilots and mule train drivers operated over only short distances; myriad local fees reminded farmers and storekeepers that their economy was far from being nationally integrated.

Yet by 1820 the astounding accomplishments of the transportation revolution unfolded everywhere. Some of the first changes resulted from merchants' efforts to integrate commerce and farming. For example, the great three-story flour mills near Wilmington, which grew up in a natural environment of fast streams and a densely populated countryside, became magnets for grain that scores of local boatmen brought from the hinterlands. Other changes represented the pooling of private and state-level resources and bold risk taking that cut new pathways into the interior. The engineering triumph of the Erie Canal, the "big ditch" between Albany and Buffalo that opened in 1825, linked New York City to all of the Great Lakes. On a much smaller scale, but proliferating everywhere, were macadamized roads, canals, widened rivers, new port construction, and bridges that were funded and maintained by boosters and projectors in every state. The National Road, although beset by interstate quarrels and periods of inadequate funding, eventually cut from the Cumberland Gap, through western Pennsylvania, to Columbus, Ohio, and finally to Vandalia, Illinois. Steamboats, known to many Native Americans as "fire canoes," slowly overcame their reputation for

explosions and plodding pace to become a marvel of upriver navigation.

The consequences of these internal improvements surpassed all predictions: people and goods moved faster and more efficiently; the value of goods sent from new western settlements to external markets doubled; and farm productivity in the mid-Atlantic and the South rose exponentially between 1790 and 1820. The prices of everyday goods fell dramatically, and the differences in prices between widely separated places such as Philadelphia and Toledo, or New York and New Orleans, narrowed. Enterprising producers anticipated improved transportation that would remove natural obstacles to trade. Information itself flowed faster, too; by the 1820s eastern news reached Cincinnati, Ohio, or St. Joseph, Missouri, within days of appearing at the kiosks of Baltimore or Boston. In short, the transportation revolution helped knit distinctive local economies together in new networks of people over much greater distances. It also spurred a greater specialization of production and division of labor among farmers and craftsmen. Rather than provide a wide array of things for an intricate local community of buyers and sellers, many focused their efforts on growing or making one or two commodities for export while making their own clothing and bedding from store-bought fabric or working with ready-made tools.

Manufacturing. Americans were primarily a commercial and agricultural people until far into the nineteenth century. The wrenching effects on New England's commerce of Jefferson's embargoes from 1807 to 1809 demonstrated that region's dependence on trade. Yet commercial downturns also encouraged coastal people to turn to internal development and experiments with manufacturing. Already in the early years of the century, people and goods were more palpably integrated, institutions were taking root everywhere, and Americans became conscious of an increasingly interdependent national economy. Public discussions about banks, lotteries, work relief, and internal improvements crowded the pages of proliferating newspapers. In the northern states, leading interests began to question the value of international free trade and advocate protective tariffs.

Early American manufacturing bore little resemblance to large-scale manufacturing in industrializing England and Europe. When Hamilton presented his *Report on Manufactures* in 1791, most adult male workers made items by hand, with traditional tools, in small shops and alongside a master craftsman or mill owner. Farmers often did carpentry on the side, barrel makers shaved shingles when work was slow,

millers ran small retail shops on the side, and most farmers exchanged labor time with neighbors to get odd jobs done. Peddlers, scavengers, and jacks-of-all-trades could be seen regularly, anywhere. Slowly, however, enterprising individuals laid the foundations for something bearing a closer resemblance to industry. Brickmaking and sawmilling sprang up throughout the countryside, and machine tool shops dotted the riverways near port cities. New towns emerged where trading, milling, and small-scale production met rural farmers' needs. In an address to Congress in 1810 that previewed his famous plan of 1824, Henry Clay made one of the first systematic arguments in America about the potential for linking commerce and agriculture to manufacturing. At the center of his vision—embraced by publishers such as Hezekiah Niles and many mid-Atlantic small manufacturers—was not an impoverished urban proletariat, but a middling people who knew the personal and social benefits of hard work. They would work, and employ others, to produce an array of desirable goods; the middling American would consume at levels not of "excess and luxury" but of "comfort and convenience." Clay's "American System of Manufactures," presented in 1824, also articulated the benefits of extensive private credit, more private and public spending, promotion of new technologies and inventions, and a nationally integrated economy.

Long before full-scale manufacturing arose in coastal areas, the traditional putting-out system used underemployed tradesmen of cities to transport cotton, leather, timber, or flax to homes, where women and children processed the raw materials into semifinished goods and received small extra earnings for their families. Weavers in rural and urban areas earned much more than these handicraft workers, and millers or fullers still more. Around Lynn, Massachusetts, thousands of women and children earned low piecework wages by sewing together sections of shoe leather that came from area farmers who enthusiastically gave up plowing grain fields in order to graze cattle. But in Rhode Island, merchant investors Moses Brown and William Almay teamed up with the skilled mechanic Samuel Slater in 1790 to organize a centralized putting-out system for women and children to spin in a main mill, while keeping hand loom weavers nearby to turn the yarn into cloth—all still run by waterpower in a rural community along the Blackstone River. Linked to all of these changes was the rapidly rising production of cotton in the South, thanks to the rapid adaptation of Eli Whitney's cotton gin, first used in 1793, and the renewed expansion of slavery and plantation agriculture in the South. While agricultural goods flowed in from the Old Northwest, immigrants who worked at low wages and lived tightly packed in separated neighborhoods provided cheaper labor for, especially, the cotton and woolen mills that dotted waterways for miles into America's interior.

A traveler in the 1790s could also marvel at the great flour mills along the Brandywine River between Wilmington, Delaware, and Philadelphia, where Oliver Evans incorporated new mechanical devices—using only wood and leather—to move, grind, cool, sort, and bag flour at unheard-of speeds. Ships pulled up next to these three-story mills to load on flour almost entirely without the aid of manual labor. By the 1840s nearly twenty thousand new mills, many of them in developing western regions, incorporated some or all of Evans's labor-saving mechanisms, making it possible for exporters to boast about a 200 percent rise in the value of the flour they produced. By the late 1820s Eli Terry, Seth Thomas, and Chauncey Jerome mass-produced clocks in their shops for the homes of middling families. Steam engines propelled boats up and down major rivers; soon steam would be harnessed to run factory machinery. The craze for interchangeable parts, machine-produced tools, and ready-made clothing gripped the East Coast initially, but rapidly spread far into the interior; additional state regulation and rising federal tariffs, as well as accumulating merchant and manufacturing capital, promoted the proliferation of infant manufactures everywhere by 1820.

Panic of 1819. The Panic of 1819 was the first truly national depression in America, and it prompted many people to reassess whether they had become overconfident about their still-fragile economic institutions and had created "an extravagant people" of speculators and overextended developers. Americans' easy credit came to a halt in the summer of 1818; banks began to call in their loans and demand that borrowers pay in specie or cotton, and other commodity prices declined; businesses failed; unemployment rose; creditors dunned debtors; and widespread foreclosures devastated hundreds of farm families. Indeed, the Panic of 1819 struck the hardest where expansion had been the greatest, in the South and new areas of the West. A wall of protective tariffs seemed to go hand in hand with new local prohibitions on the consumption of "luxurious superfluities." Despite the return of prosperity in the 1820s for well-placed merchants and commercial farmers, the panic was a harsh reminder of the uneven benefits of America's economic development and the fragility of the Republic itself.

See also **Agriculture; Bank of the United States; Banking System; Currency and Coinage; Erie Canal; Hamilton; Alexander; Internal Improvements; Inventors and Inventions; Manufacturing; Panic of 1819; Revolution: Impact on the Economy.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Engerman, Stanley, and Robert E. Gallman, eds. *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States.* Volume 1: *Colonial Era.* Volume 2: *The Long Nineteenth Century.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 2000.

Ferguson, E. James. *The Power of the Purse: A History of American Public Finance, 1776–1790.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1961.

Gilje, Paul, ed. *Wages of Independence: Capitalism in the Early American Republic.* Madison, Wis.: Madison House, 1997.

Kennedy, Michael V. "The Home Front during the War for Independence: The Effect of Labor Shortages on Commercial Production in the Mid-Atlantic." In *A Companion to the American Revolution.* Edited by Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole. Oxford, U.K.: Blackwell, 2000.

Mann, Bruce H. *Republic of Debtors: Bankruptcy in the Age of American Independence.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Nettels, Curtis P. *The Emergence of a National Economy, 1775–1815.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962.

Peskin, Lawrence A. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Sawyer, John E. "The Social Basis of the American System of Manufactures." *Journal of Economic History* 14 (1954): 361–379.

Sellers, Charles G. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Taylor, George Rogers. *The Transportation Revolution, 1815–1860.* New York: Rinehart, 1951.

Watson, Harry L. *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1990.

Cathy Matson

ECONOMIC THEORY Economic theory made great strides in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century. Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton, and David Ricardo, the three greatest economic thinkers of the era, shattered the existing mercantilist paradigm, replacing it with the doctrines of financial development and free trade.

Mercantilists believed that wealth could be acquired but not created. One of the major roles of the state, they maintained, was to regulate international trade to national advantage. Policies that impeded imports and encouraged exports were in the public interest, mercantilists argued, because they promoted the accumulation of large stockpiles of gold and silver in the government's coffers. An overflowing national treasury, they believed, meant that all was well. The financial, agricultural, and transportation revolutions that transformed the economies of Holland and Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries suggested otherwise, however.

ADAM SMITH

In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith decimated the mercantilist position. Wealth, he argued, resided not in barren metals like gold and silver but rather in the capacity to create and sell goods and services desired by others. Smith conceded that the precious metals served important monetary purposes, but he also noted that the use of banknotes convertible into specie was more economically efficient than the circulation of full-bodied gold or silver coins. Hence, Smith sarcastically noted, Britain should no more attempt to accumulate more specie than it needed to conduct trade than it should try to accumulate more pots and pans than its cooks required to prepare dinner.

Human productivity and trade were the ultimate roots of prosperity, Smith showed. Productivity was largely a function of labor specialization. In a famous passage, Smith explained how the output of a pin factory could be increased many times over simply by reorganizing the work so that each man repeated the same simple task the entire day instead of manufacturing each part of the pin himself.

In a less famous but far more important passage, Smith explained that labor specialization permeated advanced economies. A wool coat, for example, was the product of the entire economy, not a single person or firm. Shepherds, wool sorters and carders, dyers, spinners, weavers, fullers, dressers, and many others prepared the wool for a host of other specialists, namely wholesalers, retailers, and tailors. Thousands of others—shipbuilders, sailors, millwrights, and smiths—indirectly participated in the production of the coat by providing the tools and maintaining the infrastructure needed to create, transform, and transport the wool. The amazing thing, Smith realized, was that the coat, and tens of thousands of other goods, were produced without central direction. Without even realizing it, self-interested individuals, most of whom would never meet, cooperated to produce, efficiently and cheaply, a coat far

superior to that worn by a king in a region with a less developed division of labor.

The size of the market, Smith argued, determined the degree of labor specialization. The larger the population and area that could trade, the more specialized and efficient an individual could become, and hence the more that individual could help to produce. By restricting the size of the market, trade barriers dampened economic activity. Mercantilist policies like tariffs and quotas thus created poverty and economic backwardness, not prosperity. With precious few exceptions for public goods like national defense, markets led to more efficient outcomes than government decree. The production of everything from roads to education, Smith argued, should be guided by the invisible hand of the market, not the whims and dictates of princes and potentates.

Smith was a Scotsman. Though he never personally traveled to America, he frequently discussed its economic and political conditions in *The Wealth of Nations.* Americans were well aware of Smith's work and, perhaps with a few quibbles, accepted it. One of those quibblers was Alexander Hamilton.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Early America boasted of no great economic theorists, though Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia and Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts deserve more accolades than they are usually accorded, especially in the field of monetary economics. Revolutionary war hero and statesman Alexander Hamilton was by far the early nation's greatest economic and financial mind. By focusing on his December 1791 *Report on Manufactures* and its subsequent interpretation by advocates of protective tariffs, many contemporaries and later scholars came to see Hamilton as a neomercantilist or economic nationalist. Those who read the entire corpus of his work in the context of his times, however, tended to interpret him as a practical, nuanced thinker working within Smith's free-market paradigm.

The *Report on Manufactures* sounded mercantilist because of its frequent mention of tariffs and other possible forms of government "encouragement" of domestic manufacturing. As a public policymaker, Hamilton had to confront the reality that the early U.S. economy existed in what modern economists call a "second-best world," a global trading system still riddled with mercantilist antitrade policies. He also had to confront a citizenry steeped in the Physio-cratic notion that agriculture produces the greatest wealth. His *Report*, in other words, can be interpreted

as a practical critique of mercantilism, rather than as a return to it.

Hamilton first attacked the notion that agriculture was naturally more productive than manufacturing. After all, manufacturing extends the division of labor, which Smith considered the fount of wealth. Manufacturing also encourages the use of labor-saving machinery, draws additional people into the workforce, promotes immigration, maximizes the use of human capital, encourages entrepreneurship, and creates a relatively stable domestic demand for agricultural products. Given the numerous and important benefits of manufacturing, the rest of the world's immersion in mercantilist practices, and the nation's still precarious independence, it might be prudent, Hamilton suggested, for the government to encourage American manufacturing.

In a stunningly modern analysis, Hamilton proceeded to weigh the relative costs and benefits of protective tariffs (duties or imposts), quotas (quantity limitations or prohibitions on imports), bounties (payments for production), premiums (prizes), patents (protection of intellectual property rights), and quality-control regulations (inspection of imports to ensure their safety and soundness). Unlike many early-nineteenth-century protectionists, Hamilton rejected protective tariffs and quotas in favor of bounties, patents, and inspection regulations. The federal government depended heavily on customs duties for revenue, so imposing quotas or high tariffs was out of the question. Protective (high) tariffs actually reduce revenue by greatly decreasing imports. In this way they protect domestic manufacturers from foreign competition. Moreover, Hamilton deduced that production bounties produced a smaller drag on the economy than tariffs and quotas did—an insight so profound and original that it did not regularly appear in international-economics textbooks until the 1930s.

DAVID RICARDO

Still, a major conceptual hole remained to be filled. As Adam Smith pointed out, trade came naturally to people. Most early Americans had no trouble believing that exchange was mutually beneficial to both buyers and sellers. Even some of those steeped in Physiocracy saw that trade could create wealth by putting resources to their most highly valued uses. Economic life is not a zero-sum game that merely shuffles property from one owner to another, as the mercantilists believed. But troubling questions remained. Was it not possible under free trade that a highly advanced, efficient economy like that of Great

Britain could oppress or dominate a less developed economy like that of the United States? Would not British producers simply undersell Americans both at home and abroad?

David Ricardo, a prominent London stockbroker turned public policymaker and political economist, showed that such fears were unfounded. His concept of comparative advantage has been called the only idea in the social sciences that is both true *and* non-trivial. Ricardo showed that a nation was better off trading even when it could not produce anything more efficiently than its trading partner could. It should make and trade away whatever it was comparatively good at producing, even if the other country was absolutely better at making it. If the other country did likewise, total output would be maximized.

Despite that theoretical breakthrough, many Americans, particularly in the urban North, continued to call for protective tariffs. With the spurt of industrialization that accompanied Jefferson's trade embargoes and the War of 1812, manufacturers obtained enough political clout to raise tariffs to protective levels. By the 1820s and 1830s tariffs had become a major political battleground. As followers of Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo, most modern economists argue that nineteenth-century America became rich in spite of its high tariffs, not because of them.

What made America wealthy, some scholars argue, was its surprisingly modern financial sector. In this sector Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo made important theoretical contributions and, in Hamilton's case, practical contributions as well. Together, they showed that financial markets helped to ensure that physical capital (land, ships, buildings, and machinery) and labor were put to their most efficient uses. Banks, insurers, and securities (stock and bond) markets were political lightning rods at times, but they proliferated widely, especially in the North. In many ways Smith, Hamilton, and Ricardo were ahead of their time. America's economic might owes much to them.

See also **Government and the Economy; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Conkin, Paul. *Prophets of Prosperity: America's First Political Economists.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.

Matson, Cathy, and Peter Onuf. *A Union of Interests: Political and Economic Thought in Revolutionary America.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1990.

McNamara, Peter. *Political Economy and Statesmanship: Smith, Hamilton, and the Foundation of the Commercial Republic.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998.

Ricardo, David. *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005.

Peskin, Lawrence. *Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American Industry.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Smith, Adam. *The Wealth of Nations.* New York: Barnes and Noble, 2004.

Wright, Robert E. *The Wealth of Nations Rediscovered: Integration and Expansion in American Financial Markets, 1780–1850.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Robert E. Wright

EDUCATION

This entry consists of eleven separate articles: *Overview*, *Elementary*, *Grammar, and Secondary Schools*, *Colleges and Universities*, *Professional Education*, *American Indian Education*, *Education of African Americans*, *Education of Girls and Women*, *Education of the Deaf*, *Proprietary Schools and Academies*, *Public Education*, and *Tutors*.

Overview

In the early colonial period, Massachusetts passed an education law (1642) that required instruction in religious principles and civic obedience to the laws of Massachusetts. The Old Deluder Satan Act (1647) required reading and writing schools for towns with at least fifty families. It required grammar schools, like the Boston Latin School (1635), for towns with at least one hundred families. Grammar schools offered classical instruction in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew along with rhetoric, logic, and mathematics, and they prepared students for Harvard College (1636). Other New England colonies followed Massachusetts's plan. The Connecticut colony, for example, adopted a similar grammar school plan in the early eighteenth century that prepared students for Yale College (1701).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the population became more urbanized and ethnically diverse. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) saw the increase in the German-speaking population of Pennsylvania as a problem. He advocated English schools emphasiz-

Oldest Wood Schoolhouse. This school, the oldest existing wood schoolhouse in the country, was built during the 1700s in St. Augustine, Florida. © LEE SNIDER/PHOTO IMAGES/CORBIS.

ing not only the English language, but also English culture and history to assimilate the recent German immigrants into the colony. Franklin wanted all children to attend school in common, an approach leading to the common school concept.

Two years after his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749), Franklin published *Idea of an English School* (1751). In the latter he proposed an education that emphasized practical instruction in commerce and public service rather than ministerial training, thus laying foundation for the academy school to follow. In 1751 the Academy of Philadelphia, based upon his idea, opened its doors. Nevertheless, William Smith (1727–1803), the first provost of the college, developed a curriculum that was less practical than Franklin had proposed; it included science, history, logic, mathematics, and geography. In 1755 it became a college and was renamed the College of Philadelphia. It added the first colonial medical school, established by John Morgan in 1765. The college remained open until 1779, when the state took it over and converted it into the University of the State of Pennsylvania following charges of subversive Loyalist activities there. After a lengthy legal battle, the College of Philadelphia reopened in 1789. In 1791 it merged with the University of the State to form the University of Pennsylvania.

Smith began teaching in Pennsylvania charity schools sponsored by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG; 1701). In 1753 he published *A General Idea of the College of Mirania*, in which he outlined the importance of providing an education to meet the needs of the people. In 1754 New York adopted the Mirania idea and established King's College (Columbia College in 1784), with Samuel Johnson (1696–1772) as its first president. Smith later presided over the opening of Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, in 1782.

THE REVOLUTION AND REPUBLICAN EDUCATION
The Revolutionary generation brought more changes in education, changes based upon republican ideals.

For many, the future of the new Republic depended upon an educated citizenry. The Continental Congress addressed the need for education when it adopted the Northwest Ordinance in 1787. Article 3 displayed the unbridled faith of the Revolutionary generation in a republican education, stating that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." In 1795 Connecticut adopted a similar idea of using the sale of public lands in the Western Reserve of Ohio to finance education.

Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) was in the forefront of those who believed that an enlightened population was essential for the future of the Republic. To accomplish this, Jefferson in 1779 submitted to the Virginia legislature a Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, which proposed schools at the public's expense. Jefferson wanted all children to attend the first three years of reading and writing school. The highest achievers would advance to grammar schools. The best would attend six more years of school, half of whom would then advance to the College of William and Mary (1693) for three years. Although the bill failed, Jefferson remained committed to republican education.

Jefferson saw higher education as the culmination of a republican education and proposed to state legislators his idea of a university open to all qualified citizens of Virginia. Jefferson enlisted architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764–1820) to design the new university. In 1816 Virginia passed a bill resulting in the establishment of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, which opened in 1825, one year before Jefferson's death.

Noah Webster (1758–1843) wanted an American educational system with a nationalistic perspective. Although he believed that children should receive instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, he also stressed the need to teach republican virtues and patriotism. In 1783 he published the *Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, in which argued for a national language and culture distinguishable from those of Europe. Webster included a federal catechism in his spellers to evoke patriotic loyalty to the new Republic.

In 1798 Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) wrote an essay titled *Of the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic*. Here he advocated an education that would produce "republican machines." Unlike Jefferson and Webster, Rush believed that the foundation of republican education should be laid upon Christianity and virtue.

CHARITY SCHOOLS

In the 1790s and onward, urban populations continued to increase, while at the same time there was an increase in poverty. Many equated poverty with crime, especially among immigrants. To correct this, educators advocated the expansion of charity schools, which grew not only in number but in kind to include juvenile reformatory schools. New York State founded the New York Free School Society (1805). It aimed at providing a common school experience that would develop better citizens, especially among the poor and the immigrant populations, based upon the Lancasterian system.

Joseph Lancaster (1778–1838), born in England, developed a new monitorial method of instruction in which the older and best students instructed assigned groups of younger students. With this method, Lancaster enabled teachers to instruct as many as five hundred students at a time. This factory system of education depended upon submission to highly regimented instruction. Lancaster, a Quaker, was opposed to physical punishment, replacing it with obedience to order achieved through military-style marching and drilling. Following the publication of his *Improvements in Education* (1803), many American charity schools began adopting Lancasterian methods, which laid the foundation for the common schools of the 1830s.

FEMALE EDUCATION

Between 1754 and 1829, some wealthy families provided women with private tutors who offered primary-level instruction. Some religious sects, such as the Quakers and Moravians, included female departments in their schools. With the Revolution and the idea of a republican education, females increasingly gained access to schools.

In 1787 Benjamin Rush addressed the students at the Young Ladies' Academy in Philadelphia (1787), the first female school in America. In his speech, "Thoughts upon Female Education," Rush pointed out the necessity of educating females so they could become good republican mothers teaching sons and husbands to be better citizens. In *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), Mary Wollstonecraft also advocated an educated female population. She believed it better for parents to educate children at home. Thus, it was necessary for mothers to attain an education. Furthermore, she thought educated females led to a more civilized society. James Armstrong Neal (1774–1808) agreed in his work, *An Essay on the Education and Genius of the Female Sex* (1795). He equated the level of civilization with the educational level of the female citizenry.

Female academies increasingly proliferated, especially in the North. In 1792 Sarah Pierce (1767–1852) founded Litchfield Female Academy in Connecticut. Her students included Catharine Beecher (1800–1878) and Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811–1896). Catharine Beecher went on to found Hartford Seminary (1823) in Connecticut. Byfield Female Seminary (1807) near Boston was instrumental in female education. In 1821 Mary Lyon (1797–1849) attended Byfield. She went on to become a teacher and principal at Adams Female Academy (1824) in New Hampshire and Ipswich Female Seminary (1828) in Massachusetts. Another Byfield student was Zilpah Grant (1794–1874), who founded Ipswich Seminary. Emma Willard (1787–1870), who founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821, trained a large number of female teachers. In 1824 Worcester, Massachusetts, began the first high school for females. In New England, farm families often sent daughters to work in the textile mills, where they received an education in addition to wages.

NATIVE AMERICAN EDUCATION

The first Great Awakening (1730s–1750s) increased interest in the Christian conversion of Native Americans and African Americans. Itinerant minister Samuel Davies (1723–1761) preached New Light Presbyterianism in Virginia well into the 1750s. He believed conversion depended upon religious instruction. In 1759 Davies took the position of president of the College of New Jersey (1746), later Princeton University. The religious revivals of the late eighteenth century encouraged others to educate Indians and African Americans with the aim of integrating them into "civilized" society.

In 1769 Congregationist minister Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779) founded Dartmouth College in New Hampshire to educate Native Americans. Fifteen years earlier he had established Moors Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut, for Native Americans. One of his former students, Samson Occom (1723–1792), a Mohegan, helped raise funds for Dartmouth. The school, however, rejected most Indian applicants.

Early on, the College of William and Mary (1693) in Virginia opened its doors to Native Americans in hopes of preserving peace. By the time the school closed its doors to Native Americans in 1777, however, most of the Indian students were war captives or hostages.

In the late eighteenth century, Baptist missionaries were the most active in educating Native Americans. They worked among the Cherokees in Georgia and other southeastern tribes. In 1821 Sequoyah (1776–1843) produced his Cherokee *Syllabary*, which helped increase literacy among the Cherokees. These efforts came to abrupt ends with the pressure to remove the "civilized tribes" from the Southeast, culminating with *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), involving the illegal residence of missionary and educator Samuel A. Worcester on Cherokee tribal lands.

AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

In the colonial period, the SPG was the organization most active in educating African Americans, the purpose being their religious conversion. Following the Revolution, John Rogers of the Trinity Episcopal Church established the African Free School (1796) as an offshoot of the New York State Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves (1785). The graduates included the actor Ira Aldridge (1807–1867); the first black pharmacist in New York City, James McCune Smith (1813–1865); the editor of *Freedom's Journal*, John B. Russwurm (1799–1851); and the physician Martin Delany (1812–1885). The Quakers' educational efforts among African Americans began to surpass those of the SPG in the late eighteenth century. Anthony Benezet (1713–1784) opened the Philadelphia African School in 1782. Quakers in Delaware formed the African School Society in 1801.

Given reluctance among whites to provide schools for them, African Americans began opening their own. In so doing, African Americans reflected the general emphasis on the need for republican education to produce good citizens and as a means of upward social and economic mobility. In 1787 Richard Allen (1760–1831) and Absalom Jones (1746–1818) began the Free African Society in Philadelphia. The society assumed the responsibility of educating African Americans in the city.

In 1798 Prince Hall (c. 1735–1807), founder of the first black Masonic lodge (1787), opened the first school for African American children in Boston in his son's home in 1798. In 1808 the school, known as the African School, was moved to the African Meeting House. It remained there until the opening of the Abiel Smith School in 1835.

In the South, free African Americans educated their children despite white opposition. In 1790 the Brown Fellowship Society opened a school in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1803 African Americans founded the Minors' Moralist Society in Charleston, dedicated to educating orphaned and indigent black children. Daniel A. Payne (1811–1893), later bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal

Church, began his education in the society school. In 1829 Payne opened a school in Charleston. He continued until 1835, when white opposition resulting from Nat Turner's Rebellion (1831) forced him to close.

The fear of slave rebellion in the South in the early nineteenth century led many African American churches to hold clandestine Sabbath schools for both free and enslaved African Americans. These schools offered more than religious instruction; they provided instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic as well.

See also **Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Revivals and Revivalism; Work: Teachers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, Richard D. *Knowledge Is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South."* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Addison-Wesley, 1970.

Gilreath, James, ed. *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1999.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Nash, Margaret A. "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–192.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Spring, Joel. *The American School, 1642–1993.* 5th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2000.

Bradley Skelcher

Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools

Education during the colonial, Revolutionary, and early national periods was diverse and is best discussed within regional contexts.

NEW ENGLAND

In colonial New England a child's education was not just a family responsibility but a civil and church matter. Formal education began in New England during the late 1630s, only a few years after the Puritan migration to Massachusetts. For Calvinists being able to read the Bible was paramount, and thus education was essential to the success of their religious experiment. A two-tier educational system developed during the seventeenth century, consisting of the dame school and the elite grammar schools. Dame schools were usually set up in the private homes of women who charged a modest fee to give boys and girls formal instruction in reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic. Not surprisingly, discipline in a Puritan school or household was strict and all teaching and learning doctrinaire. Students were forced to memorize the *New England Primer*, containing the catechism as well as poems, prayers, and hymns that espoused Puritan theology, warning children of satanic temptations as well as describing the horrors of eternal damnation.

Massachusetts was the first region in colonial America to establish secondary or grammar schools for boys. In 1635 the Boston Public Latin School was established to educate the sons of the elite in both the classics and further religious studies (some schools also taught algebra, geometry, and geography). After primary school, most boys either joined an apprentice program or attended a grammar school. Boys who were destined for Harvard College were educated at a grammar school, beginning at the age of seven or eight. Moreover, to maintain religious orthodoxy, both the church and the civil authorities in the Massachusetts Bay Colony took direct responsibility for the education of their children. This can be seen in two seventeenth-century laws passed by the Massachusetts General Court. In 1642, by Massachusetts law, parents of illiterate children were fined. In 1647 the Old Deluder Satan Act was the first law that provided for a public-supported system of education. This law required towns of over fifty households to provide a teacher of reading and writing and towns with over a hundred households to establish a grammar school also.

During the eighteenth century, Massachusetts had an especially high literacy rate for males, reaching 80 percent. Although the literacy rate for females was below 50 percent during the same period, it was still relatively high in comparison to the other regions of colonial America. In the nineteenth century girls began to attend town schools in New England at levels comparable with boys; many women turned to teaching basic literacy in elementary

schools, especially in outlying districts, while male teachers dominated the town grammar schools. In the first decades of the eighteenth century only 30 to 40 percent of women could write; that number reached 80 percent by the 1890s. This is explained by increased attendance in both elementary and secondary schools for girls during the last half of the nineteenth century.

THE MID-ATLANTIC

Colonial education in the middle colonies lacked the support of any civil authority and generally developed along sectarian lines. In Pennsylvania the Quakers did not establish a state-controlled system of education, but they did set up elementary schools that provided basic literacy. Essentially children were taught to read the Bible. In the middle colonies, the majority of schools were denominational, yet in the major towns, such as Philadelphia, nonsectarian private secondary schools or academies began to emerge during the first half of the eighteenth century, offering the student a variety of practical subjects such as navigation, agriculture, and surveying besides the classics, mathematics, and English. After independence prominent figures including Benjamin Franklin, influenced by the Enlightenment and the American Revolution, pushed for a more secular and utilitarian secondary education that reflected the republican nation and commercial society. This led to the further growth of small private schools and academies (sometimes referred to as the English Grammar School), which were popular among the new merchant classes. Also, throughout the eighteenth century, some parents hired private tutors to instruct children in the classics, modern languages (particularly French), arithmetic, art, and even dancing.

New York City established only a few grammar schools during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The authorities in New York did, however, encourage the work of the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) in supporting ten charity schools during the course of the eighteenth century. Some of these charity schools taught African Americans as well as poor whites. By the latter part of the eighteenth century, a few African free schools were established in progressive towns like Philadelphia and New York. Both Pennsylvania and New York provided state funds for charity schools by the early nineteenth century.

THE SOUTH

Education in the South during the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century reflected the region's paternalist and agrarian society. In 1779 Thomas Jefferson encouraged education reform in Virginia to spread knowledge to a "free" society. Jefferson's plan included a free elementary education for all white boys and girls as well as the founding of twenty state-supported secondary schools that provided a grammar school education for talented white boys. But Jefferson's ideas on state-sponsored education did not pass in the Virginia legislature, and there was little discussion of a state tax-supported system in Virginia until the early decades of the nineteenth century. Any education received by slaves during this period was minimal because most state laws forbade it. Even so, some basic literacy was taught to slaves on a few plantations and farms. By the Civil War, only 5 percent of blacks were literate.

In the eighteenth century and through the antebellum period, education in the South was not considered a civic concern (as in New England) but instead mostly an individual and private matter. Much of the teaching came from informal sources, such as the family and the church. The planter class hired tutors to provide their sons with an education based on humanism—mainly focusing on the Latin and Greek classics, as well as history, philosophy, law, music, and science. Southern aristocrats' daughters studied French from the plantation tutor. More often, however, girls were taught manners and other social graces from their mothers. In large towns such as Savannah and Charleston, some formal education took place in the guise of new private schools advertising a broad curriculum. Similar to the mid-Atlantic states, most of the formal education in the South was provided by churches and philanthropic societies, such as the SPG, which established several charity schools. With this tradition of both informal and formal education, basic literacy rates among white males were surprisingly high. In the South Carolina backcountry, for example, literacy rates for white males may have reached 80 percent.

As demand for skilled labor increased during the colonial era, the Southern colonies legally established an apprenticeship system. This marked the first time the Southern colonies enforced education. The system was put in place not only to provide an opportunity for those who wanted to learn a trade, but also for orphans and the destitute. Most children of the rural poor, however, had no formal education because farms were too scattered to establish a community school. In Virginia and Maryland, however, wealthy planters sometimes bequeathed funds to establish "free schools" for the poor. These schools taught the basics: reading, writing, and arithmetic.

If a family could afford it, a small fee was charged, but otherwise it was free. Even though formal schooling was limited in the colonial and Revolutionary periods, the South was nevertheless influenced by the common school movement of the 1830s, with common schools emerging especially in North Carolina and the upper regions of the Piedmont.

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW TERRITORIES

The new Republic created as a result of the American Revolution relied on a new civic-minded and educated electorate. As a result, there was a push for state-supported education in settled areas as well as the new territories. Independence soon led to an American nationalism that valued education not just to provide for good citizenship but also to cultivate loyalty for the new national government and to construct national identity. Noah Webster was the most famous advocate of this new American nationalism in education which led to the rise of the common school movement of the 1830s. The common school reformers called for a state-supported school system that provided all children with a common curriculum, arguing that if children from diverse backgrounds were taught a common political and social ideology, a strong sense of community could be constructed and social problems limited. This movement provided the blueprint for the later development of the modern state public schools.

Although the common school movement also influenced the development of public-funded education in the new territories, an earlier policy—the Northwest Ordinance—enacted by the new national government had lasting effects on the development of American education. After the Revolution, settlers flooded into the new territories, and in 1787 the Northwest Ordinance established public support for education in the new territories (north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi). Each township in the new territories was divided into thirty-six sections, with the sixteenth section required to provide either a school or at least apply the rents and sales received from that section explicitly for education.

See also **Northwest and Southwest Ordinances.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Best, John Hardin. "Education in the Forming of the American South." *History of Education Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (spring 1996): 39–51.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

———. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Perlmann, Joel, Silvana R. Siddali, and Keith Whitescarver. "Literacy, Schooling, and Teaching among New England Women, 1730–1820." *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (summer 1997): 117–139.

Rippa, S. Alexander. *Education in a Free Society: An American History.* White Plains, N.Y.: Longman, 1997.

Spring, Joel H. *The American School, 1642–1993.* 3rd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1994.

Vinovskis, Maris A. "Quantification and the Analysis of American Antebellum Education." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 13, no. 4 (spring 1983): 761–786.

Jeremy David Rowan

Colleges and Universities

Colleges and universities in the new American nation were established slowly and deliberately until the American Revolution, at which point establishments ceased for a decade and then resumed in increasing numbers through the 1820s. During this period, these institutions were substantially devoted to imparting "liberal education," with the purpose of forming leaders and citizens for colonial and then republican society. The functions of advancing knowledge and providing graduate or professional education, commonly associated with higher education from the late nineteenth century onward, were not adopted by colleges in the new American nation, apart from informal or ancillary modes, the medical school at the College of Philadelphia being one possible exception. Even taking that into account, there were no "universities" in the new nation as that term would later be understood.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, just three colleges had been founded in the colonies, and their religious character reflected the fierce sectarian divisions that had arisen in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and engulfed its universities and colleges. In Massachusetts, the Puritans—who became Congregationalists—founded Harvard College (1636); in Virginia, the Anglicans established the College of William and Mary (1693); in Connecticut, Congregationalists who leaned toward Presbyterianism founded Yale College (1701). Thus, the significant role of higher education in defining religious orthodoxy—and the concomitant battles among the Christian sects for control—was extended to the earliest colonial colleges and continued in the colleges established before the American Revolution.

At the same time, another significant and related characteristic of institutional governance was extended from Europe to the colonial colleges. These

colleges combined the degree-granting authority of the European universities with the governance model of the European colleges and halls, which had originated as safe domiciles for young students living far from home. The latter, being governed by nonresident trustees who were usually clergymen or men of affairs, became more responsive to the public (and religious) purposes represented by the nonresident trustees than were the universities, being governed by the teaching masters.

In the American colonies, this collegiate form of governance was coupled with the power to grant degrees and became the normative model of organization in American higher education. As a result, the colonial colleges were profoundly shaped by not only religious but also public purposes. In fact, the colonial colleges commonly regarded today as exemplary private institutions were, in this early period, regarded as virtually public institutions, being sponsored and, to some extent, funded by the colonial governments. Hence, the general pattern resulted that the nine colleges established before the American Revolu-

tion were, with the exception of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, founded one to a colony in conjunction with the established or predominant Protestant sect in the colony. This general correlation among colony, sect, and college reduced competition for public funds and, to some extent, sectarian bickering, at least within the college itself.

In New York the Anglicans fought off the Presbyterians to establish tenuous control over King's College, later Columbia, in the early years after its founding in 1754. In pluralistic Pennsylvania an alliance of Presbyterians and Anglicans dominated the future University of Pennsylvania from its chartering in 1755. New Jersey was a partial exception to the pattern in as much as the dominant Presbyterians split their efforts between the College of New Jersey (1746), later Princeton, founded by English and Scottish Presbyterians, and Queen's College (1766), later Rutgers, founded by Dutch Reformed Presbyterians. Yet both groups shared virtually the same doctrine, and the colleges nearly merged in 1793. In anomalous Rhode Island the Baptists founded the fu-

Colleges and Universities Chartered to Grant Degrees before 1820

Current Name of Institution	Year Opened for Collegiate Instruction	Permanent Location as of 1820
Harvard University	1638	Cambridge, MA
College of William and Mary	1694	Williamsburg, VA
Yale University	1702	New Haven, CT
Princeton University	1747	Princeton, NJ
Columbia University	1754	New York, NY
University of Pennsylvania	1755	Philadelphia, PA
Brown University	1765	Providence, RI
Dartmouth College	1769	Hanover, NH
Rutgers, The State University	1771	New Brunswick, NJ
Washington and Lee University	1782	Lexington, VA
Hampden-Sydney College	1783	Hampden-Sydney, VA
Dickinson College	1784	Carlisle, PA
Mount Sion College	1785	Winnsborough, SC
College of Cambridge (SC)	(1785)	Never opened for instruction.
Franklin and Marshall College	1787	Lancaster, PA
Transylvania University	1789	Lexington, KY
St. John's College	1789	Annapolis, MD
College of Charleston	1789	Charleston, SC
Williams College	1793	Williamstown, MA
Cokesbury College (MD)	1794	No longer operating.
University of North Carolina	1795	Chapel Hill, NC
Union University	1795	Schenectady, NY
Washington College Academy	1795	Limestown, TN
College of Beaufort (SC)	(1795)	Never opened for instruction.
Alexandria College (SC)	(1797)	Never opened for instruction.
University of Vermont	1799	Burlington, VT
Middlebury College	1800	Middlebury, VT
University of Georgia	1801	Athens, GA
Bowdoin College	1802	Brunswick, ME
Jefferson College	1802	Washington, PA
Washington College	1806	Merged in 1865.
Baltimore College	1804	Baltimore, MD. Merged in 1830.
Tusculum College	1805	Greenville, TN
University of South Carolina	1805	Columbia, SC
St. Mary's Seminary and University	1805	Baltimore, MD
University of Orleans and College of New Orleans (LA)	(1805)	Never opened for instruction.
George Peabody College for Teachers	1806	Nashville, TN
University of Maryland	1807	Baltimore, MD. Granted first B.A. degree in 1859.
Ohio University	1808	Athens, OH
Hamilton College	1812	Clinton, NY
Georgetown University	1815	Washington, DC
Allegheny College	1817	Meadville, PA
Miami University	1818	Oxford, OH
Asbury College	1818	Baltimore, MD
Colby College	1818	Waterville, ME
University of Cincinnati	1819	Cincinnati, OH
University of Pittsburgh	1819	Pittsburgh, PA
University of Tennessee	1820	Knoxville, TN
Centre College	1820	Danville, KY
University of Virginia	1825	Charlottesville, VA
Worthington College	1820s	OH

ture Brown University (1765), and in the northern colony of New Hampshire the Congregationalists es-tablished Dartmouth (1769). Notwithstanding this cooperative pattern among colony, sect, and college, these foundings were rarely harmonious and were often fraught with disputes among religious parties and between the colonial government and clerical leaders.

DEBATE OVER LIBERAL EDUCATION

Stemming from these conflicts, the nature of liberal education at the colonial colleges became a matter of dispute as well. Until the middle of the eighteenth century, the content and nature of liberal arts at Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary largely conformed to the accommodation, inherited directly from Europe, between the scholastic "liberal arts" (*artes liberales*) at the universities and the "humanistic studies" (*studia humanitatis*) that had emerged over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This early colonial program comprised studies in grammar, rhetoric, logic, history, ethics, and metaphysics, with a smattering of mathematics, astronomy, and geography. Most of the subject matter was drawn from Greek or Latin texts and taught by recitations—oral, catechetical quizzing conducted in class.

While this accommodation constituted the bulk of liberal education throughout this period, modifications of this formal program began to appear in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and then to grow in the 1790s and subsequent decades. On the one hand, the modifications concerned whether and how far "modern" authors could be incorporated into the formal curriculum. Such authors included Isaac Newton (1642–1727) in natural science, William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and John Milton (1608–1674) in literature, and Joseph Addison (1672–1719) in rhetoric. Princeton led the efforts to make these modifications during the third quarter of the eighteenth century, but even there the changes were largely marginalized and did not yet breach the dikes built by traditional practice around the formal curriculum.

On the other hand, the modifications were devoted to building what was reflected in the title of a pamphlet written in 1765 by Joseph Priestley, *A Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life.* Over the subsequent decades, as the essay was republished and eventually appeared in an American edition in 1803, there were increasing calls to incorporate the useful study of sciences, modern languages, and social and political subjects appropriate for citizens of a republic. Priestley emigrated to the United States in 1794 and settled near Philadelphia, where he was offered, but declined, a chair in chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, the other early institution associated with efforts to broaden the traditional liberal education. Even there, however, these reforming efforts were blunted by the established faculty, and associations outside of the colleges and universities led the effort for reform. Thus, in Philadelphia in 1796, the American Philosophical Society held an essay contest for writings describing "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States" (*Essays on Education in the Early Republic*, p. xv).

Despite the perceived impracticality of the formal curriculum, students graduated from the colleges and entered a variety of vocational fields, particularly those of the "learned professions" of theology, law, and medicine, as well as teaching. Until 1700 more than half of the liberal arts graduates, all of whom attended Harvard, entered the ministry. At that point, the fraction dropped to a norm of about 40 percent, which held steady through 1750, and reflected graduates of only Harvard and Yale, since William and Mary had become moribund. During the 1750s, as more colleges opened for instruction, this percentage remained consistent and then slid to 30 percent by 1776. Meanwhile, the percentage entering medicine grew from about 5 percent at the beginning of the eighteenth century to about 15 percent by 1776. Law and commerce also saw their respective fraction of college graduates increase to that of medicine, about 15 percent, by 1776. Teaching at all levels consistently attracted about 5 percent of college graduates. These percentages did not vary significantly among the different colleges. After the American Revolution, the fraction of college graduates entering the ministry dropped steadily, while that entering law grew steadily, passing the clergy in about 1820. The fraction entering other fields generally remained consistent over the same period.

Meanwhile, the calls to modify the traditional substance and form of liberal education increased in volume and number in the early decades of the nineteenth century. But the changes made were minimal and largely confined to extracurricular literary and debating clubs and societies formed by the students. In 1828 the Yale president Jeremiah Day (1773–1867) and faculty issued a famous report in which they rebutted a proposal (made, predictably, by a member of the external board of trustees) "to leave out of said course the study of the *dead languages*, substituting other studies therefore" (*Reports*, p. 3). Even as it quoted the Roman writer Cicero (106–43 B.C.) in rebuttal, however, the Yale *Reports* also employed the language of Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the philosophical champion of the new empirical sciences. This rhetorical shift indicated that the prospect for substantial change in the formal curriculum was clearly on the horizon.

COLLEGE FOUNDINGS

Part of the reason for the intransigence and uniformity of the colleges was that the leaders of newly founded colleges had graduated from the eastern colleges and adopted the curriculum of their alma maters, if for no other reason than to legitimate their new foundations. For the early nineteenth century, the precise number of colleges is indeterminate because some were founded in name only, others were merely chartered, and still others began to offer instruction but closed soon thereafter. The table presented here, drawn largely from the research of historian Jurgen Herbst, includes virtually all colleges chartered by 1820 to grant degrees. The institutions are listed by the year in which they opened for collegiate instruction, which is a more salient, if elusive, criterion than the date of chartering. The institutions that never opened for instruction, as noted in the table, are listed by the date of their charter, and their charter date is included in parentheses. Some of the institutions opened earlier as academies that did not grant bachelor's degrees.

In surveying these colleges, the instruction they offered, and the vocations entered by their students, it is important to remember that they were all closed to women during this period. Even progressive observers such as Samuel Harrison Smith, winning essayist in the 1796 contest on liberal education sponsored by the American Philosophical Society, observed "that the great object of a liberal plan of education should be the almost universal diffusion of knowledge" (Smith, p. 189). By this qualification he referred to "female instruction," though hoping that it would be "marked by a rapid progress and that a prospect opens equal to their most ambitious desires" (Smith, p. 217). Tutored or self-taught women, who looked on from the outside, were not satisfied with this hope. Yet though they might call for the equivalent of a college education—as did Emma Willard in her *Plan of Female Education* (1818)—even these proposals did not through the 1820s entail the granting of a college degree.

See also **Professions.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

[Day, Jeremiah.] *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College.* New Haven, Conn.: Hezekiah Howe, 1828.

Herbst, Jurgen. *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government*, *1636–1819.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Humphrey, David C. *From King's College to Columbia*, *1746–1800.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1976.

Kelley, Brooks Mather. *Yale: A History.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974.

Kimball, Bruce A. *The "True Professional Ideal" in America: A History.* Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992.

Priestley, Joseph. "An Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life." In *Lectures on History and General Policy.* Edited by J. T. Rutt. London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 1826.

Smith, Samuel Harrison. "Remarks on Education: Illustrating the Close Connection between Virtue and Wisdom. To Which Is Annexed a System of Liberal Education" (1797). In *Essays on Education in the Early Republic.* Edited by Frederick Rudolph. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965.

Bruce A. Kimball

Professional Education

From the 1750s through the 1820s, America's nascent professional class saw a rise in standardized educational practices attuned to their respective fields, conducted at an increasing number of institutions of higher education. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a number of colleges added course work in law, medicine, and a more systematized theological training. In the years after the Revolution, that progress grew into a larger number of specialized schools and programs.

LATE COLONIAL PERIOD

By the mid-eighteenth century young men wishing to pursue a professional life in medicine, the law, or the clergy had essentially two choices: return to the mother country or pursue an apprenticeship under the tutelage of a master. Despite the increase in the number of American colleges in the eighteenth century, the colonial professoriate continued to be dominated by various sects' clergy, emphasizing liberal arts study and avoiding particular training for a profession. Numerous colonials took medical degrees at Edinburgh or read law at the Inns of Court, gaining both professional knowledge and personal contacts that assisted them for the remainders of their professional lives. Likewise, returning to the mother country was the only way that a prospective clergyman of the Church of England from the colonies could receive final instructions and ordination. But education in the Old World had drawbacks, too. Studies in Britain or Europe were expensive, time-consuming, and, in the view of worried colonial parents, dangerous. The alternative was apprenticeship. Like artisans, young men pursuing entrance into the medical and legal fields followed patterns of apprenticeship, learning the "art and mystery" of their chosen field by serving for a period of time under a master, progressing from doing chores and routine tasks into

their own practice of the profession. Although the apprenticeship system has long been characterized as a poor education, it actually provided young lawyers and doctors with skills that served them well within their colonial communities.

MEDICAL AND LEGAL EDUCATION

The first American medical school was proposed by Philadelphia physician John Morgan in 1765. Morgan, a veteran of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) who subsequently took a medical degree at Edinburgh, called for a program that would be a part of the College of Philadelphia (later, the University of Pennsylvania), judging the liberal arts to be an integral aspect of a doctor's training. Two years later a similar plan was launched in New York, affiliated with King's College (Columbia). Each school required matriculates to hold a bachelor's degree or proficiency in Latin, natural philosophy, and mathematics. Over three years of study, students took courses with professors and gained practical knowledge through apprenticeships or work in hospitals, eventually taking comprehensive examinations and receiving the doctorate of medicine. The two medical schools transformed American medical education, offering degrees that would set apart their alumni and mark the rise of the medical profession in the colonies. By 1776 the two schools had graduated a total of forty-nine physicians. In other colonies, calls for the creation of professional education opportunities failed or met serious resistance. Virginians demanded that the College of William and Mary offer training in medicine and law, but attempts failed until the removal of imperial controls during the Revolution.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The years immediately following American independence saw a rise and proliferation of professional educational endeavors in the new American states. Collegiate legal education, particularly addressing the need for training and codification on the new American system of laws, began in 1779, when the College of William and Mary appointed George Wythe as its first professor of law and police. In 1789 James Wilson began teaching law at the University of Pennsylvania, and James Kent was appointed professor of law at Columbia College in 1794. Harvard received an endowment for legal training in the 1781 will of Isaac Royall but was unable to secure the proceeds until 1815, when it appointed Isaac Parker as the first Royall Professor of Law; two years later Harvard established a School of Law, granting bachelor of law degrees at the successful completion of three

years' study. Six students graduated in the class of 1820.

Despite colleges' moving into new roles in educating young professionals, much of the most important work in the area continued to be under the supervision of a single determined master, operating without the support of a college or university or a charter. Tapping Reeve began his career as a legal educator in 1774, taking in apprentices in his home in Litchfield, Connecticut. By 1784 he was able to construct a small building to house the Litchfield Law School. Known for his thorough and systematic instruction, Reeve and the instructors who later joined him offered classroom lectures in various areas of the law, as well as providing prospective lawyers with access to debating societies, moot courts, and regular examinations. The school offered a comprehensive legal training for its numerous students, many of whom went on to serve on the bench and in the local, state, and federal governments.

The post-Revolutionary period ushered in numerous collegiate plans for the education of young ministers. Most pre-Revolutionary colonial clergymen took bachelor's degrees at colleges and then stayed on for further education. By the late 1760s Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton) had established professorships of divinity. The minister's training was often completed by serving an apprenticeship, much as his contemporaries pursued careers as master artisans, doctors, or lawyers. In the case of the theology student, he studied under the supervision of a senior clergyman, reading Bible studies, biblical languages, Judeo-Christian history, and homiletics, and learned the role of the pastor firsthand by following his supervisor on his ministerial rounds. The diversification of American religion in the early national period likewise showed diversity in training, experience, and intelligence among the clergymen. The Methodist and Baptist movements emphasized personal conviction and commitment far more than formal training and education, and that educational difference allowed for much larger numbers of young men to pursue the ministry, particularly in expanding frontiers where college and theological training were not available. Likewise, the number of graduates of long-established colleges who pursued the ministry dropped significantly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. According to Samuel Eliot Morison, 52 percent of Harvard graduates between 1642 and 1721 became ministers; fewer than 20 percent of those who graduated between 1782 and 1804 pursued a career in the church.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Herbst, Jurgen. *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government, 1636–1819.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936.

George W. Boudreau

American Indian Education

Beginning with the Massachusetts seal, depicting an Indian pleading "Come Over and Help Us," educating American Indians was a major part of the effort to "civilize" the Indian during the Revolutionary era and the early Republic. These efforts presaged the proliferation of off-reservation boarding schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The architects of federal Indian policy placed great importance on Indian education.

European missionaries viewed Indians as proud savages in need of the humility of European ways of life. As the historian James Axtell has noted, the colonists shared the hope that they could, in their oft-repeated phrase, "reduce Indians to civility." Many individuals concerned with the education of American Indians believed that if they changed Indians' outward appearance, Indians would assimilate more quickly. Thus they cut Indians' hair, gave them European clothes, and taught them civilized arts such as agriculture and domestic work. The colonists brought Indian children into schools to remake them as Europeans. They also set aside funds to support the education of Indians at such institutions as Henrico College, William and Mary College, and Harvard College. Yet these schools enrolled very few Indian students.

The institution most closely associated with the education of American Indian children was Moor's Charity School. Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779) established Moor's, a charity school for poor Indian and white boys and girls, in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1754. Previously, Wheelock had tutored Indian children such as Samson Occom, a member of the Mohegan tribe, in writing and religion. Wheelock believed other American Indians could experience the same kind of success as that achieved by Occom. The majority of Indian students came from neighboring Algonquian and Iroquoian communities. In addition to civilizing Indians, Wheelock argued that an Indian school also protected the English frontier. Establishing his school during the Seven Years' War, Wheelock argued that education pacified Indians and prevented future warfare. Moor's accepted both male and female Indian students, a novelty for its time. Girls took classes in basic writing and reading but spent the majority of their time learning how to take care of a colonial home, as was typical of schools for Euro-American girls. Boys attended morning prayers, attended classes in the classical languages, and spent the afternoons engaged in agricultural labor.

In 1763 Wheelock wrote "A Proposal for Introducing Religion, Learning, Agriculture and Manufacture among the Pagans in America" and sent it to officials in England. Wheelock outlined his plans for an Indian college and enlisted Occom to help raise funds for this venture. Between 1765 and 1768, Occom willingly made several trips to England and Scotland, raising more than £12 thousand for Wheelock's school. After securing the funds, Wheelock moved Moor's to Hanover, New Hampshire, and established Dartmouth College in 1769. However, like its predecessors, Dartmouth attracted few Indian students. Between 1770 and 1780, only 40 Indians attended school at Dartmouth, compared to 120 non-Indians. The apparent gap between the school's intent—to educate Indians—and its results—educating more whites than Indians—caused a rift between Occom and Wheelock. Indeed, Axtell describes Wheelock as possessing little talent for and less interest in educating Indians at Dartmouth. Much of his rhetoric of Indian education was a scam to raise money for Dartmouth in England.

Indians who attended white schools and colleges had a great impact on Indian affairs during the American Revolution and early Republic. Alexander McGillivray, whose father was Scottish and his mother a Creek Indian, attended school in Charleston, South Carolina, where he received a classical education. He returned to the Creeks and fought with the British during the American Revolution. After the Revolution he ascended to high positions among the Creeks because of his opposition to the sale of Creek land. He corresponded with Spanish and American politicians and was well versed in the political language of republicanism. Joseph Brant, a Mohawk, had similar experiences. In the 1760s Brant attended Moor's School and learned how to work in an English world. Education provided McGillivray, Brant,

and others with an opportunity to act as cultural go-betweens and achieve prestige.

After the Revolution, Americans continued in the attempt to educate Indian children. In many post-Revolution treaties, American officials inserted provisions for the education of Indian children. For instance, the Treaty of New York, signed by the Creeks and the United States in 1790, provided for five Creek children annually to attend schools outside Creek country. Both American and Indian leaders pushed for Indian education; for the Americans, the goal was to civilize Indians and open land for American settlement.

In the early nineteenth century, Thomas McKenney, a secretary of Indian affairs, placed great emphasis on Indian education. Beginning in 1816, when he served as the superintendent of Indian trade, and into the 1820s, he supported a national school system for Indians. Although this effort failed, other American Indian groups, such as the Cherokees, requested teachers and schools. Moravians and Presbyterians answered the Cherokees' call. At schools headed by Moravian missionaries, Cherokees received a vocational education—agriculture for Cherokee males and housekeeping for Cherokee females. Presbyterian schools, on the other hand, emphasized classroom instruction. Cherokees took courses in reading, writing, and mathematics, along with agriculture and housekeeping. Both Moravians and Presbyterians, however, faced a great obstacle in the language barrier. Few Cherokees seemed willing to teach missionaries their language, and thus education was confined to mixed-blood Cherokees or those who could speak English.

Euro-Americans attempted to change Indians through education during the Revolutionary period. Americans established schools within Indian communities and brought them into their own schools to teach Indians the English language and the Euro-American way of life. Yet Indians took what they wanted from the education experience. Some assisted their people in maintaining the integrity of Indian ways, whereas others sought to build bridges between Indians and whites.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Moravians; Presbyterians.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Axtell, James. *The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974.

———. *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Caughey, John Walton. *McGillivray of the Creeks.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938.

McLoughlin, William G. *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789–1839.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984; Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians.* Abridged edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

Szasz, Margaret Connell. *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1783.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988.

Wright, Bobby. "'For the Children of the Infidels'?: American Indian Education in the Colonial Colleges." *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 12 (1988): 1–14.

William J. Bauer

Education of African Americans

Despite the lack of quality records regarding the status of African American education in the early Republic, some generalizations can be made. The educational opportunities were greater for free blacks than for slaves, greater for northerners than for southerners, and greater for city dwellers than for rural people. Overall, however, educational opportunities for African Americans were either nonexistent or substandard. This assessment stems primarily from the significant obstacles placed in the path of African Americans, but it does not negate the tireless efforts of many African Americans, and some white reformers, to make significant strides in education.

In the absence of public education, religious institutions took the lead in African American education, either by establishing schools or by providing general education in Sabbath schools, which often supplied the only educational opportunity for African Americans. For instance, in Philadelphia the Society of Friends developed the first black schools in 1770, and in 1784 Anthony Benezet's will set aside money to endow an African American school. Other denominations, particularly Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists, also supported black education, especially the literacy required to read the Bible. Additionally, as black and white churches separated, the African Methodist Episcopal Church often took the lead in education. Schools, second only to churches, provided the bulwark for both the African American community and an African American identity during this period.

Schools, whether religious, private, or public, were concentrated primarily in urban areas, and pri-

marily in the North, though some southern cities, such as Charleston, Richmond, and New Orleans, also had schools for free African Americans. Regardless of the location, these schools suffered from a dearth of funding. African Americans were excluded from most public facilities, and when separate facilities were provided, in most cases they were unequal in terms of both their physical structure and their curriculum. Nevertheless, contemporary observers gave great credit to the efforts of the African American community; given its lack of resources, even small gains represented significant sacrifices. African Americans clearly recognized the role that education could play in their elevation in society. Nevertheless, schools lacked not only funds but students. Although African Americans valued education, the need for children to work, the unwillingness of employers to allow children to attend school, and society's unwillingness to allow educated African Americans to move up in the world combined to keep enrollment low. For example, in 1813, out of Philadelphia's African American population of approximately 11,000, only 414 were enrolled in schools, and in New York in the 1820s, only 600 to 800 out of more than 10,000 African Americans were enrolled.

Although the totals for African American education may not have been impressive during this period, individual achievements did stand out. Schools represented a first step for the emerging African American leadership during this period. In the 1820s the United States saw its first African American college graduates: Alexander Lucius Twilight (Middlebury), Edward Jones (Amherst), and John Russwurm (Bowdoin). In North Carolina John Chavis, a well-educated Presbyterian minister, operated a prestigious day school for whites and an evening school for children of his own race. Additionally, people who would later become prominent in the abolitionist movement, including Henry Highland Garnet and Samuel Ringgold Ward, received their formative schooling during the years of the early Republic.

In the early nineteenth century, southern whites often divided in their attitude toward African American education. Religious leaders emphasized the need for African Americans to be able to read the Bible, whereas others denied the need for African American education. Opponents expressed two contradictory claims: that blacks could not be educated, and that educated blacks (whether slave or free) represented a threat to society. In the wake of the publication of David Walker's *Appeal* in 1829, an African American tract calling for slaves to violently resist slavery, and Nat Turner's 1831 revolt, the second claim triumphed, and most southern states passed laws that either outlawed the education of slaves or banned group meetings, which prevented any organized slave education. Prior to 1830, however, most southern states did not have such laws, and thus slaves may have had better access to education than in subsequent years.

The percentage of slaves who were literate will never be known, but most estimates place this number at below 5 percent. They received their education from their owners, missionaries, or fellow slaves, or through subterfuge—or through a combination of methods. For example, in the 1820s in Baltimore, Frederick Douglass learned through a combination of the aid of his female owner and by using bread to bribe white neighborhood children to teach him. Based on the records of slave literacy, slave owners may have had good reason to be leery of literate slaves, as not only Douglass, but also the leaders of revolts, including Gabriel, Denmark Vesey, and Nat Turner, learned to read and write during this period.

The overall record of the education of African Americans during this period would receive a low grade, but two key themes must be remembered. First, in some ways, African American opportunities in this period exceeded those of the subsequent thirty years. Some northern public schools were integrated, and in most southern states it was still legal for African Americans to congregate and to teach slaves to read and write. Second, the record must not be judged against an ideal but rather against the reality of African Americans' low status in both the South and the North. The overwhelming majority of African Americans were either slaves themselves or had been slaves until the North passed emancipation laws, and thus they had neither the resources nor the time to devote to schooling that other groups had. Measured against their privation, the achievements of African Americans in education are commendable and hard-won.

See also **Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear": Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Curry, Leonard P. *The Free Black in Urban America 1800–1850: The Shadow of the Dream.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Litwack, Leon F. *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Nash, Gary B. *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community*, *1720–1840*. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Woodson, Carter G. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. New York and London: Putnam, 1915.

John M. Sacher

Education of Girls and Women

Prior to the American Revolution, few avenues of formal education were open to girls and young women. Throughout the colonial period, young boys and girls typically learned to read at "dame schools" run by women in their homes. Beyond this rudimentary level of instruction, educational options for young women were limited. "Adventure schools" offered training in "ornamental" subjects such as music, drawing, needlework, and dancing, and boarding schools (sometimes referred to as "finishing" schools) sought to prepare elite women for their entrance into polite society. Given the haphazardness of women's education, those well-educated women who came of age prior to the Revolution—notably Abigail Adams, Elizabeth Graeme Ferguson, and Mercy Otis Warren—tended to be largely self-educated, or relied on the support of male relatives to provide them with access to books and other learning materials. On the whole, little formal attention was paid to the education of women in the mid-eighteenth century.

During the early national period, education for both men and women became linked to patriotism and thus a subject of national importance. Social and political thinkers asserted that the success of the young Republic rested in an enlightened, well-educated citizenry. Advocates of education insisted that citizens had the right—indeed the duty and responsibility—to acquire various forms of "useful" knowledge. Both men and women benefited from this belief in the strong importance of education. The decades following the Revolution were known as "the age of the academies," as hundreds of new schools were created to meet the political and practical needs for educated citizens.

Between 1780 and 1820, educators established approximately four hundred female academies and seminaries, offering white middle- and upper-class women unprecedented access to educational opportunities. Female academies could be found in all parts of the nation, including both larger cities and smaller towns. Like the male academies founded during this time period, most of these academies were single-sex institutions, although a sizable minority were coeducational, such as the Bradford Academy in Massachusetts. Both women and men founded and taught at academies for women. In the 1790s Susanna Rowson in Massachusetts and Sarah Pierce in Connecticut established well-known and highly regarded academies for young women. In Philadelphia the physician Benjamin Rush and other leading male citizens lent their support to the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, a prestigious school that attracted women from all parts of the nation. Often, female academies were associated with existing male institutions, such as the Female Academy in New Brunswick, New Jersey, whose trustees were affiliated with Queen's (Rutgers) College.

More comprehensive than most existing adventure or boarding schools, these academies provided women with instruction in grammar, history, geography, rhetoric, composition, moral philosophy, and, in some cases, Latin, botany, chemistry, and astronomy. The curricula offered at female academies were similar to those offered at most male academies, attesting to the growing belief in women's intellectual equality with men. Although some female academies continued to offer music, dance, needlework, and painting, these subjects were no longer thought to comprise the main purpose of women's education. Rather, education aimed to prepare women to become both "useful" and "ornamental" members of society. Properly educated for their roles as lively, articulate, and entertaining companions, women would set the tone for early national society, providing harmony and stability for the young nation.

By infusing women's domestic and social roles with political and patriotic significance, proponents of women's education celebrated the intellectual attainments of women. Yet despite this enthusiasm, the subject of women's education was marked by a fundamental tension between the recognition of women's intellectual capacity and concerns about the uses women might make of their education. Prescriptive writers worried that women might become so distracted or interested in education that they would neglect their families and domestic duties. Despite their enlightened faith in women's intellectual equality with men, prescriptive thinkers generally believed that men and women were dissimilar beings with contrasting manners, morals, and dispositions. Ultimately, this belief in sexual difference worked to sustain and justify prescribed gender roles for men and women. Whereas men sought exclusive access to political and economic spheres, women were urged to limit themselves to the domestic and the social.

In an effort to resolve this tension, proponents of women's education insisted that educated women would not seek access to traditionally male spheres of power and prestige. Female educators strenuously championed women's intellectual capacities while simultaneously expressing ambivalence about prescriptive ideas about gender roles. Summarizing this trend, the educator Emma Willard (1787–1870) insisted that women and men's education needed to reflect their "difference of characters and duties." Yet when Willard petitioned the New York State legislature for state support and funding of a female seminary in 1819, she hoped to ensure that women's education received the same "respectability, permanency, and uniformity of operation" as male colleges and institutions. Although her proposal was rejected, Willard established the Troy Female Seminary (later the Emma Willard School), which served as a leading institution of women's education throughout the nineteenth century. In the years that followed, educators opened similar schools, including the Hartford Female Seminary (founded by Catharine Beecher in 1823) and Mount Holyoke (founded by Mary Lyon in 1837). These seminaries offered women the equivalent of a college education without explicitly referring to themselves as colleges. Successors to the female academies first founded in the early national period, these schools were clear precursors to the women's colleges that emerged by the mid-nineteenth century.

Women's increasing access to education had far-reaching effects. Literacy rates for white women rose from approximately 50 percent in the eighteenth century to approximately 90 percent by the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth century, educated women showed determination to expand their roles in society. Some women chose to become teachers themselves—either temporarily teaching school for a few years before marriage, or in some cases creating professional, lifelong careers for themselves as educators. Other women became successful authors, producing textbooks, fiction, poetry, and other influential works. There was also a connection between women's education and the growing reform movements of the antebellum period. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902), known for her work in the abolitionist and women's rights movements, was a graduate of Willard's Troy Seminary. Many educated women saw reform and activism as ways to increase the scope of their influence in society. By emphasizing women's intellectual capacity and equality with men, early national ideas about education offered women increasing avenues for empowerment and opportunity.

See also **Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Professions; Women: Rights; Women: Writers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Kerber, Linda. *Women of the Republic: Ideology and Intellect in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

Nash, Margaret. "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia." *Journal of the Early Republic* 17:2 (summer 1997): 171–192.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experiences of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Schwager, Sally. "Educating Women in America." *Signs* 12:2 (winter 1987): 333–372.

Lucia McMahon

Education of the Deaf

The Connecticut Asylum for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Persons (later the American School for the Deaf) opened its doors in Hartford, Connecticut, on 15 April 1817, with Thomas H. Gallaudet (1787–1851) as principal and Laurent Clerc (1785–1869) as head teacher. Aside from a short-lived school in Virginia, there previously had been no provision for the formal education of deaf children within the United States. Gallaudet, an evangelical minister, had visited British schools two years earlier at the behest of a group of parents in and around Hartford to study the methods of teaching deaf children in use there, with the aim of opening a school in the United States. The private schools of Britain, however, treated their techniques—which focused on oral communication and permitted no use of signed language—as proprietary secrets. Gallaudet then traveled to the Royal Institution for the Deaf in Paris, a publicly supported school that pioneered the use of sign language in the instruction of deaf students. Impressed by what he saw, Gallaudet convinced Clerc, an instructor and former student at the Paris school, to return with him to Hartford, where Clerc taught Parisian sign language to Gallaudet and other teachers at the new school. The language that later became known as American Sign Language resulted from the fusion of Parisian sign language with existing regional American sign languages.

Clerc was instrumental in helping to establish schools for the deaf in several other states as well, while his former students founded or taught in

schools around the nation using his methods. By 1829, schools had been established in New York, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and Ohio; altogether, more than thirty were established during Clerc's lifetime. The schools used what today would be termed a bilingual approach, making use of natural sign language along with finger spelling and written English, in addition to an invented system known as "methodical sign language" designed to represent English vocabulary and grammar on the hands. (This proved to be too unwieldy for effective instruction, however, and was largely abandoned by the 1850s.)

Similar to many such institutions founded during the Second Great Awakening of the early to mid-nineteenth century, the schools for the deaf were intended in part to serve as Protestant missions. Just as evangelical churches sent missionaries to Africa, Asia, and American Indians in the West, so did they support schools for the deaf as missions to deaf people, who were described by Henry B. Camp as "a community of heathen at our very doors." The emphasis on religious education, along with the employment of both hearing and deaf instructors using bilingual methods, continued until the late nineteenth century.

Due to the relatively low incidence of deafness, the schools were necessarily residential. Students from rural areas—the great majority—met other deaf people for the first time and learned how to communicate beyond the level of pantomime and gesture. They encountered the surprising knowledge that they shared an identity with others. From their new common language and common experience, they began to create an American deaf community and culture that has persisted to this day.

See also **Disability.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Lane, Harlan. *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf.* New York: Random House, 1984.

Van Cleve, John Vickrey, and Barry A. Crouch. *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America.* Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1989.

Douglas C. Baynton

Proprietary Schools and Academies

Proprietary schools and academies were the dominant institutions of professional and practical education in the early American Republic. Because the U.S. Constitution contained no provisions for a federally funded system of schools, and since most states supported only the barest minimum of primary schools, Americans turned to private enterprises like proprietary schools and academies to educate the citizens of the new nation. As a result, much of the support for proprietary schools and academies relied upon the initiative of individuals, the resourcefulness of communities, the zeal of religious denominations, and the beneficence of the wealthy.

PROPRIETARY SCHOOLS

Proprietary, private venture, or entrepreneurial schools were secular, tuition-supported private schools that offered specialized and practical instruction in medicine, law, or business. Like the operators of academies, proprietors frequently incorporated their schools by petitioning the state for a charter. In contrast to academies, these schools were not the primary occupation of their proprietors. Instead, proprietors established proprietary schools with other professionals in their field who wanted to supplement their income and augment their status in the community.

Medical schools. In colonial America, those seeking medical training had few options beyond an apprenticeship with a local physician or enrollment in a European medical school. By the end of the eighteenth century, few American colleges had medical faculties; furthermore, collegiate medical training was unsystematic and academic standards were low. Lacking competition from early American colleges, proprietary medical schools flourished in the early Republic.

Proprietary medical schools such as the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Western District of New York (1812) and the Castleton Medical College in Vermont (1818) emerged as an alternative to the apprenticeship system, which was often a protracted and inconvenient arrangement for the physician and a haphazard experience for the student. These schools were cooperative enterprises of two or more local physicians. Cooperation permitted the physician-instructors (called preceptors) to maintain a medical practice while supplementing their income with student tuition fees.

Proprietary medical schools often had few books, limited equipment, and no clinical facilities. The quality of the instruction depended upon the training of the preceptors and the variety of ailments that the preceptors had encountered. Proprietary medical schools rarely issued degrees, and the licensing of graduates was practically nonexistent. The rapid increase in the number of schools in the 1820s and the ensuing competition for tuition dollars

pushed many proprietary medical schools to offer superficial training programs. By the 1830s, the declining quality of these schools prompted calls for reform in medical education.

Law schools. Like proprietary medical schools, proprietary law schools faced few initial challenges from early American colleges, which had inadequate law faculties and no systematic legal curriculum. Early legal education in the colonies borrowed from the British traditions of self-education and clerkship, but the increased demand for lawyers after the American Revolution necessitated new institutions for legal training. Thus, between 1782 and 1828 enterprising judges, usually state court judges in the North, chartered proprietary law schools both to address the new demand for lawyers and to supplement their meager salaries.

Proprietary law schools varied in size but not in quality. Unlike proprietary medical schools, law school proprietors often required students to have a liberal arts education before commencing legal study. These schools commonly featured excellent law libraries and an outstanding, systematic program of lectures, tutorials, moot courts, and informal examinations. Proprietary law schools did not issue diplomas or degrees, and its graduates usually took the bar examinations after completing the course of study.

The superiority of the training that students received in proprietary law schools enhanced the popularity of the schools and the reputation and influence of the proprietor and his graduates. The first proprietary law school was Litchfield Law School in Connecticut, founded by Judge Tapping Reeve in 1782. Over a fifty-year span, hundreds of its graduates served in the highest levels of federal and state governments. Collectively, these schools scattered thousands of competent public servants, lawyers, businessmen, and educators to every region and state of the new nation.

Despite their success, proprietary law schools had begun to decline by 1829. Colleges that sought the financial gains enjoyed by proprietary law schools reproduced the latter's format of legal instruction, luring instructors and students away from the proprietary schools in the process. Other colleges, like Washington College (later Washington and Lee University) and Yale, simply incorporated nearby proprietary law schools into their own law faculties.

THE ACADEMY MOVEMENT

The terms "academy," "institute," and "seminary" refer to schools with any number of different courses of study, sources of financial support, and types of administrative organization. Because of this variability, there is no consensus among historians as to the characteristics that define an academy. Generally, academies were flexible, independent, and often transient enterprises that adapted to the educational needs of its students and local communities. The curriculum of any academy was ultimately contingent upon the education and aptitude of the schoolmaster. Yet depending on the proximity of the academy to other schools, academies provided a community with any course of study its citizens required, from elementary instruction to a college preparatory curriculum. Most academies served as secondary schools, offering an education in practical subjects to students who already knew how to read and write but had no desire to attend a college in the future.

Although academies occasionally received money or equipment from the state, tuition fees, lottery proceeds, and endowments were their primary sources of revenue. Academies relied upon a self-perpetuating board of trustees to manage the finances of the school. In most cases, trustees incorporated the academy by petitioning the state legislature for a charter. A charter authorized the trustees to act as a corporate body to raise funds for the school by lottery, manage the school's endowment, hire or fire a schoolmaster, and prosecute parents who refused to pay a tuition debt.

Franklin's proposed academy in Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin published the first plans for an academy in the American colonies. In *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749) and *Idea of the English School* (1751), Franklin blended seventeenth-century British educational thought with his own brand of materialism and individualism to envision a school that could fill the niche for practical and professional studies necessary for success in the mercantile economy. Franklin proposed an academy that would teach an "English" curriculum through experiments, exercises, and observations. The English curriculum featured an assortment of course options, including accounting, geometry, astronomy, English grammar, writing, rhetoric, history, geography, ethics, natural history, gardening, commerce, and mechanics.

Franklin's proposal challenged the two dominant educational institutions of the period, the Latin grammar school and the colonial college, both of which regarded the classical curriculum to be the

only acceptable course of study. Like most academies founded in the early Republic, renowned institutions like Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts (1778) and Philips Academy at Exeter, New Hampshire (1781), modeled themselves after Franklin's English school. More broadly, Franklin legitimized the democratic and pragmatic character of the academy, thereby aligning the institution with the prevailing values of the early American Republic and guaranteeing its popularity among the middle class.

Denominational academies. Soon after Franklin published his *Idea of the English School*, religious denominations began a massive program of establishing academies that persisted well into the mid-nineteenth century. The religious revivals of the 1730s and 1740s, known as the Great Awakening, partly inspired this effort, and the Presbyterians were, by far, the most active denomination, establishing sixty-four academies in seven states by the end of the eighteenth century. Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Dutch Reformed, Baptists, and Methodists collectively founded hundreds of academies throughout the United States. Nevertheless, financial difficulties, fluctuating enrollment, and inadequate staffing forced most of them to close. Although the character of religious academies varied from denomination to denomination, their greatest legacy was offering educational opportunities to women, free blacks, American Indians, and the poor.

Education for women. One lasting contribution of the academy movement was the popularization of education for women. In the early Republic, most Latin grammar schools and colleges steadfastly refused to admit women students. Beyond the common practice of hiring a tutor, female academies, seminaries, and institutes became the sole institutions for educating women. As with academies for young men, there was a great deal of variation among the courses of study in female academies. They ranged from ornamental subjects like embroidery and music to the rigorous academic subjects featured at elite academies for men.

Reform-minded male intellectuals were the early proponents of opening academies to women. In the mid-1780s theologian and poet Timothy Dwight founded one of the first academies to admit women students at Greenfield Hill in Connecticut. In 1787 physician Benjamin Rush, a leading advocate of female education in the early Republic, helped to establish the famous Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia. With the founding of Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy in 1792, women emerged as proprietors and instructors, rather than merely students, of academies. The extraordinary success of Pierce's academy inspired other women to open female academies and seminaries. Two of the most important female academies in the early Republic were Emma Willard's Troy Female Seminary (1821) and Catharine and Mary Beecher's Hartford Female Seminary (1823). By the end of 1820s, female academies were a permanent part of the educational landscape in rural and urban communities throughout the North and the South.

Military schools and mechanics institutes. Military academies and manual labor schools emerged as two variants of the academy movement. The earliest military academies, the United States Military Academy (1802) at West Point, New York, and the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy at Norwich, Vermont (1819), offered a course of study suited for training military engineers and officers. Despite their beginnings in the North, military academies flourished in the South between 1839 and the Civil War.

The other variant of the academy movement, the manual labor school, or the mechanics institute, began as an experimental school offering systematic instruction in agriculture or mechanics. One of the first manual labor schools was established at Lethe, South Carolina, in 1786, but these institutions did not become prevalent until later in the nineteenth century when large manufacturing industries emerged in northern cities.

Classical versus practical education. In 1828 the faculty of Yale College issued its famous report that defended the virtues of the classical curriculum against the superficiality and expediency of academy education. The tension between colleges and academies, as well as the opposition of classical and practical studies, was nothing new. Nevertheless, criticisms like those presented in the Yale Report of 1828 did little to thwart the growth of academies in the early Republic. Challenges to academy education in subsequent decades came from advocates of public education, whose campaigns for a free, comprehensive, and state-supported system of schools led to the demise of the academy movement.

See also **Professions: Lawyers; Professions: Physicians.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beadie, Nancy, and Kim Tolley, eds. *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002.

Brown, Elmer. *The Making of Our Middle Schools: An Account of the Development of Secondary Education in the United States.* New York: Arno Press, 1969.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607–1783.* New York: Harper and Row, 1970.

Gawalt, Gerald W. *The Promise of Power: The Emergence of the Legal Profession in Massachusetts, 1760–1840.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1979.

Kaufman, Martin. *American Medical Education: The Formative Years, 1765–1910.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1976.

Klafter, Craig Evan. "The Influence of Vocational Law Schools on the Origin of American Legal Thought, 1779–1829." *American Journal of Legal History* 37 (1993): 307–331.

Knight, Edgar W. *The Academy Movement in the South.* Chapel Hill: [University of North Carolina Press?, 1919?].

Ludmerer, Kenneth M. *Learning to Heal: The Development of American Medical Education.* New York: Basic Books, 1985.

Sizer, Theodore R., ed. *The Age of the Academies.* New York: Teacher's College Press, 1964.

Sloan, Douglas. *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal.* New York: Teacher's College Press, 1971.

Smith, William A. *Secondary Education in the United States.* New York: Macmillan, 1932.

Solomon, Barbara Miller. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

Terry L. Stoops

Public Education

Education was an important issue in the new American nation. Luminaries like Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and Benjamin Rush talked about it at length because all of them associated ignorance with tyranny. Jefferson took great pride in his contributions to education, especially the founding of the University of Virginia. His innovative *Plan for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* (1779) eventually earned him a place in the pantheon of American public education. But Jefferson did not live to see his now-famous plan implemented. Truth be told, the progress of education in the new American nation owes as much if not more to the efforts of local officials, civic leaders, and community activists. Between 1780 and 1830 they laid the groundwork for the system of public schools and colleges that would emerge in the United States in the antebellum era and after.

Whether well known or not, those who worked on behalf of education had one thing in common. They all agreed that America's future was at stake. Education would not only make Americans better citizens but also better parents, workers, and religionists. But although all might agree on the importance of education, there was no consensus about how it should be defined or delivered. Was the home or the school to bear primary responsibility? To the extent that schools were needed, what kind of institutions should they be? Public schools were not a given. There was no common understanding in the new American nation that government should provide for essential needs. Nor was a sharp distinction made between public and private—between that which concerned everyone and that which concerned individuals or minorities. Over the half-century between 1780 and 1830, Americans would come to recognize something that the French writer Alexis de Tocqueville called the tyranny of the majority. As they did, they saw the importance of distinguishing between public and private in many spheres of American life, including education.

SERVING THE COMMON GOOD

As long as most Americans believed that the interests of the individual were synonymous with those of the group, there was no reason for them to make a sharp distinction between the public and the private domain. Nor was there reason to object when only a handful of people were deemed suitable for leadership roles or when government extended to individuals or small groups those prerogatives and privileges associated with institutions charged with acting for the common good. For example, colonial legislatures sometimes incorporated bridges, roads, canals, and banks, making them in effect the exclusive partners of the state in exchange for providing indispensable services. But as economic activity expanded and competition increased, expectations changed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it had become apparent that the marketplace could be relied on to meet many of society's most pressing needs. Now government could promote the common good by acting as an arbiter or even as an agent for those pursuing private gain. At the same time, the courts discouraged politicians from interfering unnecessarily in the affairs of individuals or established organizations. Arguing for his alma mater, Daniel Webster convinced the United States Supreme Court in 1819 (in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*) that the New Hampshire legislature had to respect the original charter of Dartmouth College. Government and the courts also began to treat corporations not as instruments of the state but as entities beholden to their shareholders. In other words, Americans now began to distinguish between the public and the private domain.

When the state took an active interest in education in the eighteenth century, it was because leading Americans believed that the future of the Republic was at stake. It could not survive if its citizens were ignorant. Being well informed may not have been a sufficient condition for practicing the rights of citizenship, but government had to make sure that all Americans were educated nevertheless. First and foremost, it had to protect the free flow of information. Nothing could be allowed to stand in the way of free speech, a free press, and freedom of association. Government could also contribute to popular education indirectly by encouraging volunteers to create and endow learned institutions such as libraries, museums, and lyceums. It could multiply its impact by providing incentives for the establishment of schools, colleges, and universities.

Of course, some Americans wanted government to do much more for the cause of popular education. Jefferson's *Plan for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge* called for a state-supported system of elementary, secondary, and higher education that would not only ensure an informed citizenry but also provide educational opportunities for talented youth from impoverished families. In 1786 the physician Benjamin Rush proposed a similar plan for Pennsylvania. It called for a three-tiered system consisting of township schools, regional colleges, and a state university. When the American Philosophical Society sponsored an essay contest on education in 1795, the co-winners, Samuel Knox and Samuel Harrison Smith, both argued for a comprehensive system of national education. But these plans failed to gain any traction because many Americans still believed that education was primarily a family responsibility. Associating it with personal goals such as economic success and social standing, they resisted the idea that anyone should have to pay for the education of other people's children. Public education meant to them nothing more than that training or socialization which took place outside the home.

However, a growing number of Americans either needed or wanted to be educated outside the home by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the back alleys of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston there were many neglected children who would receive no education at all if the matter were left entirely to the discretion of their families. All across the United States, but especially in the nation's towns and villages, there was also a gathering demand for the kind of academic and practical training that would help those on the cusp of respectability open opportunity's door. Civic and religious leaders responded by seeking philanthropic contributions as well as municipal and state assistance for elementary education. In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, the city's Orphan House ran a school that many would have regarded as a public institution. That Philadelphians were of like mind can be demonstrated by pointing to the work of the Philadelphia Society for the Free Instruction of Indigent Boys, established in 1799, and the accomplishments of the Friends' (Quakers') "public" schools. Although not accountable to the community as a whole, the schools run by these organizations constituted an informal educational system that taught literacy to the children of different classes and races in separate schools. The Philadelphia English and Latin Academy, on the other hand, exemplifies a different concept of what public education meant in the second half of the eighteenth century. Opened in 1751 and chartered four years later as the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia, it anticipated the development after 1780 of countless proprietary schools for adolescents and young adults who hoped that a practical education at a more advanced level would improve their prospects.

Many proprietary schools began as private ventures whose primary purpose was to make a living for their schoolmasters. Some evolved into academies, an institutional type that proved to be much more stable, in part because the demand for their services persuaded many local and state governments to shower them with money, land, or legal privileges. Incorporating forty by 1817, New York also invested directly in many academies. Farther west, Ohio chartered about one hundred between 1803 and 1840. As corporations, they were expected to have a self-perpetuating board of directors, which was usually composed of local leaders. The typical academy had such a close economic and social relationship with its community that even though it was privately controlled (and most likely charged tuition), it was still perceived as a public institution—a perception that was reinforced by its practical curriculum, which served the common good by facilitating private gain.

EVOLVING CONCEPTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
Beginning in the 1790s, the concept of "public" in American education gradually began to mean much more than schools that served the common good. As Americans drew a sharper distinction between the individual and the community, they also began to associate certain characteristics with public institutions, including and especially schools. But it would take some time for these characteristics to gain wide

acceptance. More than two generations would pass before most Americans would understand public education to mean schools that were publicly supported, publicly controlled, open to all, and tuition-free. Nevertheless, movement toward this consensus commenced even while the Republic was new. In the Land Ordinance of 1785 Congress set an example by providing that one section of public land in each township of the Northwest Territory should be designated for the support of primary schools. Some state governments followed this lead by creating common school funds to encourage public support by local authorities. Using receipts from the sale of land in its Western Reserve, Connecticut established such a fund in 1795, and both New York (1805) and Virginia (1810) did the same not too long thereafter. Massachusetts did not create a permanent school fund until 1834, but it was a pioneer in another way, enacting legislation in 1789 that provided for a system of town schools. The Massachusetts Education Act called for reading, writing, and grammar schools to educate boys and girls, age seven to fourteen, at public expense. Building on the initial steps it took in 1784 when it established the University of the State of New York, Albany attempted in 1795 and then more successfully in 1812 to bring about the realization of a state educational system. The Michigan territorial legislature took similar steps in 1817, passing a bill for a comprehensive system of elementary, secondary, and higher education, but the promise of this legislation was still unfulfilled in 1835 when Michigan became a state and the state constitution charged the legislature with implementing a system of common schools. These reforms notwithstanding, public education was still struggling to establish its identity in the 1830s.

Although there was no consensus about what public education meant, some conceptual patterns had begun to emerge by 1830. In rural areas a communal concept existed; it combined public control with more than a little public support and open access. District schools in Massachusetts, Ohio, and New York received both state and local revenue, practiced some form of local governance, and admitted all white comers, though they sometimes made up for budget shortfalls by charging tuition. Some local schools admitted blacks and Indians, but many, especially in Ohio, did not. Enrollments in these schools were high, but their terms were brief and attendance was usually inconsistent. In Philadelphia and New York City, on the other hand, the average citizen would have equated public education with charity schools that received public support. Founded in 1805 by a small group of public-spirited citizens, the privately controlled Free School Society presided over schools in New York City that concentrated on the education of the poor. It provided some schooling for poor blacks from 1834 until its demise in the 1850s. By then the city had an elected school board and a more democratic approach to public education. In 1818 a board of "controllers" was established in Philadelphia whose job was to help local directors operate schools for the poor at public expense. Indigent children of African descent were completely excluded at first, but by the end of 1826 two segregated schools were up and running for them. The board's mission remained unchanged until 1834 when new legislation made it responsible for publicly supported and publicly controlled schools that, theoretically at least, were open to high- as well as low-income children.

In Boston the situation was quite different. At first, public education there seemed to mean publicly supported and publicly controlled schools for children from respectable families. Established in 1789, the city's School Committee did not make provision for the education of the poor until it organized a Primary School Board in 1818. Modeled after the Boston Society for the Moral and Religious Instruction of the Poor, the Primary School Board accepted mostly illiterate children. But enrollments grew slowly because many poor children worked, and their immigrant parents found the cultural bias of the city's public schools to be off-putting. Nevertheless, more than a few transferred to these public schools from other institutions during the first two or three decades of the nineteenth century. When Horace Mann came on the scene in the 1830s, he promoted that form of public education, which combined public support with public control and open access. Mann's efforts met with great success in Massachusetts. Elsewhere, his conception of public education attracted considerable attention, especially in Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and the upper Midwest, but it had to compete with one that tied together at least some public support with private control and open access. By the 1830s many academies operated on this basis. Anticipating public high schools, they provided a broad and practical education that went beyond the basics. Although they were often the objects of intense local pride, their survival usually depended on the degree to which they met the needs of their students. The end result was an all-purpose institution.

HIGHER EDUCATION

As late as 1850 academies and colleges in the United States had more than a few features in common.

Above all, they were exclusive—that is, most Americans had no direct experience with them. In this respect they fell outside the borders of public education. But long before that, the most important colleges in the United States had exhibited at least some of the features of public institutions. For example, they received special treatment from the state even though they were also free to set their own direction. Having self-perpetuating boards of trustees from their inception, both Harvard and Yale enjoyed considerable independence, but over the years both schools came to expect substantial amounts of government oversight and assistance. In 1780 the new Massachusetts constitution committed the Commonwealth to looking after Harvard College and placed the governor, lieutenant governor, and several members of the legislature on the Board of Overseers. Twelve years later Yale accepted $30 thousand from the state of Connecticut in exchange for having eight civil servants on its nineteen-member board of directors. New York renamed King's College in 1784, making it Columbia, and put the school under the aegis of the University of the State of New York, but the college regained some of its institutional independence when it obtained a self-perpetuating board of trustees soon thereafter.

These developments notwithstanding, more than a few Americans had come to believe by the end of the eighteenth century that higher education should be a government responsibility. Between 1785 and 1820 ten states (Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Michigan, Ohio, and Vermont) chartered their own institutions of higher education, although provisions for state support and state control were usually slow in coming. After 1810 the ties between government and many established institutions of higher education began to weaken. Harvard received its last regular appropriation from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1823; state grants to Columbia and Yale ended in 1819 and 1831 respectively. The Dartmouth College case raised questions about the degree to which government could exercise control over colleges with existing charters. But these developments were not definitive, and the distinction between public and private in higher education would remain a work in progress until at least the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the fifty years between 1780 and 1830, public education in the United States was in transition. Although a few people equated it from the beginning with schools that were publicly supported, publicly controlled, tuition-free, and open to all, most took a while to associate it with something more than that which took place outside the home. They were encouraged, even forced, to recast their views because Americans were becoming more diverse, more competitive, and more committed to individualism. As these changes gradually took hold, public education approached and eventually crossed an important conceptual and institutional threshold. It became more akin to what most Americans would come to regard as public education.

See also **Dartmouth College v. Woodward;**
Jefferson, Thomas; Northwest and
Southwest Ordinances; Work: Teachers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Brown, Richard D. *The Strength of a People: The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in America, 1650–1870.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996.

Cremin, Lawrence A. *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876.* New York: Harper and Row, 1980.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Mabee, Carleton. *Black Education in New York State: From Colonial to Modern Times.* Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1979.

Schultz, Stanley K. *The Culture Factory: Boston Public Schools, 1789–1860.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Silcox, Harry C. "Delay and Neglect: Negro Public Education in Antebellum Philadelphia, 1800–1860." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 444–464.

Thelin, John R. *A History of American Higher Education.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Tolley, Kim. "The Rise of the Academies: Continuity or Change?" *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (summer 2001): 225–239.

Whitehead, John S. *The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776–1876.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

Wood, Gordon S. *The Radicalism of the American Revolution.* New York: Knopf, 1992; New York: Vintage Books, 1993.

William W. Cutler III

Tutors

Private education arranged by parents for their children was especially popular in elite southern families in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the North, schools—rather than private tutors—were more common both in the colonial and early Republic eras. Colonial New England towns often pooled resources to create common schools, institu-

---

ELI WHITNEY

Needing to repay some debts before pursuing a career in law, Eli Whitney—a young Yale graduate—left New England in 1792 to work as a tutor on a Georgia plantation. This seemingly prosaic journey proved incalculably important to the social and cultural history of the young nation. In less than a year's time Whitney had invented the cotton gin and sealed the fate of both northern and southern societies. In the late eighteenth century, a glutted tobacco market had caused many planters to rethink the value and utility of growing that crop. An alternative crop, long-staple cotton, a variety that could easily be separated from its seeds, only grew in coastal territories. In contrast, short-staple cotton could be grown much more widely but was extremely difficult to clean. Whitney's cotton gin mechanically removed fiber from seed, spurring enormous growth in the cultivation of cotton and thereby greatly increasing the demand for slaves.

Rodney Hessinger

---

nomic development as northerners did; in northern eyes, education was thought to spur economic progress and social stability. Finally, in the agricultural and stratified South, only the elite could afford to spare the labor of their children, so private education with a tutor became a privilege of those living within the great plantation houses. Ironically, southerners often employed northern young men as tutors, since the North educated a much larger share of its population. For example, Eli Whitney (1765–1825), best known as the inventor of the cotton gin, worked as a tutor for a family in Georgia shortly after graduating from Yale.

Tutoring promoted important family and gender dynamics. In late-eighteenth-century planter families, tutors were often expected to assume disciplinary control of young children, allowing fathers to develop more affectionate bonds with the young. While sometimes using force to implement discipline, tutors could also serve as a model to emulate, assuming the role of a wiser, older brother. Young men and women received distinctive types of training from tutors. While such instructors provided young men with education in utilitarian fields such as mathematics and Latin, equipping the young man for crop sales and courthouse transactions, household educators were more likely to give young southern belles instruction in skills such as French, music, and dancing. Yet even for young men, the goal was more to create a complete gentleman who could drop classical allusions into conversation than equip him for a career in the marketplace.

Another distinct type of tutoring evolved in the colleges of the young nation. Professors relied on the assistance of young men to teach lessons to the students enrolled in their schools. These young men were most often recent college graduates themselves, only a couple years older than their charges. In fact, where impoverished young men were entering colleges at advanced ages, as they were in New England, tutors were younger than some of their students. Colleges in the early Republic suffered from disciplinary problems, and the use of youthful tutors only exacerbated this trend. Tutors had trouble commanding the respect of students, so they often adopted a domineering stance that only created further conflict. As in southern families, tutors were instructing their students in a classical curriculum that seemed out of touch with the wider world. Until college education became more relevant and the teaching profession itself became more professionalized in the late nineteenth century, college students would continue to challenge the authority of tutors.

tions where children were provided with the language skills necessary for reading the Bible; the towns thereby promoted moral order in their communities. Northern states organized teaching much more systematically in the early nineteenth century as public schools became the norm and tutoring declined further in significance. Nonetheless, one could expect to find tutors in elite families in both North and South in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America. Generally, young men—and sometimes women—who had yet to become settled in marriage or occupation filled such roles for well-to-do families.

In theory, tutoring can be seen as distinct from apprenticeship, which involves instruction by a master craftsman in pragmatic labor skills. In practice, however, the distinction was murkier, for apprenticeship often included instruction in reading and writing as well as training in a trade. In ideal form, tutors were hired by wealthy families to provide education and cultural polish for young members of the gentry. The South relied on tutors longer and more fully for several reasons. For one, families were more scattered in settlement, making collective education less workable. In addition, southerners did not develop the penchant for the public financing of eco-

In general, the fate of tutors stood in inverse relation to the notions of equality in the early Republic. As Americans became more committed to this ideal, they turned increasingly toward publicly funded schools that offered the prospect of equal opportunity for all. Tutors seemed to hark back to an aristocratic society that aimed to prepare gentlemen to rule rather than allowing all to compete for political authority. Since the South bore a more tortured relationship to notions of equality, it is not surprising that tutors enjoyed a longer and more prosperous history in that region.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Smith, Daniel Blake. *Inside the Great House: Planter Family Life in Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake Society.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980.

Kett, Joseph F. *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present.* New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Farish, Hunter Dickenson. *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion.* Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1943.

Rodney Hessinger

ELECTION OF 1796 Historians have often stressed the dramatic, transforming character of the election of 1800 as the first peaceful electoral transition from an administration of one party and set of principles to that of another in modern history. They have even, with some help from Thomas Jefferson, labeled the election the Revolution of 1800. But however transforming 1800 may have been, the election of 1796 was America's first national electoral competition for political power, both between individuals and political organizations.

Everything about the election of 1796 was unprecedented, except for its complex legal mechanism, carefully laid out in Article II of the Constitution: In sixteen state contests for sixteen sets of electors (selected in whatever fashion each state chose), each elector would submit two names for president, with no preference given to either name. The person gaining the most votes would be elected president, and the second–most popular person would be elected vice president. This system had been used twice before but had not been truly tested, because George Washington was the first choice of every presidential elector both in 1788 and 1792, and John Adams's selection as vice president in those years had generated neither much controversy nor much enthusiasm.

By 1796, however, much had changed. The fiscal policies of Alexander Hamilton and the foreign policy of all Federalists, including President Washington, had begun to polarize the nation. When Washington announced his determination to retire from public life in September 1796, a two-month campaign to elect men who would defend, or alter, the Federalist worldview began in earnest.

This was not, however, like any modern presidential campaign, nor indeed any campaign that followed it. It presented to the nation two strong, and recently labeled, national factions, but no real parties. There were two coordinated attempts to present two competing tickets—John Adams of Massachusetts and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for the Federalists, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Aaron Burr of New York for the Republicans—but some states were far more receptive to these tickets than were others. Washington himself gave not the slightest hint of his personal preference for any candidate or either faction until every elector had cast his vote and Adams's election seemed assured in late December 1796. This left national political figures from every region to decide whether to push one of the supposed tickets or to advance other combinations, especially Jefferson and Pinckney, or to ponder whether they should, or even could, exert any influence at all.

In such a campaign, divisive national issues were often subordinated to considerations of local interest or of individual relations to a host of potential candidates. Nevertheless, the campaign was spirited, conducted by letters, newspaper essays, and public addresses. The correspondence between various public figures, and sometimes from a public figure to a known or probable presidential elector, was of two kinds: confidential (not meant to be shared widely, if at all), and quasi public (intended to be shown to others, and occasionally even to be published, usually anonymously). Most of the potential candidates for the presidency or vice presidency, however, refrained entirely from campaigning, and declined even to announce their willingness to serve. Adams and Jefferson stayed at home for the entire contest and said virtually nothing to any visitors that could be used to much effect. It was, however, clear that they were willing to serve, and only a public declaration that they would not serve would have discouraged most, but not all, of their supporters. To this there was one exception. Aaron Burr campaigned openly and energetically for Jefferson but was widely considered to be campaigning for himself.

The end result of the election fully reflected its pre-party (or at most, proto-party) character. Adams won narrowly in the electoral college (not in the House of Representatives, as he had believed he would in the late winter of 1796), gaining 71 electoral votes to Jefferson's 68, with the remaining 133 votes spread among Pinckney, Burr, and nine other candidates, including Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry. The efforts of both Federalists and Republicans to promote clear tickets had failed. John Adams won by doing well in most of the middle states, where Jefferson ran poorly, and by winning one elector each from Federalist-leaning districts in Virginia and North Carolina. Jefferson, unable to secure every Virginia and North Carolina vote, became vice president.

See also **Adams, John; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalists; Jefferson, Thomas; Washington, George.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cunningham, Noble. *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organization, 1789–1801.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

Dauer, Manning. *The Adams Federalists.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1953; Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984.

Ferling, John. *John Adams: A Life.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992.

Freeman, Joanne B. "The Presidential Election of 1796." In *John Adams and the Founding of the Republic.* Edited by Richard Alan Ryerson. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2001.

Kurtz, Stephen. *The Presidency of John Adams: The Collapse of Federalism, 1795–1800.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957.

Richard Alan Ryerson

ELECTION OF 1800   In 1800 Thomas Jefferson defeated John Adams, winning the presidency in the most important and complex election between the adoption of the Constitution in 1787 and the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860. Jefferson's inauguration on 4 March 1801 signaled a new era in democratic self-government in the new nation, as the candidate of an opposition party peacefully took office while his defeated rival—the incumbent president—quietly left office. Never, perhaps, in the history of the world had regime change been accomplished so peacefully and smoothly. The campaign, however, was hardly harmonious and the route from the elec-

tion to the inauguration of Jefferson was anything but smooth. In the aftermath of the election Congress wrote and sent on to the states what became the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution to create a new method of electing the president.

THE CAMPAIGN
The campaign was one of the nastiest in American history. Since 1797 Adams had been president while Jefferson, his political rival, had been vice president. In July 1798 Congress had passed the federal Sedition Act, which made it a crime to speak or write disparagingly of the president or the Congress, but not the vice president. Thus, as the nation moved toward the election, Federalist U.S. attorneys arranged for the arrest of twenty-five supporters of Jefferson. Fourteen of these men were indicted and ten were convicted. The Sedition Act harmed Adams, and the public hostility to the suppression of political dissent may have cost him the election. Even with the Sedition Act hanging over them, supporters of Jefferson denounced Adams as favoring a monarchy and claimed he had arranged a marriage with one of his sons and the daughter of the English king in order to bring back the British monarchy. The Jeffersonians further accused Adams of sending diplomats to England to procure "pretty girls as mistresses" for the president and his running mate. Adams's supporters, on the other hand, accused Jefferson of being an atheist (he was in fact a deist) and of planning to set up a guillotine in the new national capital to execute his opponents and bring to the United States a reign of terror similar to that of the French Revolution.

Beyond the nastiness, there were significant differences between the two candidates. Adams favored Britain in the ongoing wars in Europe, while Jefferson was much closer to France. Adams wanted to strengthen the army and navy in preparation for a possible war with France; Jefferson favored a smaller military and wanted to avoid a military encounter with any nation but favored war against Britain, rather than France, if forced into the European conflicts. Adams and members of his party supported the recently chartered Bank of the United States; Jefferson was opposed to the Bank. Jefferson wanted to see all Indians on the East Coast removed to the West; Adams believed that the Indians needed to be "civilized" but had never suggested their removal. Adams had never owned a slave and was on the verge of giving diplomatic recognition to Haiti, the republic created by former slaves who had overthrown their French masters; Jefferson owned about two hundred slaves at the time of the election, supported the insti-

tution of slavery, and was hostile to both emancipation and Haitian independence.

In this context Jefferson won a slim electoral majority, gaining seventy-three electoral votes to Adams's sixty-five. There was no popular vote, so it is impossible to know it this outcome reflected the true will of the electorate. Jefferson's political strength came mostly from the South, where slaves were counted (under the three-fifths clause of the Constitution) for purposes of allocating representatives in Congress *and* for the allocation of presidential electors. Without those electors created because of slaves (who of course could not vote), Jefferson would not have had an electoral majority. Ironically, in this election a man who owned about two hundred slaves gained his office because of the political power of slavery that was built into the process of electing the president. Despite the fact that Jefferson gained a majority of the electoral votes, he did not immediately win the election due to the complexity of the electoral process and a political mistake by Jefferson's supporters.

THE HOUSE CONTEST

Under the original Constitution the presidential electors voted for two candidates. The candidate with the most votes became president, if that candidate had a majority of the number of electors. The candidate with the second highest total became vice president. The framers assumed that each elector would vote for the two "best" candidates, and thus they would become president and vice president. This worked out in the first three elections. Washington had the most electoral votes in the first two elections and Adams was the runner-up. In 1796 Adams ran for president and was challenged by Jefferson. Adams had the most votes and gained the presidency, while Jefferson was runner-up and became vice president. However, Adams and Jefferson were not only rivals, but also political opponents. This led to a strained administration. It also taught leaders of the Federalist Party and the Democratic Republican Party that they needed to have a coordinated vote in the next election.

Thus, in 1800 all sixty-five Federalist electors voted for Adams, and all but one voted for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who was slated to be the vice president. This party discipline is remarkable, especially because at the time Alexander Hamilton, who had little faith in Adams, was trying to manipulate the Federalist electors to support Pinckney as president. But, Hamilton failed, and had the Federalists been in the majority, they would have reelected John Adams and replaced Jefferson with their own candi-

date. But the Federalists did not have a majority. The Democratic Republicans had seventy-three electors. All of them cast their ballots for Jefferson and for Aaron Burr. The party leaders assumed that Jefferson would then become president and Burr vice president. But the Constitution provided that if there was a tie in the electoral college, the House of Representatives would choose the president, with each state delegation casting a single vote. While Jefferson's supporters had a majority in the House, they did not control a majority of the delegations. Jefferson expected Burr to step aside and become vice president. But instead, the New York politician asserted that he had an equal right to be president and appealed to Federalists in Congress for support. The Democratic Republicans controlled eight delegations, the Federalists controlled six, and two others were evenly divided between Federalists and Democratic Republicans. Thus, for thirty-five ballots Jefferson won eight delegations, Adams won six, and two were tied and unable to cast a ballot. On the thirty-sixth ballot, Federalists from Vermont, Delaware, and Maryland abstained, thus allowing their states to cast ballots for Jefferson, and he was elected president.

In the wake of this terribly divisive election, Jefferson took office peacefully. In his inaugural he extended an olive branch to the Federalists, characterizing the bitter campaign as merely a "contest of opinion" and asserting that all Americans accepted the "sacred principle" that "the will of the majority . . . to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possesses their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate would be oppression." The shared belief in these principles led Jefferson to declare "we are all Republicans—we are all Federalists."

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Hamilton, Alexander; Presidency, The: John Adams; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Quasi-War with France.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ben-Atar, Doron, and Barbara B. Oberg. *Federalists Reconsidered.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Borden, Morton. *The Federalism of James A. Bayard.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Ferling, John. *Adams vs. Jefferson: The Tumultuous Election of 1800.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Finkelman, Paul. *Slavery and the Founders: Race and Liberty in the Age of Jefferson.* 2nd ed. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2001.

Levy, Leon. *Jefferson and Civil Liberties: The Darker Side.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Onuf, Peter S., ed. *Jeffersonian Legacies.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993.

Peterson, Merrill D. *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation: A Biography.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Paul Finkelman

John Quincy Adams Copper Cent. During the 1800s politicians used coins and currency already in circulation as a means of free advertising. This large copper coin is stamped with the name of John Quincy Adams, a candidate for the presidency in 1824. © DAVID J. & JANICE L. FRENT COLLECTION/CORBIS.

ELECTION OF 1824   The election of 1824 saw the breakup of the Democratic Republican Party, a party that had dominated American politics since 1800. Although Thomas Jefferson's party had previously always agreed to support either the incumbent president or the nominee of the party's congressional caucus, in 1824 four Democratic Republicans insisted on carrying their candidacy right through to the electoral college. When the Virginian supporters of William Harris Crawford of Georgia organized a congressional caucus for 14 February 1824, in the hope of pulling party loyalists behind him, only 66 Democratic–Republicans (out of 187) attended, and the supporters of other candidates denounced it as an attempt to dictate to the electorate. The popular appeal of these protests ensured that never again would a congressional caucus be used to nominate a presidential candidate.

Though most historians see the election of 1824 as a contest among ambitious personalities, each candidate represented a clear regional outlook and constituency. The main objection to Crawford was that he represented the so-called radicals of the South Atlantic states, who were eager both to protect slavery and to prevent the federal government from adopting tax-and-spend policies hostile to the interests of the exporting states. Their considerable political influence met opposition even in their own states: western counties in these states wanted federal assistance for "internal improvements" (improvements in transportation infrastructure) and initially regarded John C. Calhoun of South Carolina as their candidate, who looked strong in Pennsylvania as well. In the southwestern states, a similar demand for roads and canals produced early support for Henry Clay of Kentucky, the most public advocate of the American System of high tariffs and federal appropriations for internal improvements. Clay had criticized General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee for leading U.S. forces into Spanish Florida in pursuit of hostile Creeks in

1818 and risking war with both Spain and Britain. But Jackson's actions, which hastened the acquisition of Florida in 1819, were widely popular in Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi, especially among those who wished to expel the surviving native tribes, and the general soon overwhelmed Clay's candidacy in the Old Southwest, outside sugar–growing Louisiana.

A series of events made Jackson more than merely a regional candidate. A grassroots movement on his behalf among the Scotch–Irish of western Pennsylvania made it politically difficult for the various Republican factions in the state to back anyone else. In March 1824 a Republican state convention overwhelmingly named him, rather than Calhoun, as the state's favorite. At that point Calhoun withdrew and became the sole candidate for vice president, and Jackson inherited Calhoun's strength in the Southeast and Middle states. Jackson won Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and South Carolina, and in North Carolina he directly benefited when a coalition of Jackson and Adams supporters calling themselves the People's Ticket carried the state against Crawford.

In New England, Southern candidates suffered from the almost universal revulsion (in the wake of the Missouri Compromise) against Southern dominance in national politics. John Quincy Adams was

the only viable candidate free of the stain of slave-holding, and he proved almost unstoppable not only in New England but also in the areas to the west that Yankees had settled during the previous quarter century. In New York, a coalition of groups calling themselves the People's Party rebelled against the attempt of old Republicans led by Martin Van Buren to give that state's votes to Crawford. Though this coalition failed to wrest the right to choose the electors from the state legislature, its success in the assembly elections ensured that Adams won the lion's share of the state's electoral votes.

In the Middle Atlantic and Border states, both Adams and Crawford were unpopular because they were commonly identified with areas in the old Atlantic economy that opposed protecting American industries. In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, Jackson benefited from being portrayed as a supporter of the American System. In the Ohio Valley, where there was strong demand for internal improvements, Clay was the front runner, but he was opposed by both New England settlers and those who resented his pursuit of debtors as attorney of the Bank of the United States following the Panic of 1819. Challenged by Jackson, who was portrayed as the people's champion, Clay lost Indiana and Illinois to him but carried Ohio and the slave states of Kentucky and Missouri. Through intrigue Clay lost important electoral votes in New York and Louisiana, where the choice of electors was made by the state legislature.

The consequence of this confusing election was that no candidate won a majority of electoral college votes and so, according to the Constitution, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, with each of the twenty-four state delegations casting one vote. Only the top three candidates—Jackson with 99 electoral votes, Adams with 84, and Crawford with 41—could be considered, but as Speaker of the House, Clay (missing out with 37 votes) could act as kingmaker. The House that made the decision on 9 February 1825 had been elected in 1822–1823 and so did not reflect the recent popular election. This fact worked against the outsider Jackson, who had done surprisingly well in the electoral college, though it is a myth to say that he won more of the popular vote than any other candidate. At a critical moment in the session, New England representatives in Congress threw their support behind internal-improvement measures, which enabled Clay and his friends to claim that Adams was the most likely to back the american system as president. That gave Adams the three states Clay had won, plus Illinois and Louisiana, to add to the six New England states. In addition, Adams's private assurance that he was not opposed to appointing Federalists to office gave him Maryland and swung the divided New York delegation his way, to give him the necessary thirteen states.

These bargains, though necessary, were denounced as corrupt by the disappointed candidates, especially when Adams appointed Clay as secretary of state. These opponents united to obstruct Adams's presidency and worked to replace him with Jackson in 1828. Thus the election of 1824 started the process from which the national Republican and Democratic Parties would emerge.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Democratic Republicans; Jackson, Andrew; Presidency, The: John Quincy Adams.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hopkins, James F. "The Election of 1824." In *The History of American Presidential Elections, 1789–1968.* Edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. and Fred J. Israel. Vol. 1. New York: Chelsea House, 1971.

Livermore, Shaw, Jr. *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815–1830.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967.

Ratcliffe, Donald J. *The Politics of Long Division: The Birth of the Second Party System in Ohio, 1818–1828.* Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2000.

Risjord, Norman K. *The Old Republicans: Southern Conservatism in the Age of Jefferson.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1965.

Donald J. Ratcliffe

ELECTION OF 1828   The election of 1828 was one of the nastiest in American history. In some ways, the contest was an extension of the previous presidential election in 1824. On both occasions, John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson vied for the highest office in the land. In 1824 a total of four candidates ran, with the electoral votes scattered among them. Jackson won the most popular and electoral votes, but lacked a majority in both categories. Thus, the election went to the House of Representatives, where Adams was chosen primarily because of behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Henry Clay. Jackson cried foul when Clay was subsequently appointed secretary of state by Adams. The thunder of "corrupt bargain" rumbled throughout the nation, and as a result, campaigning for the election of 1828 began immediately.

The meanness of the campaign engendered charge and countercharge. Jackson's supporters declared that Adams, while acting as secretary to his father, then ambassador to Russia, had procured a young American girl for the tsar's pleasure. Adams's forces, in turn, announced that Jackson's mother was a prostitute and that he was the result of her liaison with a mulatto. Notwithstanding such tawdry accusations, the election actually involved important issues. Jackson's supporters argued that the will of the people had been cheated in the 1824 election because he had received the highest number of popular and electoral votes. On the election of 1828, insisted Jackson forces, teetered the very survival of constitutional, majoritarian democracy.

Such an argument was a rather new concept. The founding fathers had embraced democracy, but their emphasis was more on representative republicanism. They referred to the nation as a republic and believed firmly in deferential government. In other words the elite, educated men of the nation should lead, and the masses should defer to the elite's superior judgment. Jackson challenged and ultimately dismantled this system. He was not born into aristocracy. Rather, he was the first president reared in poverty. He struggled, fought, and worked his way to a position of respect and power. As a result, the people connected with him in a way they had never done with prior presidents. Even George Washington, revered as the nation's father, had not achieve such a status. Both the broadening right of suffrage throughout America and Jackson's victory at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) played significant roles in the election. Ultimately, Jackson became a symbol of burgeoning democracy and was venerated as representative of the common man. He promised reform in government and the people believed him.

John Quincy Adams appeared in stark contrast to Jackson's humble origins. Born into an elite Massachusetts family and educated at Harvard, Adams was the son of the nation's second president and had held a plethora of offices, including secretary of state under President James Monroe. After winning the questionable election of 1824, he announced in his First Annual Address that government was "invested with power" and made continual comparisons between the progress of Europe and the backwardness of America. He insisted that the nation should not "slumber in indolence," nor should the legislature be "palsied by the will of our constituents." This and other statements of Adams had the tone of haughtiness and aristocracy about which Jackson and his supporters warned. Adams's more-or-less-rejection

of the popular will as a guide for America's leaders paralleled that tone. Furthermore, the belief that the burgeoning United States was second to the decadence of centuries-old Europe angered Americans.

Jackson opposed that belief. His victory over the British at New Orleans, the crushing of an army that had defeated Napoleon's best by a ragtag group of yeoman militia, quickly became a symbol of America's greatness. As the commander of such a triumph, Jackson personified the nation's finest attributes. This, in fact, was the very reason that his popularity exploded following the battle and why the road to the executive office opened before him. Add the alleged corruption of 1824 and the inborn aristocracy of Adams, and Andrew Jackson's success in the election of 1828 was virtually assured.

Once presidential victory arrived, the nation witnessed an inauguration like no other. People flooded the streets in order to see "their" champion. Whereas in the past the ceremony to usher in a new leader had been an affair for Washington society only, this time the elite found itself surrounded by the members of the "rabble" who now felt they had license to partake in democratic government. America would never be the same.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Election of 1824; Jackson, Andrew.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Hargreaves, Mary W. M. *The Presidency of John Quincy Adams.* Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1985.

Remini, Robert. *The Election of Andrew Jackson.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1963.

———. *Andrew Jackson: The Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832.* New York: Harper & Row, 1981.

Matthew Warshauer

EMANCIPATION AND MANUMISSION

Emancipation is the process of freeing slaves through government action. Manumission takes place when masters free their slaves voluntarily. When a government ends slavery completely, the process is known as abolition. Before the Revolution slavery was legal in all thirteen British mainland colonies. Some of the northern colonies allowed masters to manumit their slaves, and there was a significant free black population in all of them. On the eve of the Revolution, voluntary manumission was illegal in most of the South, and even where it was permitted, the practice was not common.

During the Revolution thousands of masters freed slaves who were willing to fight in the American army or local militias. Throughout New England male slaves became free black soldiers, and many were able to gain liberty for their wives and children as well at this time. Even in the South some masters freed slaves so that they could fight in the army. For example, in the legislative session of 1782–1783, Virginia passed a law declaring that all slaves who had served in the army and been honorably discharged were entitled to their freedom and condemning as "contrary to the principles of justice" those masters who tried to reenslave former soldiers.

Beyond wartime manumissions, a number of the newly independent states of the North began to take steps to end slavery. In its 1780 constitution Massachusetts declared that "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights, among which may be reckoned the right of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties; that of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and in fine of seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness." In a series of cases, including *Commonwealth v. Jennison* (1783) the Massachusetts courts interpreted this clause to have ended slavery in the state. New Hampshire's 1783 constitution contained a similar clause that was read the same way. Vermont, which became the fourteenth state in 1791, unambiguously abolished slavery. In 1780 Pennsylvania passed the nation's first gradual emancipation act. The law provided that the children of all slaves born in the state would be free at birth, but subject to an indenture. The law was a compromise between those who wanted to end slavery immediately and those who opposed any emancipation on the grounds that it would take private property from people, in violation of the basic principles of the Revolution. Although the law did not require masters to emancipate their slaves, it seems to have led to that result. In 1790 the first U.S. Census, which was conducted ten years after the law went into effect, found 6,537 free blacks and 3,730 slaves. By 1800 the free black population had grown to over 14,000 while there were just 1,706 slaves in the state. At the end of the early national period the 1830 census found 37,930 free blacks and only 403 slaves in the states. Over time slavery had literally died out in Pennsylvania. In 1784 Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws, and in 1799 and 1804 New York and New Jersey did the same. In 1790 the northeastern states had just over 40,000 slaves and about 27,000 free blacks. By 1830 the slave population was under 2,800 while there were over 122,000 free blacks in the region. Meanwhile, Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816),

Illinois (1818), and Maine (1820) had entered the Union as free states. The Constitutions of those states banned slavery, although some slaves were held into the 1830s in Indiana and into the 1840s in Illinois.

Before the Revolution manumission in the South was rare and in many places illegal. The free black population was small. During the Revolution some southern masters freed slaves who joined the army, but most masters did not. During the war, however, some southern masters concluded that slaveholding violated their political principles, their religious principles, or both. In 1782 Virginia allowed masters to voluntarily free adult (but not truly old) slaves. In 1780 Virginia had about 2,000 free blacks; by 1810 that number had increased to over 30,000, as thousands of individual masters—including George Washington—took advantage of this law to manumit their slaves. In this period the free black population in Virginia grew faster than either the white population or the slave population. However, these manumissions did not affect the overall importance of slavery to the state, as the slave population grew from about 288,000 in 1790 to 383,000 in 1810 and to over 453,000 by 1830. The free black population in the state in 1830 was about 47,000. In the rest of the South, there was a similar burst of manumissions during the Revolutionary period. South Carolina's free black population went from 1,800 in 1790 to over 4,500 by 1810; but then the rate of growth slowed, reaching about 7,900 in 1830 and then hardly growing at all in the next three decades.

In Maryland and Delaware, however, manumission was more common in this period. Maryland had only about 8,000 free blacks in 1790, but by 1810 that number had grown to about 34,000; at the end of the early national period, the 1830 census found about 53,000 free blacks in the state. More important, in 1810 the slave population peaked at 111,000 and by 1830 had dropped to 102,000 as manumissions and sales reduced the percentage of slaves. This trend, started in the Revolutionary period, would continue until slavery came to an end. By the eve of the Civil War, Maryland would have about 83,000 free blacks and only about 87,000 slaves. The rate of manumission was even higher in nearby Delaware, which had over 15,000 free blacks by 1830 and about 3,300 slaves.

The Revolution in the North led to emancipation and abolition. John Jay and Alexander Hamilton were leaders of the New York Abolition Society while Benjamin Franklin was the president of Pennsylvania's society. Collectively these opponents of slavery worked for a state-sponsored solution to slavery. As

governor of New York, John Jay signed the state's gradual emancipation law. But, despite the implementation of ideology that led to southern manumissions after the Revolution, individual opposition to slavery did not threaten the institution in the South. George Washington freed his slaves at his death, but he is remarkable as the only leading southern founder to do so. Washington contrasts sharply with Thomas Jefferson, who manumitted a handful of slaves (all members of the Hemings family); at his death his two hundred or so slaves were sold off at auction.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Jefferson, Thomas; Liberty; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Slavery: Overview; Washington, George.**

BIBLIOGRAPY

Berlin, Ira. *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South.* New York: Pantheon, 1974.

Franklin, John Hope. *The Free Negro in North Carolina*, *1790–1860.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943, 1995.

Nash, Gary B., and Jean R. Soderlund. *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Zilversmit, Arthur. *The First Emancipation.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

Paul Finkelman

EMBARGO   An embargo, or prohibition of trade with foreign nations, was integral to Jeffersonian Republican commercial policy and diplomacy from 1805 to 1814. The policy evoked heated debates among contemporaries and historians, the latter having variously described it as a form of pacifism, a preparation for war, an agrarian critique of commerce, and an extension of the Jeffersonian Republicans' deep commitment to the carrying trade. Rather than viewing individual measures as the embodiment of a particular worldview, however, the most famous embargoes—restrictions against Haiti in 1805 and 1806 and Jefferson's total Embargo Act of 1807—are best understood within the context of a diverse Jeffersonian Republican coalition acting within precarious geopolitical circumstances.

EMBARGO AGAINST HAITI

As Haitian revolutionaries fought for their independence from France, President Thomas Jefferson kept a watchful eye on the situation, adjusting economic policy to fit developments. At first, concerns about French designs in North America convinced him to allow the burgeoning American trade to the island to continue. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 reduced these concerns, while the arming of private American vessels elevated the threat of open war against the French naval blockade of the island. News of bloody massacres at the hands of the Haitians heightened racist anxiety about an independent black republic so close to the United States's own slave populations. After first passing trade restrictions in March 1805, in February 1806, to the relief of concerned southerners and the chagrin of northern merchants involved in the Haitian trade, Jefferson and the Republican-controlled Congress refused to recognize the island's independence and prohibited trade to the revolutionaries. Legal trade resumed in the spring of 1810 but with restrictions against Haitian vessels entering the United States. Official recognition did not occur until 1862.

A COERCIVE MEASURE

The impact of the Haitian embargo paled in comparison to Jefferson's more controversial embargo passed by Congress on 22 December 1807. In this instance, Jefferson and Republican loyalists sought to close American markets completely until France or Britain agreed to respect America's neutral commerce. In 1803 the resumption of war between the two rivals had increased European demand for American crops and served as a boon to U.S. commerce. British naval supremacy, especially after the Battle of Trafalgar in October 1805, left France particularly reliant on American merchants to transport their colonial goods. America's good fortune, however, depended on the willingness of belligerents to allow its ships access to enemy ports.

Good will eroded in early 1806 as the British navy blockaded Continental ports, challenged U.S. involvement in the colonial trade, and increased impressments of American sailors who, Britain suspected, had deserted the Royal Navy. In April, a large congressional majority responded by passing a Non-Importation Act limiting the importation of certain British manufactured goods. The measure remained

in effect for only a short time, however, in hopes that James Monroe, minister to Britain, and special envoy William Pinkney could reach a diplomatic settlement. Negotiations led to a draft treaty in December 1806 that appeared to meet many of America's commercial demands but that proved unsatisfactory to the administration and its Republican merchant advisers. Further negotiations between the two nations fizzled in the spring of 1807. In June, tensions heightened when the British frigate *Leopard* fired on an American warship, the *Chesapeake*, and forcibly removed four British deserters. In September, reports from France warned of the seizure of American ships suspected of funneling British goods into the Continent in violation of the Emperor Napoleon's 1806 Berlin decree. His Milan Decree of November 1807 confirmed that was French policy. Britain, in turn, responded with Orders in Council requiring neutral nations to stop at British harbors and pay transit fees. When Congress convened in December 1807, the administration contemplated war but ultimately asked members for an embargo to "keep our seamen and property from capture, and to starve the offending nations." Wide majorities in both houses complied.

From the beginning, then, Jefferson's embargo had both defensive and offensive purposes. It kept American vessels and resources out of harm's way, saving them for possible war. At the same time, it withheld American raw materials—especially cotton, timber, and wheat—as leverage to encourage the belligerents to acknowledge America's neutral rights. Smuggling, especially across the Canadian border, undermined the embargo's impact and led to subsequent legislation and executive orders banning trade with Canada and Spanish Florida and giving government officials expansive powers to inspect and seize suspicious vessels. American exports dropped to one-fifth of their pre-embargo levels. The coastal trade between states remained legal but large bonds were required. New England Federalists decried the measure as "Francophile" and denounced its heavy-handed enforcement as an egregious abuse of executive power. Joining them were a small number of states'-rights "Old Republicans" like John Randolph who lamented the centralization of authority and the rejection of the Monroe-Pinkney Treaty.

Despite many complaints and some violations, the embargo gained broad public support from a loyal Republican majority—in part because it preserved peace while simultaneously laying the groundwork for possible war. Petitions from Republican strongholds throughout the nation praised the measure, branded opponents as unpatriotic, and anticipated that this form of commercial warfare would win concessions from Europe. Supporters of the act argued that it offered "equal suffering from all"; the nation's diverse agricultural and commercial interests from all regions would share the hardships of protecting national honor and commercial rights.

RESULTS

Everyone did suffer, but to varying degrees. American artisans and nascent manufacturers, especially in mid-Atlantic localities, benefited from a lack of foreign competition. Southern planters and western farmers claimed they suffered the most, being deprived of markets for their crops or access to European finished goods. In all likelihood, however, New England commercial populations of fisherman, sailors, and merchants were hit hardest by the port closures. By late 1808 patience in this region ran out, sparking cries for secession that foreshadowed the Hartford Convention of 1814. In the meantime, initially optimistic reports from Europe about the embargo's impact gave way to more mixed notices, some even suggesting that French and British officials welcomed the policy. Federalist gains in state and national elections in the fall of 1808 suggested that neither the nation nor the Republican Party could bear the sacrifices much longer.

At the behest of northern Republicans, and more reluctantly the outgoing president, Congress backed away from a complete embargo, repealing it for good on 1 March 1809. In its place a Non-Intercourse Act opened trade with neutral nations while continuing the ban on trade with France and Britain. Some southern supporters of the embargo did not let the bill go quietly, however, arguing that Non-Intercourse ended the policy of equal suffering, allowing northern merchants to trade but preventing southern planters access to their chief markets except through expensive, circuitous, and potentially illegal routes. South Carolina representative David Williams and Georgia representative George Troup unsuccessfully lobbied to extend the embargo and, if necessary, declare war. Instead, Congress and the incoming president, James Madison, placed their faith in the assurances of British minister David Erskine, whose diplomatic negotiations had appeared to settle the dispute. In light of these discussions and as an act of further good will, Madison announced the renewal of trade with Great Britain in April 1809. When Westminster refused to accept Erskine's agreement, however, Non-Intercourse was reinstated while Congress began an extended debate on how to pro-

ceed. Unable to reach any consensus on a policy that would affect different groups equally, in May 1810 a Congress close to adjournment passed Macon's Bill No. 2, which lifted all trade restrictions against France and Britain while empowering the president to reimpose Non-Intercourse if one of the belligerents lifted its trade restrictions and the other did not do so within the following three months. The measure was so weak it was openly mocked at home and abroad, where it had no impact in changing European policies.

During its fifteen months of enforcement, Jefferson's embargo became paradoxically a symbol of national and party unity and a source of sectional frustration and national weakness. Its negative legacy and lack of success tainted Jefferson's legacy and Republican political economy. Attempts at other forms of economic coercion were equally controversial and unsuccessful. In 1812 the declaration of war against Britain was preceded by a ninety-day embargo. In the summer of 1813 Madison sought a new embargo law, but Congress refused to pass it. Madison succeeded in getting another embargo later in 1813, but it was repealed in the spring of 1814 after Britain and its allies had secured the abdication of Napoleon.

See also **Chesapeake Affair; Haitian Revolution; Hartford Convention; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Politics: Political Parties; War Hawks; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Matthewson, Tim. "Jefferson and Haiti." *Journal of Southern History* 61, no. 2 (May 1995): 209–248.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.

Perkins, Bradford. *Prologue to War*, 1805–1812. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961.

Sears, Louis Martin. *Jefferson and the Embargo.* 1927. Reprint, New York: Octagon Books, 1978.

Spivak, Burton. *Jefferson's English Crisis: Commerce, Embargo, and the Republican Revolution.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979.

Brian Schoen

EMOTIONAL LIFE   Although emotion is an elusive subject for research, it can provide insight into a society's workings. In early America, emotions colored every aspect of the new society from domestic to diplomatic relations. Historians examining the years 1754 to 1829 have found fairly ample evidence of how early Americans both described and prescribed emotional ideals—the cultural expectations of emotion. Yet evidence of the social expression of emotion—records of how people communicated and negotiated emotion—is harder to come by. Most problematic of all in the study of emotion during the early American period is finding surviving traces of the inner dimension of emotion, or subjective experience.

EMOTIONAL IDEALS OF THE ERA

In the wake of the Enlightenment, emotion achieved a newfound appreciation in the culture of the Old and New Worlds. A tremendous number of writers and thinkers devoted themselves both to describing and prescribing emotional ideals. According to their prescriptions, achieving civility required that people cultivate yet carefully control their emotions.

Scottish moral philosophers frequently read in America—Francis Hutcheson in *On the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (1728); David Hume in *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739); and Adam Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759)—argued for the efficacy of emotion in fostering virtue. Benevolence, based on the ability to feel for others, was to be the glue that bound individuals together in society. Likewise, advice and conduct books, such as Lord Chesterfield's *Letters of Advice to His Son* (1775), urged the cultivation of finer feelings alongside the restraint of unruly personal passions. Popular literature—such as articles in the eighteenth-century periodical *The Spectator*, published in England by Joseph Addison and frequently reprinted on the other side of the Atlantic, and the first original novel ever published on American soil, William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1795)—also celebrated emotion. At the same time, American theologians preached the importance of emotion for Christian conversion. Jonathan Edwards helped provoke the First Great Awakening with his *Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (1746); his grandson Timothy Dwight assumed the presidency of Yale College and helped begin the Second Great Awakening in 1795.

Notably, these emotional ideals, far from being associated exclusively with femininity, applied to men and women alike. And although there were certain associations between emotional sensibility and gentility, by the time of the Second Great Awakening the capacity for feeling was widely understood to cut across lines of race and rank as well as gender.

EXPRESSION AND COMMUNICATION

American emphasis on emotion was sparked in part by the confrontations among cultures brought about during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). During that war the British and British Americans, the French, and Native Americans alike contested the rules of savagery and civility, using emotion as a means of keeping score. Indeed, emotions played key roles in mediating colonial encounters: Europeans participated in Indian condolence ceremonies, and the French and English competed in the arena of civility and sensibility, as spelled out in both popular political pamphlets and official communiqués. Throughout the period 1754 to 1829, Americans preferred to cast themselves as inherently civilized and all Indians as savage. Yet they could not help admiring what they saw as the Indians' natural elegance of emotional expression. In 1785 Thomas Jefferson praised the eloquence of Shawnee Chief Logan in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, General Anthony Wayne paid tribute to his Indian opponents' civility and capacity for sympathy.

Emotional expression also contributed significantly to political language. Thomas Paine called on all Patriots to consult "the feelings and passions of mankind" in his 1776 pro-Revolution pamphlet *Common Sense.* In 1783 George Washington delivered an emotional speech on behalf of the new nation in response to the Newburgh conspiracy. Countless new senators and representatives sought to use their own finely honed senses of sympathy and resentment as a means of displaying their honor in the course of conducting the business of government. American political leaders relied on expressions of emotion to define and defend their positions.

In many areas of public life outside politics as well, expressions of emotion helped send important messages. Reform movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially abolitionism, used the language of humanitarian sensibility as a rallying cry. Like the evangelical minister John Wesley, who demanded (in a piece widely reprinted in the 1770s and after called *Thoughts on the Keeping of Negroes*) that slaveholders pay attention to "the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts" of those they held in bondage, activists urged their fellow citizens to show the strength of their feeling for others by having compassion for the enslaved.

SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE

To track changing ideas about emotion or shifting levels of expression is one thing, but it is quite another to attempt a history of emotion as experienced internally. Historians who investigate records with the potential to reveal personal emotions, such as speech recorded in court testimony, letters exchanged among friends and family members, and the emotions mentioned in diaries, agree that between 1754 and 1829 people devoted ever-increasing amounts of effort to the deliberate regulation of their emotions. Some emotions, such as social sympathy and romantic love, appear to have been granted greater importance; other emotions, such as anger, inspired ambivalence. Ultimately, however, beyond the general conclusion that Americans increasingly valued emotional control, determining the relative prevalence of any given emotion presents great difficulties.

Historians of emotion have turned to theories and methods drawn from many other disciplines, especially psychology, anthropology, and sociology, along with philosophy and literary theory. Historians influenced by psychological theory tend to argue against significant change over time, convinced that certain universal emotions largely transcend the particularities of time and place. Conversely, scholars influenced by anthropological theories tend to emphasize that emotion is contingent—that is, emotional experience is shaped through discourse. Between these two extremes lie approaches that try to account for both the commonalities of human emotion across culture and the very real variations in prescriptions for and expressions of emotion. If all human beings have the same potential to experience emotion, yet variations in the apparent occurrence of emotion are real, then attention to the patterns of which emotions are prized or pilloried, expressed or repressed can tell scholars a good deal. Such trends can reveal much about the structuring of society and may also ultimately offer clues to changing subjectivity.

See also **Abolition Societies; Antislavery; Character; Courtship; Happiness; Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Paine, Thomas; Reform, Social; Sensibility; Sentimentalism.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cayton, Andrew R. "'Noble Actors' upon 'the Theater of Honour': Power and Civility in the Treaty of Greenville." In *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750–1830.* Edited by Andrew R. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Corrigan, John, Eric Crump, and John Kloos, eds. *Emotion and Religion: A Critical Assessment and Annotated Bibliography.* Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000.

Eustace, Nicole. "Vehement Movements: Debates on Emotion, Self, and Society during the Seven Years' War in Pennsylvania." *Explorations in Early American Culture* 5 (2001): 79–117.

Hemphill, Christina Dallett. *Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America*, *1620–1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Knott, Sarah. "Sensibility and the American War for Independence." *American Historical Review* 109 (2004): 19–40.

Reddy, William. "Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions." *Current Anthropology* 38 (1997): 327–352.

Stearns, Peter N., and Jan Lewis, eds. *An Emotional History of the United States*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.

Nicole Eustace

ENCYCLOPÉDIE   There is little evidence to suggest that the twenty-eight volumes of the first folio edition of the *Encyclopédie*, *ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences*, *des arts et des métiers* (Explanatory Dictionary of the Sciences, Arts and Trades) (1751–1772), compiled by Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert, circulated widely in British North America. A London translation of Diderot and d'Alembert's preface, *The Plan of the French Encyclopaedia* (1752), could be ordered from colonial booksellers, however, and the single-volume *Select Essays from the Encyclopedy* (1772) could be found in subscription libraries. British North American readers might also have encountered excerpts of articles from the *Encyclopédie* in such publications as Sir William Blackstone's four-volume *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769) or in the numbers of *The Annual Register*. But far more common as reference works were the two volumes of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia: or*, *a Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (1728), of which the original *Encyclopédie* project was to be a translation, and the three volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or a Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences* (1771), for which the *Encyclopédie* served as a model.

The improved commercial and cultural relations between France and the new United States, which flowed from their alliance during the American Revolution, made the *Encyclopédie* more readily available to Americans during and after that conflict. Booksellers in Alexandria, Virginia, and Philadelphia advertised copies for sale, including the less-expensive thirty-nine volume quarto (1771–1781) and octavo (1778–1782) editions. The Société Typographique de Neuchâtel, which was involved in publishing those editions, discussed the prospects of marketing them in America with Benjamin Franklin. In 1781 Thomas Jefferson, then governor of Virginia, convinced that state's council to purchase the *Encyclopédie* for the public's benefit. Jefferson subsequently obtained a copy for personal use, as did James Madison.

Greater interest was expressed in the United States for the successor to Diderot and d'Alembert's compendium, the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, *ou par ordre de matières*, *par une société de gens de lettres*, *de savans et des artistes*. Unlike the original *Encyclopédie*, which was arranged alphabetically, the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Methodical Encyclopedia, arranged by subjects, by a Society of Men-of-Letters, Scientists and Artist) was a collection of dictionaries written on specific subjects. Ultimately it would consist of 102 parts, or *livraisons*, which appeared in 166½ volumes of text and 51 volumes of illustrations. Charles Joseph Panckoucke, the editor-in-chief, began publication in 1782, but the series was not completed until 1832. The *Encyclopédie méthodique* headed the list of books that James Madison, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson recommended for purchase by the Continental Congress in 1783. Madison, Benjamin Franklin, Francis Hopkinson, and James Monroe were among those who subscribed to its volumes, as were the College of William and Mary and the American Philosophical Society. By far the most active American promoter and supporter of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* was Thomas Jefferson. In 1783 he suggested that Panckoucke appoint an agent in Philadelphia to solicit subscriptions and to supervise the distribution of the respective *livraisons* in the United States. While no such arrangements were made, Jefferson did take up these tasks informally during his residence in Paris from 1784 to 1789.

Jefferson was also a contributor to the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, which he described as a "valuable depository of science." Early in 1786 Jean Nicholas Démeunier, the editor of *Économie politique et diplomatique* (1784–1788), one of the dictionaries constituting the *Encyclopédie*, asked for his advice on drafts of articles on the United States and on a number of the states. Jefferson agreed. In a series of exchanges with Démeunier, he provided documentation for, corrections of, and comments on the Articles of Confederation, the debt of the United States, their population and their codes of law—including the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom, of which he was an author. But Jefferson's most extensive and substantive revisions to the "États-unis" (United States) entry concerned the remarks on

"*l'association des Cincinnati et des dangers de cette institution*" (the Society of the Cincinnati and the dangers posed by that organization). In preparing the materials for this section of the *États–unis* article, Démeunier had relied on the Comte de Mirabeau's *Considerations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnatus* (1784), a pamphlet that portrayed the Cincinnati as enemies to republican equality. Although Jefferson also opposed the order and hoped for its dissolution, he objected to Démeunier's "unjust and incorrect Philippic" against George Washington and his fellow officers. In its place he provided a more generous construal of the history of the Cincinnati based upon correspondence and conversations with Washington and Lafayette. Démeunier went on to incorporate most of the recommended changes in the final draft.

During the summer of 1786, the "États–unis" article appeared in volume two of *Économie politique et diplomatique.* His participation notwithstanding, Jefferson expressed strong reservations about some of the article. Yet when Panckoucke also printed copies of the article separately, Jefferson forwarded them to correspondents in Europe and the United States. He also arranged to have the Virginia Act for Establishing Religious Freedom excerpted from the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and distributed to embassies in Paris. Jefferson's collaboration with Démeunier could be seen as well in the article "Virginie," large sections of which were taken verbatim from the former's *Observations sur la Virginie* (1786), the French edition of his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). The entry "Virginie," published in the fourth and final *livraison* of *Économie politique et diplomatique* (1788), also included the text of the new Constitution of the United States. Démeunier subsequently reprinted all the entries on America in pamphlet form as *L'Amérique Indépendante, ou Les différentes constitutions des treize provinces . . . sous le nom d'États–Unis de l'Amérique* (Independent America, or the Different Constitutions of the Thirteen Provinces . . . Called the United States of America)(1790). This pamphlet, and the original *Encyclopédie* articles, would prove to be important resources in the course of debates over constitutional reform in the National Assembly in the early years of the Revolution in France.

Although Jefferson predicted that the *Encyclopédie méthodique* would be "universally diffused" and would "go down to late ages," its impact in the United States was less than he anticipated. The factors of cost, delays in publication and distribution, and the barriers of language combined to limit its circulation and influence. The standard reference collection in the new American nation would be the *Encyclopaedia; or,* *A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature* (1798), based on the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

See also **European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Jefferson, Thomas.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boyd, Julian. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson.* Vol. 5 (1952); Vol. 6 (1952); Vol. 9 (1954). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950–.

Darnton, Robert. *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie, 1775–1800.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Jackson, Sidney. "The *Encyclopédie Méthodique*: A Jefferson Addendum." *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 73 (1965): 303–311.

Lundberg, David, and Henry F. May. "The Enlightened Reader in America." *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 262–271.

Lutz, Donald. "The Relative Influence of European Writers on Late Eighteenth-Century American Political Thought." *American Political Science Review* 78 (1984): 189–197.

Watts, George B. "The *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*" *PMLA* 73 (1958): 348–366.

———."Thomas Jefferson, the *Encyclopédie* and the *Encyclopédie Méthodique.*" *French Review* 38 (1965): 318–325.

Wilson, Douglas. "Thomas Jefferson's Library and the French Connection." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26 (1993): 669–685.

Martin J. Burke

ENGINEERING *See* **Civil Engineering and Building Technology.**

ENVIRONMENT, ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY, AND NATURE

By the eve of the American Revolution, travelers in the mainland colonies of British America were encountering a natural environment that had been transformed in significant and lasting ways during the prior century. Though inland communities remained home to the subsistence cultures of rural farming families and Native Americans, who transformed the environment in their own distinct and often destructive ways, the main sources of environmental change in the eighteenth century were the efforts of European settlers, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans to adapt to the development of a transatlantic market economy. While farmers in New England and the middle colo-

The Subsiding of the Waters of the Deluge **(1829).** A painting by Thomas Cole, a leader of the Hudson River school of American landscape painters. SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, DC/ART RESOURCE, NY.

nies had begun to supply wheat, lumber, and other daily necessities to Europe and the British West Indies, the planters of Virginia and the Carolinas provided exotic items such as tobacco, rice, and indigo to consumers throughout the Atlantic world. Overseas markets extended their influence as far west as the vast Indian country between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, where organized networks supplied a booming fur and skin trade.

The impact of the new Atlantic commerce on North American ecology was profound. Inhabitants of colonial North America learned to perceive of their physical surroundings in basically capitalist terms. Natural resources increasingly were viewed as commodities, articles of value capable of being exchanged for other goods or money. Though ecological consequences varied according to region, every colony touched by the Atlantic economy suffered deforestation, epidemics, soil exhaustion, and decreasing

numbers of game animals. Market forces would continue to transform the North American environment, east of the Mississippi River, during a period of national development and growth that extended from the American Revolution to the start of the Jacksonian era.

ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGE, 1776–1800

The environmental history of the post-Revolutionary period revolves around two key developments: the expansionist land policy of the new federal government and the commercial boom of the 1790s. When the North American colonies declared their independence in 1776, they complained that the Proclamation of 1763 had denied white colonists access to the fertile lands west of the Appalachians. The signing of the Treaty of Paris (1783) brought the era of British restrictions on colonial expansion to a decisive close. The Continental Congress worked quickly to promote settlement of western lands. The Land

Ordinance of 1785 advanced a sweeping vision in which federal authorities would transform the vast terrain between the Appalachian Mountains, north of the Ohio River, and the Mississippi River into rectangular lots to be granted as private property to enterprising citizens. Such a vision left little room for coexistence with the tribes that had dominated Indian country for centuries, initiating as it did a fatal struggle between red and white peoples for exclusive control of eastern North America. East of the Appalachians, many white Americans enjoyed the benefits of a surging economy. With western Europe recovering from a series of wars, the demand for North American products rose dramatically. The price of wheat, for instance, climbed high enough to tempt subsistence farmers in the mid-Atlantic states, whose primary aim had previously been to feed, clothe, and shelter an extended family, to begin to produce large surpluses (quantities of farm products beyond what was required for subsistence) for overseas trade.

New England. While the environmental effects of these developments would be felt throughout eastern North America, the environments of New England and the South Atlantic colonies (Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia) have received the most extensive study. New England has been one focus of an important debate among environmental historians over the timing of the transition to a market economy and its role in the transformation of the early American environment. According to William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983), by the eve of the Revolution, prior Native American and European understandings of the New England environment had given way to a perception of the landscape as a source of commodities. Deforestation due to trade in white pine masts, turpentine, pitch, and tar had resulted in a drier landscape more vulnerable to erosion from high winds. Beaver, fox, and lynx had grown scarce as trappers and traders sought valuable pelts.

In *Ecological Revolutions* (1989), Carolyn Merchant argues that market attitudes prevailed only among the wealthy elite of New England's coastal towns. Inland communities with little access to markets practiced a traditional blend of Native American and medieval European agriculture that aimed to feed, clothe, and reproduce the family. This form of subsistence farming was far more ecologically sensitive than farming for the market would later be. After clearing forest trees by cutting or burning, farmers used small lots for crops for just a few years, rotating corn, beans, and squash between three

fields. Those fields then lay fallow (unused) or served as pastureland for up to eight years, then reverted to forest while a new lot was cleared for the growing of crops. Such methods worked effectively to preserve soil nutrients.

Environmental historians agree that ultimately, between the Revolution and 1800, broader developments would further integrate all of New England, including inland villages, into an expanding market economy. Federal land policy opened new terrain for settler farmers. The Iroquois lost title to two million acres in upstate New York in 1787. The peak in European demand for meat and grain in the 1790s, coupled with state-funded construction of turnpikes and canals, powered the growth of commercial agriculture.

At the same time, subsistence farming families also suffered the effects of another crisis. Though children were a necessary source of labor, sons needed to inherit farms when they came of age. As inland families grew due to sound farming methods, land in turn grew scarce. Within a few generations, many farms had been divided into small subunits in which less space for tillage, pasture, and woodlot could be spared.

Rural families responded to these tensions either by migrating to western lands, where they could preserve subsistence traditions, or by remaining in New England and raising cash crops for the market. For many families who did remain, the transition to commercial farming was disastrous. As more land was taken up by cash crops, the ecological balance of the entire farm was upset. Crop yields diminished as the soil was deprived of nutrients. The stage was set for the abandonment of New England farms in the nineteenth century.

The Chesapeake and the Carolinas. The ecological impact of the Atlantic economy was felt with even greater intensity in the region of warmer temperatures and more abundant rainfall that stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to the Carolina low country. Relying on the labor of enslaved Africans, southern plantation owners cleared Virginia forests and drained Carolina swamps to grow massive quantities of staple crops (including rice, tobacco, corn, and indigo) for overseas export. Merchants based in large towns, meanwhile, worked closely with southeastern Indians to organize a booming fur and deerskin trade as timber merchants cut oak, hickory, cedar, and pine to meet demands for lumber in the West Indies and Europe.

Europeans were not the only group to make an impact on the southern environment. Adapting to a transformed landscape, Native American tribes including the Creeks altered their subsistence ways to begin raising cattle for market. By the 1780s Backcountry cane fields suffered from heavy grazing. African contributions to environmental change went beyond expertise in rice cultivation. Raising African imports including yams, eggplant, and peanuts in small provision gardens, slaves maintained a more ecologically balanced form of agriculture on the edges of southern plantations.

Plantation agriculture, hunting, and logging altered the southern environment in interconnected ways. Beavers, bears, buffalo, elks, muskrats, wild turkeys, and passenger pigeons grew scarce in large portions of the southern colonies by the mid-1760s as deforestation destroyed habitats. The lack of beaver dams in turn contributed to severe floods in the Chesapeake colonies throughout the 1770s. Those floods were so destructive in part because row crops such as tobacco were planted along ridges arranged in long, straight lines. Field slaves then used hoes to carve ditches between the ridges. Plantations laid out in this manner were vulnerable to erosion when rainwater turned the ditches into raging streams. Those same single-crop fields were more vulnerable to pests including insects, squirrels, and crows. Deforestation even altered the southern climate. The absence of oaks and flowering trees led to colder springs, warmer summers, and earlier frosts. Planters, slaves, and small farmers all suffered from changes in the disease environment. As the aedes mosquito found breeding grounds in new ditches and reservoirs, populous towns such as Charleston endured epidemics of yellow fever and malaria.

The environmental strains of plantation agriculture ultimately contributed to its westward expansion. Commercial tobacco growing, for instance, was hard on the rich soil of Virginia, leaving it acidic and less fertile within a few years. Pine, sedge, and sorrel quickly took over fields abandoned by slaveholders, replacing the oaks that originally had enriched the soil. Though some planters rotated crops and allowed fields to lie fallow, the soils of the tobacco South were depleted by 1800.

Large planters began to cross the Appalachians in search of new land. Small farmers had preceded them, settling the eastern Mississippi Valley in the late eighteenth century as the great planters bought up the best lands in Virginia and Carolina. In 1793 planters received further encouragement to migrate when Eli Whitney invented the gin that made commercial farming of cotton possible. Whitney's invention spelled the end of a South Atlantic region dominated by rice and tobacco and the beginnings of a new Cotton Kingdom that would extend south to Alabama and Mississippi and across the Mississippi River to the edges of the Great Plains.

A MARKET ENVIRONMENT, 1800–1829

During the early decades of the nineteenth century, government officials at the federal and state levels promoted a transportation and market revolution. Its beginnings were evident between 1796 and 1812 as the federal government moved to reduce the price of western land and ensure easy credit to speculators (investors gambling that the price of land would boom) and potential settlers. At the same time, eastern states saw a frenzy of turnpike, bridge, and plank road construction. The real revolution, however, began with the U.S. victory in the War of 1812 (1812–1815). With European demand for American foodstuffs again surging, national and state governments devoted public funds to the construction of roads and canals that would provide backcountry and western farmers easier access to markets.

The transportation and market revolutions altered the environment of eastern North America in two kinds of ways. Direct consequences included disruptions to the fragile ecosystems of rivers and lakes by canal and dam construction and the burning of vast quantities of firewood aboard new steamboats. Indirect consequences were perhaps more profound. New forms of transportation helped create new regions and economic zones. Vast stretches of southern North America, much of it formerly Indian country, become part of the Cotton Kingdom. The Great Lakes were integrated with the Erie Canal (1825) in western New York and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Such developments created a sectionalized economy in which each region was dominated by a single form of enterprise. Southern plantations provided raw cotton to a New England focused on textile manufacturing. Pennsylvania and the Great Lakes region turned to coal, iron, and copper production, as the Midwest and the Northwest Territory north of the Ohio Valley took over as the primary growers of wheat. The environments of all these regions were transformed by their new economic roles.

The southern shift to cotton. Focusing on the cotton South and New England gives a more precise sense of the patterns of environmental change. Though corn remained the most common southern crop throughout the early nineteenth century, the shift to raising cotton for export marked a significant mile-

stone. The boom in cotton prices after the War of 1812 inspired settler farmers to migrate south and west from Virginia and Maryland. Large numbers of wealthy planters quickly followed. Clustered around the main branches of the Mississippi River, planters began to integrate the region into worldwide commerce, shipping their harvests south to New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico.

The environmental consequences of these developments followed a familiar pattern. New pathogens caused yellow fever and malaria epidemics in New Orleans and elsewhere. Prairies and pine forests felt the impact of grazing cattle. Hunters pursued wild species to the brink of extinction as planters and lumber merchants felled trees. Environmental damage was limited, however, by the low level of industrialization throughout the Cotton Kingdom. Due in part to the lack of suitable rivers, the entire region supported fewer sawmills than the state of New York. The consequences of row-crop agriculture, though, continued to be devastating. Heavy rains poured through the ditches in cottonfields and cornfields as they carried off valuable topsoil. Like any monoculture (an agricultural system dominated by a single crop), the plantation South was ecologically unstable. Single-crop fields promoted the development of soil toxins and the rapid multiplication of parasites, including the cotton bollworm. Planters imposed a cost on the soil that southern farmers would continue to pay throughout the nineteenth century.

Industrialization in New England. New England farmers also faced hardships due to environmental degradation. With access to better transportation, farmers began to participate in the market economy in new ways, beyond raising cash crops, that the landscape could not long sustain. Potash making, home manufacture of shingles and barrel staves, selling of firewood, and production of livestock placed excessive demands on New England ecosystems. Already reeling, New England farms suffered a fatal blow from the construction of the Erie Canal, which opened the region to overwhelming competition from the farms of the Midwest and upstate New York.

The eventual ecological decline of New England farms helped set the stage for early industrialization, which in turn created new environmental challenges. As farms faltered, many landless sons and daughters turned to wage labor in new manufactories including textile mills and sawmills. This new source of cheap labor, combined with the introduction of the power loom in 1815, fueled an explosive textile industry along New England rivers ideal for generating power. Sawmills also expanded, depleting forests as they worked further and further upstream. Construction of dams for the new industries altered the ecology of rivers in which fish, including salmon, were blocked from upstream spawning grounds. By the late 1820s, the signs of modern industrial pollution were already evident. As textile mills turned to steam power, burning coal transported from western mines through the new Erie Canal, smoke blackened the skies over fast-growing cities.

The real onset of industrialization would have to await the railroad and textile boom of the 1830s. Furthermore, the white settlement of western North America still lay in the future. Yet after little more than a half century of national development, residents of the United States found themselves faced with a set of environmental challenges that still confront them today.

See also **Agriculture; Cotton; Economic Development; Lumber and Timber Industry; Nature, Attitudes Toward.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cowdrey, Albert E. *This Land, This South: An Environmental History.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1983.

Cronon, William. *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Hallock, Thomas. *From the Fallen Tree: Frontier Narratives, Environmental Politics, and the Roots of a National Pastoral, 1746–1826.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Merchant, Carolyn. *Ecological Revolutions: Nature, Gender, and Science in New England.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

———, ed. *The Columbia Guide to American Environmental History.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Seelye, John. *Beautiful Machine: Rivers and the Republican Plan, 1755–1825.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Silver, Timothy. *A New Face on the Countryside: Indians, Colonists, and Slaves in South Atlantic Forests, 1500–1800.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

White, Richard. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Worster, Donald. *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Christopher Iannini

EPIDEMICS Epidemic diseases, introduced from both tropical Africa and Western Europe were frequent visitors to the British North American colonies during the late colonial period and to the United States during the early years of the new nation. The two major epidemic diseases that broke out in the period from 1754 to 1829 were smallpox from the British Isles and yellow fever from West Africa via the West Indies. A number of other diseases, including diphtheria, scarlet fever, measles, whooping cough, and mumps also appeared in epidemic form and swept parts of eastern North America. This vulnerability to exotic disease continued through the nineteenth century. Cholera, spreading from an initial outbreak in South Asia, struck the United States of America for the first time in 1831 and 1832.

Epidemics typically broke out among urban populations that had little or no immunological experience with the pathogen. The outbreaks could be spectacularly frightful and impress themselves into cultural memory. Yellow fever and smallpox wreaked concentrated havoc in cities and spread terror and sickening fear both within and outside the immediate zones of infection.

Epidemics of yellow fever, a mosquito-borne viral disease, were spread by the arrival in port cities of ships from the West Indies, where the disease was endemic. The transmission of yellow fever depended upon an infected individual being bit by an *Aedes aegypti* mosquito that would in turn bite an uninfected individual. The first epidemics in the British North American colonies took place in the late seventeenth century. A succession of epidemics occurred in the mid–eighteenth century. Philadelphia was struck twice in the 1740s, once in 1762, and then three times in the 1790s. The most famous of these was the 1793 epidemic that killed nearly four thousand, sweeping away to death 10 percent of the urban population. In the early nineteenth century, yellow fever epidemics began to strike the southern ports of New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, and Savannah. The only effective public health policy was the imposition of quarantine upon ships that were known or suspected to carry the disease.

The yellow fever outbreaks rent the fabric of family and community life. The means of transmission was unknown, and the disease was feared to be contagious. As ever, desperate circumstances brought out the worst and the best. Some families abandoned their sick. Others stayed to nurse their loved ones through the moment of death. The wealthy took flight from the cities; the poor were left

to the ravages of the disease. The high fevers and characteristic black vomit that signaled the approach of death inspired particular horror and unleashed racial fears and prejudices. In Philadelphia, African Americans volunteered to care for the sick and did so valiantly; after the epidemic had receded, fearful whites blamed them for the outbreak.

Smallpox was also a deadly viral disease, but unlike yellow fever, it was highly contagious and spread directly from human to human. Immigrants from the British Isles, where smallpox infection was endemic and the principal victims were children, introduced it into the British North American colonies. There, the disfiguring pox destroyed both old and young; survivors of smallpox carried their immunities into adulthood, but the disease never became fully endemic and thus new generations reached adulthood without immunity. In the colonies, smallpox leapt beyond the communities of whites and their slaves into the worlds of the Native Americans, where it wreaked disaster. The death rates among Native Americans are thought to have ranged from 25 to 50 percent. During the epidemic of 1775–1782, smallpox ravaged most of the North American continent, killing more than one hundred thousand and disfiguring many more.

Until the late eighteenth century, the only recourse against smallpox infection was a form of inoculation known as variolation that had been in occasional use since the 1720s. Variolation was dangerous; it involved the intentional subcutaneous introduction of smallpox pus and produced immunity in the 95 percent of the initiates who survived the procedure. The first enforced use of this technique took place during the American Revolution, when General George Washington made the decision to inoculate by variolation all of the troops of the Continental Army. At the end of the eighteenth century, a new type of inoculation, known as vaccination, used what is thought to have been either a cowpox or horsepox virus that proved safe and effective. The broad acceptance of vaccination in the United States reduced greatly the threat of smallpox and constituted a major advance in the efficacy of public health interventions.

See also **Health and Disease; Malaria; Medicine; Smallpox.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Duffy, John. *Epidemics in Colonial America.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953.

Fox, Elizabeth A. *Pox Americana: The Great Smallpox Epidemic of 1775–82.* New York: Hill & Wang, 2001.

Powell, J. H. *Bring Out Your Dead. The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Reprint: 1993.

James L.A. Webb Jr.

EQUALITY   The idea of equality is not a single concept, and its complexity is evident throughout the revolutionary era and early Republic. For some, equality was the Christian idea of the individual's direct relationship to God and the Protestant's disdain for papal hierarchy. For others it was a political notion of equal representation, or of the individual's equal rights and liberty in law, both natural and civil. For still others, it meant a rough equality of condition thought to be efficacious to a republic. In general, Americans during the nation's early years held to combinations of some or all of these ideas with varying degrees of consistency. Assumptions about race and gender were persistent challenges. Even the most egalitarian thinkers found the implications of their principles discomfiting if not entirely unthinkable. To understand the meaning of equality at this time requires one to ask, of what kind and for whom?

COLONIAL BACKGROUND

During the years 1629 to 1641, New England Puritans, seeking refuge from persecution by mainstream Anglicans, sought to practice their beliefs in a "purified" worship. Yet they were loath to extend this freedom to non-Puritans. Although the Massachusetts *Body of Liberties* was to apply to all inhabitants residing within the colony, the General Court could determine who qualified for residence and expel or punish anyone who was deemed to have "exceeded the bounds of moderation." Equality was initially the equality of Puritan believers and those willing to conform to Puritan strictures.

Early Quakers (the Society of Friends) and German Pietists in the mid-Atlantic colonies in the years 1675 to 1725 were more tolerant of nonconforming neighbors in their midst. Pietists generally avoided politics, but Quakers who controlled the government of Pennsylvania for the first six decades of the colony accepted all denominations as expressions of the Holy Spirit. More individualistic in their understanding of differences, they affirmed William Penn's belief that the "Liberty of Conscience is every man's right, and he who is deprived of it is a slave in the midst of the greatest liberty." This led to a very liberal granting of equal legal rights to colonists, whether members of the Society of Friends or not.

A more peculiar development occurred in the southern colonies, settled largely from the south of England between 1642 and 1675. The region was known for its support of the Stuart monarchy during the Puritan Revolution; class position and personal status were accorded great importance in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Many who arrived aspired to attain the position of gentlemen landowners, with all of the deference accorded such a position in England. As John Randolph of Roanoke announced, "I am an aristocrat. I love liberty; I hate equality." That said, there was a kind of formal equality that evolved with slavery.

The paucity of labor proved an early inducement to the African slave trade on a more intensive level than elsewhere in America. This fact set in motion a unique dynamic between the larger landowners and the more middling and lower-class white colonists. By 1776 what had been the "equality of aristocrats" was transformed into the equality of white males. Basic legal rights were recognized, such as the right to sue and testify in court, the right to enter contracts, and the right to vote if one met minimal property requirements—all rights denied, not only to slaves, but to the few black freedmen who resided in Virginia. Consequently, vertical ties of allegiance from lower to upper classes were reinforced by a concept of equality within the race. That fact influenced the republican ideology that galvanized Virginia's resistance to England in the Revolution.

Equality, or the lack thereof, manifested itself in specific legal frameworks or religious practices. More problematic was the expression of equality in social life. Europeans, regardless of how egalitarian in political, philosophical, or religious matters, were steeped in medieval customs of hierarchy and status. Deference to one's betters was ingrained and, with the possible exception of the Quakers, was characteristic of most of the American colonists as well. Persons of wealth were accorded respect. Those with less were simply expected to give way when superiors were present, and were certainly never to presume familiarity. The Virginia gentry were held in awe by the middling to lower freemen, while slaves were always to show obeisance. In this context, it is often wondered how a revolutionary spirit and republican ideas of equal and natural rights ever came to the forefront of the American consciousness.

FROM ENGLISHMEN TO ALL MEN

The religious ideas of the mid-Atlantic and New England states reinforced the belief that equality before God ought to be affirmed in law. Lockean ideas of the Enlightenment formed an important part of the theological understanding of man's original and natural rights in the state of nature. Elisha Williams preached in 1744 in Boston that "all are born . . . naturally equal, i.e. with an equal right to their persons; so also with an equal right to their preservation; and therefore to such things as nature affords for their subsistence." What followed was a Lockean account of how reason and differences in ability produced the natural right to property and the necessity for limited republican government. With prosperity and population growth, these ideas resonated with Americans who took umbrage at any claim that disparaged their status in the empire.

Ironically, in the southern colonies it was precisely the concern with domestic issues of status that prompted similar philosophical and political developments. If gentlemen planters were reluctant to submerge their status within their own society, they were especially reluctant to assume a position of inferiority with respect to their British counterparts in the empire. When British policy changed with the need for revenue, these status-conscious southern leaders asked why they did not have the same rights as all Englishmen to consent to the taxation of their properties. Richard Bland of the Virginia House of Burgesses articulated this point early in 1766: "These Acts which imposed severer Restrictions upon the Trade of the Colonies than were imposed upon the Trade of England, deprived the Colonies . . . of the Privileges of English Subjects, and constituted an unnatural Difference between Men under the same Allegiance, born equally free, and entitled to the same civil Rights."

Whether originally conceived of as equality before God, the equality of all believers, or the equality of freeborn aristocrats, the concept of equality came to mean equal legal and political status with the inhabitants of the mother country. By the end of the eighteenth century, the colonists would no longer tolerate being the "subjects of subjects."

As resistance to British colonial policy intensified, the assertion of equal status was replaced by a more universal claim to their equal *natural rights*, or rights given by God or nature to all humanity. With the decision to declare for independence, Thomas Jefferson penned perhaps the most famous statement on equality along these lines in the American Declaration of Independence: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

EQUALITY OF CONDITION

Few sentences have been the source of so much debate. Is the statement simply about rights, or is it a basic assertion about the social conditions necessary for "happiness"? Does it describe, or does it also prescribe, the form equality ought to take in the new nation? Some writers have attempted to find a case for material equality, or equality of condition, during the Revolution and founding periods, and this has produced some interesting evidence.

For one, the culture of deference stemming from medieval views on status was irrevocably undermined. The urban artisan and working classes discarded much of their reserve with respect to their supposed social superiors. In cities like Boston and Philadelphia, often to the consternation of the higher sorts, artisans and day laborers were suffused with a spirit of republican equality that encouraged a more outspoken and participatory attitude. Yet the general sense was not so much in favor of material equality as a celebration of social freedom—the freedom to take pride in oneself regardless of occupation or wealth.

Others have detected a celebration of rough material equality considered to be especially conducive to a republic. Thus we find a statement by the minister Enos Hitchcock of Providence in 1793: "This soil is distributed in such portions amongst the inhabitants, and holden by such tenure, as afford the greatest security to the continuation of free government." In the absence of vast aristocratic fortunes, Americans need not fear domination by any particular group. Such fortunes, it was believed, gave means to bribe legislators and control government, but a rough equality of condition would avoid that unhappy prospect. Yet Hitchcock stopped short of prescribing anything other than equal laws. It was enough that in America

> property is rendered secure, by the equality of law to all; and every man, being master of the fruits of his own labour, enjoys the right of property—no arbitrary imposition of taxes or of tythes, no lordly exactions of rents, chill the heart of industry, nor repress the cultivators exertions—no mercantile corporations, with exclusive rights, damp the ardent spirit of enterprise.

Jefferson's experience with the profound poverty evident in France caused him to question whether liberty and large disparities in property ownership

are compatible. In 1785 Jefferson noted the poverty of the French lower classes and monopolization of land by the aristocracy—lands left "undisturbed only for the sake of game." He was "conscious that an equal division of property is impracticable, but the consequences of this enormous inequality" led him to conclude that legislators could not "invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind." By "natural affections," he believed it would be sufficient in most cases to eliminate laws that required all land to go to the eldest son. But "whenever there are in any country uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right." That was not the case in America, but in France, as he noted in the *Autobiography*, he saw "the monstrous abuses of power under which this people were ground to powder." Such circumstances might require redistribution. This was not advocating material equality per se. It merely meant lessening that inequality that left some near starvation. Thus in his Second Inaugural Address in 1805, Jefferson could still congratulate America for the "equality of rights maintained, and that state of property, equal or unequal, which results to every man from his own industry or that of his fathers."

As with Jefferson and Hitchcock, most Americans of this period considered a rough material equality as desirable but not a main objective. The idea made sense only in relation to liberty. Individuals were to be free to pursue opportunities and reap the consequences. A rough equality of property was a happy accident of the equal application of law, but it was not to be a hindrance to the equal right to pursue opportunities and acquire the rewards of industry.

Freedom from artificial restrictions came to be the dominant conception of equality in economic matters after the Revolution, but profound social tensions were revealed as ideals conflicted with lived experience. Few embodied that tension more than Jefferson. The idea of equal freedom was rarely extended beyond white male adults. The most egregious inconsistency was the institution of slavery. Jefferson's conceptual struggle was indicative of a wider societal ambivalence.

EQUALITY FOR WHOM?

Jefferson's eloquence in defense of equal rights makes the fact of his ownership of slaves particularly jarring. The thinking of many of his contemporaries tended toward a justification of the "peculiar institution" by various theories of racial inequality. Rather than ignore the obvious conflict between the claim of equal rights and the existence of slavery, Jefferson wrestled with both, and this struggle has highlighted the inconsistencies in his life and thought. He would move for emancipation, but only if followed by colonization or deportation back to Africa. He would assert that the "unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people," but later contend that "no person living wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed on the grade of understanding allotted to them by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves."

Equally problematic was the legal and political position of women. Accepted as equal intellectually, women were considered emotionally and physically unsuited to political life and public leadership. The Revolution was a political act, and even the most ardent of male liberal Patriots, or "Whigs" as they called themselves, could not conceive of women as having a political character or role. Yet during the Revolution women were depended on for providing food, shelter, and funds, and even for military intelligence. Equality was not so much the issue, but the role and status of women was steadily reconceived. The idea of republican motherhood was a first step in recognizing a political place for women in the family. Mothers were enjoined to impart republican values of independence, loyalty, thrift, and industry to their children.

Writing to John Adams on 31 March 1776, Abigail Adams famously asked him to "remember the ladies." She hoped he and the other representatives in Congress would "be more generous and favourable to [women] than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all men would be tyrants if they could." Yet her call was only for an improvement in legal status or a lessening of inequality. "Regard us then," she continued, "as Beings placed by providence under your protection and in imitation of the Supreem [*sic*] Being make use of that power only for our happiness." John Adams responded with the observation that the move to independence had "loosened the bands of Government every where." Everywhere, people seemed to be agitating for their rights; Abigail's was but "the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerful than all the rest were grown discontented."

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN CIVIL SOCIETY

John Adams's reply was prophetic for society as a whole. With independence and the establishment of the U.S. Constitution, American civil society saw a whirlwind of political and social organizing for all sorts of causes.

The first political contests of the early Republic gave rise to the first two-party system, with the more democratically oriented Republicans under Thomas Jefferson and James Madison squaring off against the more conservative Federalist Party of Alexander Hamilton and John Adams. These were great social events at the local level and stirred the political consciousness of a whole generation of Americans. Combined with a dynamic economy, the years following the heated election of Jefferson to the presidency in 1800 saw tremendous movements of people both geographically and across social strata. Individuals became far more mobile socially, some moving up the socioeconomic ladder, while the relative status of established ranks was diminished. That dynamism contributed to the further erosion of earlier deferential social norms. How Americans thought of equality was given new expression in American religious, economic, and political life.

The Second Great Awakening, beginning in the 1790s and lasting until the Civil War, was a period of increased religious enthusiasm and organization. Like the first Awakening in the 1740s, the trend favored popular charismatic and "low" church forms of devotion, with emphasis on revivals and evangelism. These movements drew from the older wells of Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist faiths but were less hierarchical. The spirit of renewal unleashed a powerful desire to reform not only the individual, but society. From these sources sprang the temperance movement, the antislavery movement, education reform, and the movements for women's suffrage. The ideals of the Revolution were reexamined with an eye toward perfecting American equality in faith, in law, and in representation. Although the roots of the reform societies can be found in this period, their most important influence would not be realized until after 1830.

For many born after 1776, consistency with the Declaration became paramount as a means of demonstrating their worthiness of their Revolutionary and republican inheritance. The period saw a visceral reaction against unearned status that severely crippled the Federalist Party in all but a few New England states, ushering in the so-called Era of Good Feelings (1820s), a time when the predominant party was Jefferson's Democratic Republicans. Even in business, entrepreneurs exulted in the equal rights of all individuals to pursue opportunities and for the common man to make good for himself and his family.

Equality in America was a complex blending of the equality of all believers, equality before God, equality in rights both natural and legal, and the lessening of the arbitrary distinctions of aristocracy. It was the working out of these ideals that eventually produced the great reform movements of the nineteenth century.

See also **Adams, John; American Character and Identity; Antislavery; Class: Overview; Democratic Republicans; Democratization; Education: Overview; Election of 1800; Era of Good Feeling; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Federalist Party; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Hamilton, Alexander; Happiness; Jefferson, Thomas; Quakers; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Wealth Distribution; Women: Rights.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004.

Akers, Charles W. *Abigail Adams: An American Woman.* 2nd ed. New York: Longman, 2000.

Appleby, Joyce. *Inheriting the Revolution: The First Generation of Americans.* Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Hyneman, Charles S., and Donald S. Lutz, eds. *American Political Writing during the Founding Era, 1760–1805.* 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1983.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Writings.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, distributed by Viking Press, 1984.

Kerber, Linda K. *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1986.

Morgan, Edmond S. *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia.* New York: Norton, 1975, 2003.

Nash, Gary B. *The Urban Crucible: Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.

Norton, Mary Beth. *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750–1800.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1980; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Sandoz, Ellis, ed. *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era, 1730–1805.* 2nd ed. 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1998.

Wright, Donald R. *African Americans in the Early Republic, 1789–1831.* Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1993.

Hans Eicholz

ERA OF GOOD FEELING   The Era of Good Feeling generally refers to the period in American history between 1815 and 1825, particularly to the two administrations of President James Monroe (1817–1825). The term originated in an article in the Boston *Columbian Centinel* published on 12 July 1817. The newspaper used the term to refer to the general mood of the country immediately after the War of 1812 (1812–1815), which was nationalistic, harmonious, and prosperous. Historians' use of the term for American history between 1815 and 1825 is, however, somewhat misleading, because the entire period cannot be considered an era of "good feeling."

The period indeed started on positive notes. When the war ended in January 1815 with victory at the Battle of New Orleans, the American people became strongly nationalistic. Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury from 1801 to 1813, commented that "the war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and character which the Revolution has given, and which were daily lessened." The heightened nationalism resulted in one-party rule at the national level by the Republican Party, which had led the war efforts. The political dominance of the Republicans culminated in the presidential election of 1820, when Republican candidate Monroe received all electoral college votes except one.

The political monopoly of the Republican Party also owed much to the postwar economic prosperity of the United States. European demand for American cotton and foodstuffs remained high between 1815 and 1818, and American farmers and planters expanded their acreages by purchasing more land. But the positive political and economic environments following the War of 1812 turned to ones of discontent and dissension after 1819.

One cause of this transition to discontent was the economic difficulties resulting from the Panic of 1819, which lasted until 1823. European demands for American cotton and other agricultural products declined from late 1818, leading to a severe depression in the American economy.

At almost the same time that the Panic of 1819 hurt the nation's economy, a political crisis shook the United States. In 1819, the House of Representa-tives began debating a bill to admit the Missouri Territory to the United States as a state. The southern states supported the territory's application, while northern states opposed its admission as a slave state. Eventually, in March 1820, Speaker of the House Henry Clay engineered the Missouri Compromise: Congress admitted Missouri as a slave state while admitting Maine, theretofore a part of Massachusetts, as a free state. In addition, the agreement declared that the remainder of the Louisiana Territory above the 36°30' parallel—the southern boundary of Missouri—was to be free of slavery. Thus, it was the Missouri Crisis that started the sectionalization of national politics based on the slavery issue.

Although the domestic political situation became volatile, the United States achieved an important diplomatic success with President Monroe's issue in December 1823 of the Monroe Doctrine, which declared the Western Hemisphere would in the future be free of European interference. Britain supported the Doctrine for its own purposes, which ultimately made it succeed.

Close to the end of Monroe's administration, the Republican Party became fractured into personality-driven factions. In the presidential election of 1824, five Republican candidates—William H. Crawford of Georgia, John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee—vied for the presidency. The election ended with the victory of Adams.

Thus, the Era of Good Feeling started on positive notes of heightened national feelings, domestic political stability, and economic prosperity. In time, however, the Panic of 1819 ended the postwar prosperity, the Missouri Crisis sectionalized national politics, and domestic political stability based on one-party rule ended in 1824.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Election of 1824; Missouri Compromise; Monroe Doctrine; Panic of 1819.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dangerfield, George. *The Era of Good Feelings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952.

Feller, Daniel. *The Jacksonian Promise: America, 1815–1840.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.

Moore, Glover. *The Missouri Controversy, 1819–1821.* Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1953.

Sellers, Charles. *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Songho Ha

Waterloo Inn. In 1817 James Monroe, who served as president during the "Era of Good Feeling," embarked on a tour of the northern United States. Early in the tour Monroe's party stopped at the Waterloo Inn, a popular watering hole along the route between Baltimore and Washington, D.C., shown here in a 1827 lithograph by F. F. DeRoos and T. M. Baynes. PICTURE HISTORY.

ERIE CANAL The Erie Canal was the greatest American engineering project of the first half of the nineteenth century, though it was completed only a quarter of the way through it. It was the single most important factor in the emergence of New York as the "Empire State" and New York City as the economic center of the new nation. The canal sent settlers and manufactured goods through New York to the frontier and funneled grain, salt, lumber, and other raw materials to New York City for sale to the nation and the world. The canal cut the cost of freight transportation through its territory by up to 90 percent and reduced delivery times from uncertain weeks to scheduled days. By channeling overland through western New York, the canal bypassed traditional trade routes centered on Lake Ontario, limiting Canada's share of economic growth. By reaching westward before the American southern states, especially Virginia, which had tried for decades to canalize the Potomac, New York's canal delivered national economic dominance to the North. As the first human-made artery communicating with

the continental interior, the canal provided an early bond of national unity, soon strengthened by other canals, railroads, and eventually highways. The Erie Canal began the process of both tying the nation together and dividing it: the canal helped establish a national free-market industrial economy, but its locus in New York sowed division between the slave-based agrarian economy of the South and the rest of the country that eventually helped undermine the Union.

ARTIFICIAL RIVER

For all its impact, the original canal—begun in 1817 and completed in 1825—was a remarkably slender waterway. Stretching 363 miles from the Hudson River north of Albany to Lake Erie at the nascent village of Buffalo, the canal was just forty feet wide on its surface, narrowing to twenty-eight feet at a four-foot depth: it was a small prism of water dug across the breadth of New York. The path of the canal followed the lay of the land as much as possible to maintain levels and minimize expensive, traffic-slowing lockage. Long levels from Utica to what be-

DEWITT CLINTON

In popular imagination, DeWitt Clinton (1769–1828) created the Erie Canal. In fact, the plan for a canal linking the Hudson River with Lake Erie originated in 1807 with Jesse Hawley's newspaper essays. The following year, state-appointed surveyor and future Erie engineer James Geddes determined that the canal was feasible. Clinton had little if any interest in the project or canals generally until 1810, when fellow state senator Jonas Platt sought Clinton's influential support for a bill to conduct detailed surveys. To his credit, the once and future New York City mayor and future governor then seized on the canal as a means of ascendancy for the state and himself. Clinton served on the state canal commission from its creation in 1810 until his removal from its leadership in 1824, an unpopular maneuver by political opponents that prompted his reelection later that year as governor, holding the office until his death. During his first six years on the commission, Clinton emerged as the canal's most effective advocate, neutralizing the negative influence of commission head Gouverneur Morris, who until his death in 1816 clung to the imprac-

tical notion of a 360-mile inclined plane instead of the traditional locks and levels ultimately employed. After the War of 1812 suspended canal planning, Clinton's leading role at a public meeting in New York City in December 1815 and his authorship of a widely distributed memorandum to the legislature set the state on its course toward building the canal and placed Clinton in his role as its greatest champion. After construction began in 1817, Clinton—as commission head (and governor)—guided the project toward completion in a timely and economical manner unique to engineering projects in the new nation. Not standing for reelection as governor in 1823 and turned out of the canal commission the following year, Clinton presided as governor once again for spectacular celebrations of the canal's completion in 1825. Contemptuous of enemies and indifferent to allies, Clinton was rarely secure in his political life. As the greatest advocate of the Erie Canal, Clinton's name endures.

Gerard T. Koeppel

came Syracuse (seventy miles) and from the village of Rochester to what became Lockport (sixty-five miles) comprised over one-third of the canal's length and were the two longest canal levels in the world. Topography and water supply required the construction of eighty-three hand-operated locks, each 90 by 15 feet. Lake Erie is 572 feet above the Hudson but sag between Syracuse and Rochester required seven of the locks to lower the line, making a total of nearly 700 feet in elevation changes. Over four hundred feet of ascent occurred in the first one hundred miles of canal up the Mohawk River valley from the Hudson, requiring fifty-three locks; half of these were needed in the first thirty miles to Schenectady. The most challenging lockwork was located near the western end of the canal, where a double flight of five locks surmounted a forested, sixty-six-foot rock ridge at Lockport. Eighteen major aqueducts and several high embankments carried the canal trough over substantial rivers and valleys. To navigate the new waterway, boats sixty feet long and seven feet wide were designed to carry up to one hundred passengers or thirty tons of cargo. Animals were the motive force, initially horses but soon sturdier mules that towed the boats at four miles per hour.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

For nearly its entire length, the Atlantic coast is separated from the continental interior by the Appalachian Mountains and the Adirondack Mountains. The gap between these ranges lies in central New York State, where the Mohawk River runs in a westerly direction 125 miles from its mouth at the Hudson River above Albany to Rome. The traditional route of water travel into New York's interior—first by fur traders in native canoes and later by diversified merchants in increasingly larger paddled and poled shallow-draft boats—was up the length of the rapids-strewn and flood-prone Mohawk to a portage of several miles at what became Rome, then down shallow and meandering Wood Creek, across windswept Oneida Lake, and down the Oneida and treacherous Oswego Rivers to Lake Ontario at Oswego. Interior travel further west was up the Seneca River from the Oswego River to Seneca Lake, a hundred miles east of Lake Erie. There was no river route to Lake Erie; the only water route to Lake Erie and the other Great Lakes was from Lake Ontario via a steep portage around Niagara Falls, a route barely explored and rarely taken before the late 1700s. From Lake Ontario there were two major, competing

LABORERS

In popular imagination, gangs of immigrant Irish laborers built the Erie Canal. In fact, during the first half of the construction period (1817–1821), the overwhelming majority of laborers were the families and hands who worked the small farms through which the canal line passed. The entire middle section of relatively level, dry land was contracted for and built (1817–1820) largely by these homesteaders, who had emigrated from no further away than New England. The state canal commissioners overseeing the construction reported proudly in 1819 that three in four canal laborers were American born. Gradually, contracts for multiple of the canal's hundreds of short sections were taken up by local and regional merchants and associations of contractors, suppliers, and speculators who needed larger labor crews. In the remote western sections, where work began in 1819, the scattered resident population could not supply adequate labor. Nor were area farmers willing to muck out or risk sickness in the extensive Montezuma swamps. This work increasingly fell to Irish immigrants hired right off the boat in New York City who sang their way into American folklore: "We are digging a ditch through the mire, Through the mud and the slime and the mire, dammit! And the mud is our principal hire; In our pants, down our boots, down our necks, dammit!" When the deadly work of blasting the canal trough through a long rock ridge in western New York was done, Irish laborers remained to become prominent settlers of the canal-made city of Lockport.

The Irish became the most notable and, for their considerable brawling, notorious immigrant group on the canal, but preceding them were substantial numbers of skilled and semiskilled Welsh, who often worked on the canal's masonry structures. Regardless of national origin, the tens of thousands of unskilled laborers who worked on the canal over nine construction seasons earned the same low wages: as little as fifty cents for day work, or from eight to ten dollars a month including room, board, laundry, and whiskey.

Gerard T. Koeppel

---

routes to market: on the tangle of New York waterways to the Hudson and, often preferably, down the St. Lawrence River to Montreal, and eventually the Atlantic.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

Jesse Hawley (1773–1842) was a pioneering western New York grain merchant who went bankrupt trying to get produce east along crude roads and unimproved waterways. While confined to debtor's prison in Canandaigua in 1807, Hawley wrote a series of newspaper essays under the pseudonym "Hercules" outlining how and why an Erie-Hudson canal should be built. Over the next several years, the Hercules essays circulated among the influential New Yorkers who would plan and build the Erie Canal. Hawley himself subsequently became a prominent citizen of Rochester and Lockport, two among the numerous cities created by the canal.

There were several other early proponents. Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816) may have informally suggested a cross-state canal as early as 1777; he subsequently led the first state canal commission (1810–1816) but induced ridicule for the project by insisting it be built on an inclined plane spilling Lake Erie into the Hudson, instead of with locks and levels using local water sources. State assemblyman Joshua Forman (1777–1848) sponsored an 1808 resolution for the first survey that proved the canal possible; in 1819 he founded what became Syracuse, the canal-made city that shipped salt to the nation. State senator Jonas Platt (1769–1834) drafted the 1810 legislation that created the canal commission; Platt sought and won influential support for the bill from fellow senator DeWitt Clinton, who had given no prior thought to canals. Upon Morris's death in 1816, fellow commissioner and future governor Clinton emerged as the canal's greatest and most effective proponent, hitching his own destiny to that of the canal.

PLANNING

The seven-member commission established in 1810 oversaw several rounds of surveys. It was stifled, however, by popular, economic, and technological uncertainty and ultimately by the War of 1812, during which the British burned future canal terminus Buffalo.

Interest in the canal revived quickly after the war. A public meeting in New York City in late De-
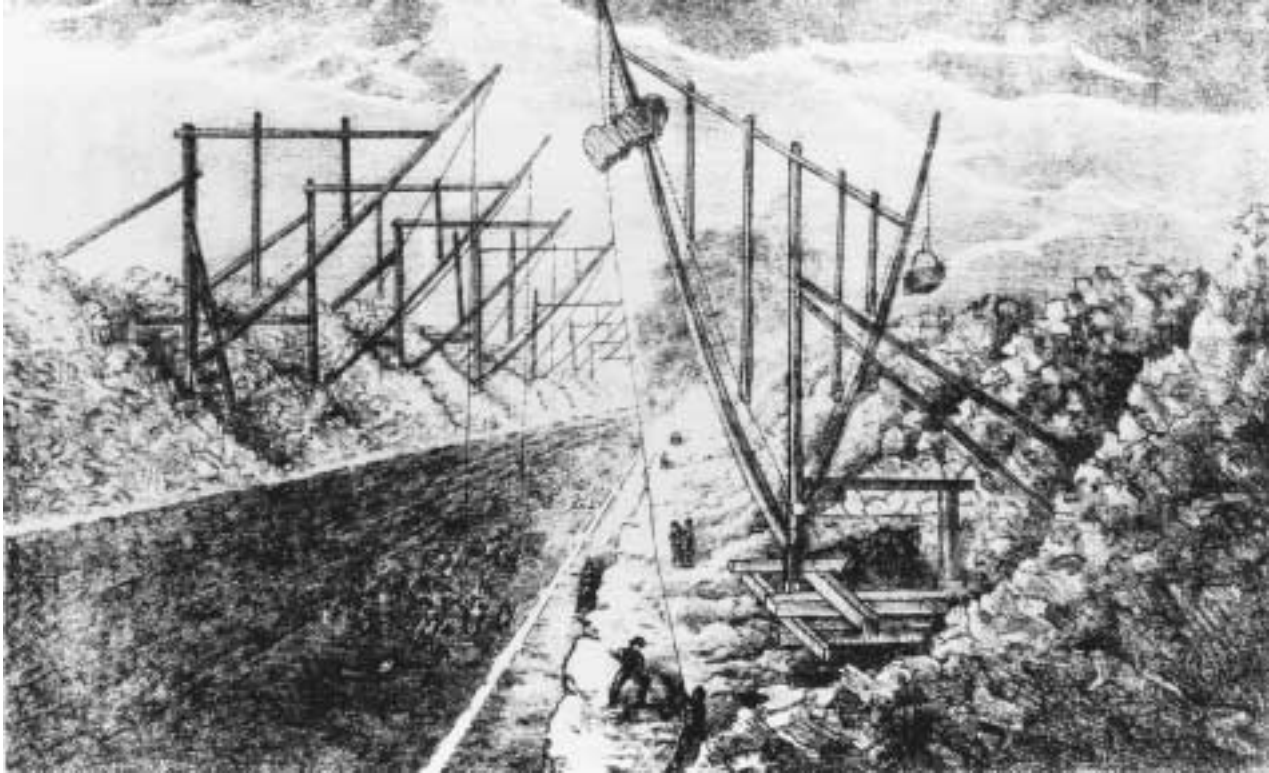
Excavation of the Lockport Lock. During construction of the Erie Canal, the most challenging lockwork occurred near the western end of the canal, where a double flight of five locks surmounted a forested 66-foot rock ridge at Lockport, New York. This illustration from 1825 shows laborers operating manual pulley cranes during excavation at Lockport. © CORBIS.

cember 1815 produced a persuasive memorandum by state Republican Party leader Clinton, which was circulated throughout the state and brought the question of construction before the legislature for the first time in 1816. Intense opposition came from Lake Ontario interests and regions distant from the canal line, especially New York City, whose merchants feared heavy taxes to support an expensive upstate project. Political interests, centered on Clinton's emerging Republican rival Martin Van Buren, feared that Clinton, narrowly defeated for the presidency in 1812 while running as a Federalist, was using the canal for personal political gain. Others questioned whether country surveyors with no engineering education or experience could build a canal more than ten times longer than the nation's only other significant canal. The twenty-seven-mile Middlesex Canal in Massachusetts was notorious for staggering construction costs and delays and financial strain on its prominent private investors.

Clinton settled for another round of surveys but claimed leadership of a new five-man canal commission stacked with supporters. They included Joseph Ellicott (1760–1826), influential agent for the Hol-

land Land Company, which owned 3.3 million mostly vacant acres of westernmost New York that the canal would profitably settle.

By 1817 popular imagination had overwhelmed political opposition sufficiently so that the legislature approved construction of the middle section of what the commissioners estimated to be a $5 million project, by far the most expensive engineering project in the nation's history. Heeding its merchants' fears, none of the thirty New York City–area legislators voted in favor.

New York State moved ahead without any federal support. In 1809 President Thomas Jefferson called New York's project "madness," clinging to false hope that his own Virginia would be the first to reach the interior by canalizing the Potomac. On the final day of his presidency in 1817, Jefferson's successor and fellow Virginian, James Madison, vetoed a bill that would have provided federal money to canal projects like New York's. Madison's veto, on the grounds that Congress had no express constitutional authority to fund canals, came as New York's legislature was debating its canal bill; contrary to

what Madison might have wished, his veto helped unify opinion in New York behind the project.

A sophisticated canal fund, administered by a financial board separate from the canal commission that oversaw construction, featured state bonds, duties on auction and salt sales, taxes on steamboat passengers, and tolls. By 1833 total tolls surpassed the eventual construction cost of $7 million; when tolls were abolished fifty years later, the canal had earned a profit of over $40 million.

CONSTRUCTION

The canal was constructed in three sections for engineering, financial, and political reasons. The commissioners initially sought approval in 1817 only to build the ninety-six-mile middle section, from Utica on the Mohawk River to Montezuma on the Seneca River, calculating that the legislature would be more willing to approve a limited objective and that quick progress on one section would win popular support and legislative approval for completion of the entire project. The middle section featured the fewest elevation changes (only nine locks) and no significant engineering challenges, and ran through country that was settled enough to provide local labor. The ceremonial first shovelful of dirt was turned near Rome on Independence Day 1817, and the section was completed and open for travel by October 1820.

The middle section established the pattern for future construction. The work was bid out in segments of generally less than one mile. The winning bidder, especially in the early years, was often the farmer whose land would be bisected by the canal; the laborers were his sons and farmhands. In later years, especially in the unsettled western region of the state, bidders took up multiple contracts and hired immigrant labor gangs to do the hardest and most dangerous work: mucking out malarial swamps that disabled many hundreds of workers and blasting through rock that killed or maimed dozens.

Most of the work was basic manual labor with axes and shovels, digging a ditch along a line laid out by country surveyors and assistants training themselves as practical engineers. Benjamin Wright (1770–1842) was a county judge and surveyor in Rome when he conducted some of the early canal surveys; named Erie chief engineer in 1817, Wright subsequently was involved in canal and railroad projects from Canada to Cuba and is regarded at the turn of the twenty-first century as the "Father of American Civil Engineering." Erie principal engineer James Geddes (1763–1838) was a pioneer salt manufacturer in the area that became Syracuse when he conducted the initial Erie survey in 1808, using a leveling instrument for only his second time; he later engineered canals for Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the federal government. Nathan Roberts (1776–1852), an itinerant math teacher when Wright hired him, designed the Lockport locks and later served as Erie chief during the canal enlargement begun in the 1830s. Among the notable young graduates of the so-called Erie School of Engineering were John Jervis (1795–1885) and Canvass White (1790–1834). Rome farm boy Jervis rose from Erie axeman chopping down trees for a survey crew to become Wright's successor as chief engineer and to be counted among the country's most innovative canal and railroad engineers. A grandson of the first white settler on the Upper Mohawk, White started as a Wright assistant and later developed and patented the hydraulic cement that made the Erie and subsequent canals watertight; his engineering career rivaled Jervis's but was cut short by ill health.

Innovations multiplied along the Erie line, often created by the contractors themselves to maximize efficiency and improve what were often slender profit margins. Large trees were toppled by a cable attached high on the trunk and winched by a hand-cranked endless screw. Stumps were pulled by a cable on a huge overhead wheel turned by a harnessed team of oxen. Rome contractor Jeremiah Brainard developed a rounded-basin wheelbarrow that was lighter, sturdier, and easier to unload than the centuries-old box-shaped barrow.

When the middle section appeared headed to successful completion in 1819, the legislature approved construction of the eastern and western sections. The 109-mile eastern section, with its dozens of locks, was completed in 1823, ending nearly two centuries of frustrating navigation on the Mohawk River, which was consigned to supplying water for the canal built along its banks. The 158-mile western section featured a spectacular embankment spanning the Irondequoit Valley east of Rochester, a landmark bridge across the Genesee River, and the Lockport locks. The western section was completed in 1825 after a bitter struggle between Buffalo and neighboring Black Rock to be the canal's western terminus. Black Rock lost and within thirty years was annexed into Buffalo, which the canal rapidly made into the state's second-largest city. Beginning in late October 1825 DeWitt Clinton, once again governor, presided over grandiose, canal-length celebrations, culminating in New York City, which already was gaining fortune and fame from the canal it had opposed.

LEGACY

The Erie Canal launched the nation's canal era, which peaked in 1860, when over 4,200 miles of mainline and lateral canals linked the nation's natural waterways as far west as Illinois. The Erie's success also induced a canal mania that spawned numerous ill-conceived canal projects; the Panic of 1837 and the subsequent national depression was caused in part by a bust in canal stock, the country's first technology bubble.

The original canal was enlarged to seventy feet wide and seven feet deep between 1836 and 1862, but by the late 1800s railroads had dramatically reduced mule-pulled boat traffic. The enlarged canal was replaced entirely by a twelve-foot-deep canal, built from 1905 to 1918 and designed for motorized barges; in the early twenty-first century, traffic was primarily recreational boaters.

See also **New York City; New York State; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Cornog, Evan. *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Hosack, David. *Memoir of DeWitt Clinton: With an Appendix, Containing Numerous Documents, Illustrative of the Principal Events of His Life.* New York: Seymour, 1829.

Reisem, Richard O. *Erie Canal Legacy: Architectural Treasures of the Empire State.* Rochester: Landmark Society of Western New York, 2000.

Shaw, Ronald E. *Erie Water West: A History of the Erie Canal, 1792–1854.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1966.

———. *Canals for a Nation: The Canal Era in the United States, 1790–1860.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1990.

Way, Peter. *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780–1860.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Whitford, Noble E. *History of the Canal System of the State of New York, Together with Brief Histories of the Canals of the United States and Canada.* Albany, N.Y.: Brandow, 1906.

Gerard T. Koeppel

EROTICA The vast majority of erotica that circulated in the United States between 1750 and 1830 was of European provenance. According to the scholar Peter Wagner, a large number of erotic books, including classics by Ovid and Boccaccio, English erotic poetry and fiction, and French libertine novels, could be found in the libraries of many eighteenth-century American gentlemen. During the French Revolution, readers in the new Republic became especially interested in the memoirs and other licentious writing of the French *philosophes.*

Certainly one of the most popular works of erotica in America during this period was John Cleland's fictional classic, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure,* or *Fanny Hill.* First published in two volumes in London between 1748 and 1749, Cleland's work consisted of two long letters recounting the life of a country girl forced by the death of her parents to move to the city and become a prostitute. Fanny's epistolary confessions described a wide range of sexual activities in explicit detail, including lesbianism, cross-dressing, flagellation, orgies, and public sex.

American printers showed an early interest in the *Memoirs.* In 1786 Worcester printer Isaiah Thomas Sr. wrote to an English bookseller seeking to buy a copy, probably with the intention of publishing his own edition. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, substantial numbers of the book were sold in rural bookstores and by itinerant peddlers in New England. In 1817 the final inventory of New Hampshire bookseller Anson Whipple, an affiliate of the Thomas firm, revealed 293 copies of the book in stock. Evidence from prosecution records in 1824 establishes that the *Memoirs* were also sold in New York City, though in an expensive imported edition accessible only to the wealthy.

Other genres of European writing, including antimasturbation literature, sex manuals, and transcripts of adultery trials relating the sexual scandals of the aristocracy, probably provided erotic content for American readers. The quasi-pornographic antimasturbation tract, *Onania, or, The Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All Its Frightful Consequences in Both Sexes, Considered,* first published in England in 1708, was frequently reprinted in the colonies. Imported copies of *Aristotle's Master-Piece,* a collection of folklore about sex that first appeared in English in 1684 and contained extensive descriptions of female anatomy and reproduction, also circulated widely. As early as 1744, Northampton minister Jonathan Edwards initiated a church inquiry into the "lascivious expressions" of certain young men who had read the *Master-Piece* and had taunted local women with their newly acquired "unclean" knowledge. Between 1766 and 1831, American printers also published thirty-two native editions of the *Master-Piece.*

American authorship of erotica was evidently scarce before the mid-nineteenth century, when a

domestic pornography industry began to emerge. Before then, fans of bawdy literature like William Byrd II and Benjamin Franklin wrote occasional ribaldry, such as Franklin's "Letter of Advice to a Young Man on Choosing a Mistress" (1745). Quasi-medical works on sexual subjects may also have served as a form of homegrown erotica, such as a book published anonymously in Virginia in 1787, *A Treatise on Gonorrhoea. By a Surgeon of Norfolk*, *Virginia*.

In the early Republic the sale of erotic works only infrequently triggered criminal charges. The doctrinal basis for such prosecutions was the English common law of obscene libel, which the King's Bench adopted in 1727. In the first published American obscenity case, *Commonwealth v. Sharpless* (1815), Pennsylvania authorities indicted six men for charging a fee to see a lewd painting "representing a man in an obscene, impudent, and indecent posture with a woman." In upholding their convictions on appeal, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania embraced the reception of English common-law prohibitions against obscene speech. In *Commonwealth v. Holmes* (1821), the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts set a further precedent in support of sexual censorship by upholding the conviction of printer Peter Holmes for selling an illustrated copy of *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*. The same year, Vermont enacted the first state statute banning the publication or sale of "obscene" pictures and books.

See also **Sexuality.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

De Grazia, Edward. *Censorship Landmarks*. New York: Bowker, 1969.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Knopf, 2002.

Wagner, Peter. *Eros Revived: Erotica of the Enlightenment in England and America*. London: Secker and Warburg, 1988.

Donna I. Dennis

EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

This entry consists of four separate articles: *Enlightenment Thought*, *The French Revolution*, *Mary Wollstonecraft*, and *Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule*.

Enlightenment Thought

The Enlightenment was an intellectual movement in eighteenth-century Europe that influenced the American Revolution and helped shape American political institutions. Enlightenment authors addressed religion, politics, and economics and were diverse in their writings and nationalities. The Frenchman Voltaire wrote literature and advocated religious and political liberty in his *Philosophical Letters* (1734). The Scotsman David Hume wrote history and encouraged political and commercial liberty in his *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (1753). The Englishman Richard Price wrote moral philosophy and the political essays *Two Tracts on Civil Liberty* (1778).

SCIENCE AND NATURAL LAWS

Although diverse, Enlightened writers shared a scientific outlook that influenced the development of American political institutions. Enlightened authors applied the scientific methods of observation and experimentation to study human beings and their social activities. Although not widely employed until after 1730, this scientific method of social thought developed from the scientific revolution of the 1600s. During the seventeenth century, scientists such as Isaac Newton (1642–1727) argued that the physical universe was orderly because it functioned according to natural laws. Newton maintained that through observation and experimentation, scientists could discover these natural laws that governed the physical world. In the 1700s, Enlightened thinkers applied these scientific ways of thinking to the study of human nature and human society. They used the scientific method of observation to study human nature and called this study the "science of man." They believed their scientific studies would reveal natural laws of human behavior that governed social activities such as religion, economics, and politics. They referred to the study of these natural laws as the "science of politics."

One such natural law was self-preservation. Enlightenment writers believed that the pursuit of self-preservation was ingrained in human nature. The Englishman John Locke (1632–1704) maintained that the law of self-preservation also included liberty and property. He argued that individuals possess natural liberty to pursue their own preservation, and he maintained that individuals use liberty to acquire property as the material means of preservation. Because these means of preservation—liberty and property—were grounded in human nature, Locke identified them as rights of human nature. He called them "natural rights." Locke defined the purpose of gov-

ernment as the protection of these rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of property. Locke's influence was evident in the American Declaration of Independence, which defined the purpose of government as the protection of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

MONTESQUIEU

Locke's ideas were only part of the Enlightenment that influenced American politics. Two other important groups of Enlightenment thinkers were the French philosophes and the Scottish common-sense philosophers. The most influential French philosophe in America was Baron de Montesquieu. In 1748 Montesquieu published *The Spirit of the Laws.* Therein, he explicitly wrote about the "science of politics." By this he meant the study of how political laws affected the natural laws of human behavior. Commerce was one example. Montesquieu argued that politics could constructively channel the pursuit of self-preservation and property by encouraging commerce and promoting the virtues of labor and diligence that accompanied commerce.

Montesquieu also emphasized the separation of powers. He argued that the natural law of self-preservation required protection against, as well as encouragement of, government because the powers of government could be abused. Such powers could threaten personal security through policies of religious intolerance or arbitrary taxation. Thus, Montesquieu sought to create political institutions that governed effectively but were limited in power. He suggested separating the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of government. Each separate power, he hoped, would limit the power of the other two. American Revolutionary leaders followed Montesquieu's advice by writing the separation of powers into their state and national constitutions. John Adams particularly praised the achievement of separation in his *Defence of the Constitutions of the United States* (1787–1788).

SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHERS

Americans understood the separation of powers in tandem with the ideas of Scottish philosopher David Hume. Hume argued that the pursuit of self-preservation often kindled ambition as humans sought property and power beyond mere personal security. Similar to Montesquieu, Hume viewed ambition as constructive in commerce. Yet Hume feared ambition in politics. He maintained that ambitious people often formed factions or small groups that pursued private interests in politics, not public good.

Hume and his American readers sought to limit the effects of faction. They viewed the separation of powers as achieving this end by ensuring that each of the three powers counterbalanced the ambitions and factions in the other two. The American Revolutionary James Madison expressed this view in *Federalist* No. 51 (1788). He defended the separation of powers in the U.S. Constitution by explaining that "ambition must be made to counteract ambition."

In addition to Montesquieu and Hume, Americans also read Scottish common-sense philosophers such as Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) and Thomas Reid (1710–1796). Hutcheson and Reid argued that all human beings possessed a common moral sense by which they distinguish virtue from vice. They proposed this common moral sense in opposition to eighteenth-century skeptics. Skeptics doubted whether the scientific study of human nature could establish fixed moral rules for human behavior. Hutcheson and Reid insisted that it could. They maintained that the human mind possessed a moral sense that naturally approved of virtues such as self-love and benevolence and disapproved of corresponding vices. Hutcheson explained this moral sense in his *System of Moral Philosophy* (1755) and Reid in his *Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* (1764).

Many Americans appealed to moral-sense theory to establish common moral ground within their religiously diverse and tolerant society. Such theory became a prominent part of American education and law after the Revolution. The president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), Samuel Stanhope Smith (1751–1819), appealed to moral sense in his *Lectures on Moral and Political Philosophy* (1812). Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story (1779–1845) made similar appeals to moral sense in his *Commentaries on the Constitution* (1833). Thus, moral-sense theory helped Americans combine different elements of Enlightenment thought into a coherent social philosophy. With it, Americans balanced ambition in commerce and politics with agreed-upon social virtues in education, culture, and law.

See also **Federalist Papers; Philosophy; Politics: Political Thought.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, John. *The Political Writings of John Adams.* Edited by George W. Carey. Washington, D.C.: Regnery, 2000.

Madison, James, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. *The Federalist.* Edited by Jacob E. Cooke. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1961.

May, Henry F. *The Enlightenment in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

White, Morton G. *Philosophy*, *The Federalist*, *and the Constitution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Christopher S. Grenda

The French Revolution

Between 1789 and 1792, the French Revolution seemed like the natural successor to the American Revolution. When news arrived that the French National Assembly had declared, on 26 August 1789, "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights," Americans offered celebratory toasts, wrote sentimental poems, and congratulated themselves on having inspired a global movement for liberty. Polite praise for the French continued through the winter of 1791–1792, when Americans learned that the French had established a constitutional monarchy. A select number of Americans, like Vice President John Adams, denounced the French Revolution from the beginning. In Adams's mind, the French Revolution was a dangerous utopian experiment. But in general Americans applauded the French and their attempts to secure revolutionary liberty and equality.

THE RADICALIZATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The radicalization of the French Revolution in late 1792 and early 1793 changed everything, because it forced Americans to reconsider the meaning of transatlantic revolution. In particular, three events—the establishment of the French Republic on 22 September 1792, the execution of King Louis XVI on 21 January 1793, and the emergence of a British-led European military alliance united in opposition to France—dramatically transformed the environment in which Americans interpreted news of the French Revolution. Those events altered the terms of debate by shifting public attention away from a relatively moderate dispute over different versions of constitutional monarchy and toward a more brutal clash between monarchy and democracy. They also spawned a series of interconnected developments that directly impinged on the lives of common Americans. British raids on American maritime vessels disrupted commerce and infuriated ship captains and merchants. French minister Citizen Genet's attempts to recruit Americans as military agents for French-commissioned privateers and French-sponsored expeditions against Spanish Louisiana and Spanish Florida incited civic unrest and diplomatic intrigue. Violent scuffles between French and British sailors stationed in Charleston, Philadelphia, and New York became legal nightmares for municipal officials. All the while, political refugees from Britain, Ireland, France, and Haiti spilled into American ports, requesting material assistance and demanding a public voice.

By affecting so many areas of American life, the radicalization of the French Revolution confronted residents of the United States with a number of difficult questions. Should the United States support revolutionary France in its military clash against Great Britain and its counterrevolutionary allies? If so, how? If a policy of neutrality was the most appropriate course, what did neutrality mean in practical terms? Moreover, did the United States need to institute internal reforms to more closely approximate the example set by revolutionary France? If so, what role should the average citizen play in promoting and establishing those reforms? All of these questions revolved around basic concepts—liberty, equality, popular sovereignty, and the role of the United States in spreading revolution—that had first been raised during the American Revolution. But the French Revolution amplified them and recast them. Whereas the United States in 1776 stood alone as a beacon of revolutionary freedom, from 1793 onward it stood alongside a more noticeable and more powerful beacon, France. Determining exactly how the American Revolutionary tradition resembled or differed from its more influential French revolutionary counterpart became a concern of pressing immediacy.

THE POLARIZATION AND POPULARIZATION OF AMERICAN POLITICS

The need to define the Revolutionary American republic against France and its archenemy, Britain, divided the American populace and served as the catalyst for a decade of vicious political conflict. Democratic Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, campaigned to reassert or extend the social and political reforms of the American Revolution. They also argued that the United States should do what it could—short of war—to assist Revolutionary France in its military clash with the British-led European military alliance. Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, derided the egalitarian excesses of the French Revolution and viewed the public fervor associated with it as a portent of social disorder. They simultaneously sought to curtail American involvement in French military affairs, even if it meant closer cooperation with Great Britain.

The political clash between Democratic Republicans and Federalists in the 1790s was the most heat-

ed internal dispute in the United States before the American Civil War. Friendships broke apart, fistfights erupted in government halls, newspaper writers spewed forth invective, and talk of civil war and anarchy pervaded public arenas. Passions were so intense that zealots on both sides advocated partisan organization, even though many educated individuals at the time considered political parties illegitimate and dangerous. Advocacy of partisanship, in turn, sparked an amazingly high degree of popular participation in national politics; voter participation rates in many areas surged, and common citizens ran for political office with a surprising degree of boldness and success.

Popular political activity was generally more noticeable and aggressive among those who steadfastly supported the French Revolution. Thousands of individuals participated in large parades and elaborate "civic festivals" celebrating French military victories and revolutionary anniversaries. Members of Democratic Republican societies wrote resolutions, offered toasts, and agitated for political reform. A person could make a public political statement simply by donning a cockade (a ribbon worn on a hat or shirt) as a badge of party loyalty.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POPULAR POLITICAL ACTIVITY

Pro–French Revolution zealots took part in popular political activity for a variety of reasons. Some were inspired by the abstract ideological claims of the French Revolution and the chance to repay France for assistance during the American Revolution. Others, remembering British atrocities during the American Revolutionary War, viewed the current Anglo-French struggle as an opportunity to humble Great Britain. African Americans considered the French Revolution—and the slave rebellion on Haiti associated with it—as an opportunity to push for emancipation or revolutionary rebellion. Local activists and artisans, meanwhile, frequently used French revolutionary rhetoric to agitate for a number of goals: to destroy vestiges of social hierarchy and political privilege, to exact revenge against resented elites, and to stake their claim to a prominent role in the American political system.

No matter the individual reasons, what is striking in the hullabaloo over the French Revolution is the degree of persistence with which many Americans promoted the French cause. It is tempting to think that the horrors of the French revolution's Reign of Terror—mass executions on the guillotine, arbitrary trials, and the centralization of power in the Committee of Public Safety—uniformly alienated Americans, but that is not the case. Many residents of the United States expended a good deal of energy justifying the excesses of the French Revolution. The scale and rigidity of the Old Regime in France, they argued, necessitated a tumultuous and violent revolution. In addition, Great Britain—revolutionary France's current enemy—had a long history of crimes against its own citizens and others', so any criticism of political practices should begin with Americans' former antagonist. Accounts of French revolutionary crimes, furthermore, could not always be trusted because Americans received much of their news through British sources, and many Americans believed—indeed, were certain—that British writers were generally untrustworthy, especially when it came to descriptions of the French. Some Americans not only justified French revolutionary horrors, they also appropriated the rhetoric of violence to intimidate opponents and rally supporters. Toasts to "the guillotine" were not uncommon, and a pamphlet circulating in Philadelphia reveled in the possibility of President George Washington's execution by guillotine.

The fervor and stubbornness of American enthusiasm for the French Revolution indicates that much more than politics and ideology was at stake. Indeed, support for the French Revolution frequently took on religious overtones. Preachers related apocalyptic biblical passages to French revolutionary developments, while newspaper authors emphasized the overthrow of the Catholic Church. Just as common, ordinary citizens rejoiced because they believed the French Revolution represented a critical step in the coming of a secular millennium. The new age these enthusiasts hoped for revolved around the spread of universal rights, global peace, and republican government, rather than the second coming of Christ. The specific doctrines of secular millennialism mattered less, however, than the hopeful exuberance associated with the French Revolution. The cultural movement known as the Enlightenment rested on the assumption of progress, but the type of progress usually described before the American and French Revolutions was a slow, evolutionary change. In the 1790s, the pace of change seemed to accelerate and a utopian age appeared imminent.

SLAVERY

That the French Revolution, despite its lofty rhetoric, did not usher in a golden age is evident in white elites' inconsistent approach toward the issue of slavery. For while disputes over issues like representation, lib-

erty, and equality clearly precipitated the onset of the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (the early name for Haiti), the vast majority of white Americans failed to see a connection between the French and Haitian Revolutions (1791). They saw the former as an indication of freedom's progress in the civilized world and the latter as an unwarranted descent into anarchy.

When genteel Americans did take notice of the connection between the French and Haitian Revolutions, they did so in a rather peculiar manner. In the spring and summer of 1793, elite and middling residents of seaport towns opened their homes to French slaveholders fleeing the devastation of the Haitian Revolution in the belief that hospitality directed toward these refugees equated to practical support for the French Revolution. In actuality, white Americans befriending slaveholders from Saint Domingue provided sustenance for a group of aristocratic elites determined to preserve European forms of hierarchy. In addition, by siding with those who opposed the efforts of Haitian revolutionaries, genteel Americans denied Caribbean slaves the opportunity to determine their own political destiny. Most important, white Americans aiding slaveholding refugees belied their own public professions about gradual emancipation in the United States; universal abolition might be a nice idea in the abstract, but it simply could not be endorsed at the present time.

Sensing an opportunity to undermine the credibility of their opponents, Federalists mocked Democratic Republicans in the South who espoused French revolutionary ideology even while holding African Americans in bondage. If Jefferson and his followers were really sincere in their protestations about tyranny, why did they not shed their own tyrannical practices and emancipate their slaves? As powerful as this argument was, Federalists did not employ it to full advantage for two basic reasons. First, Southern slaveholders represented an important segment of the Federalist Party and an undue emphasis on the tension between support for revolutionary liberty and toleration of chattel slavery might damage partisan unity across sectional lines. Second, Federalist propagandists in the North deployed the slavery issue in crosscutting ways. Even as they criticized Democratic Republican slaveholders' unwillingness to live up to the ideals of the French Revolution, they raised the specter of racial disorder in northern communities as a means of convincing people of the dangers of the French Revolution. In that sense, Federalist critics of Democratic Republicans' stance on slavery were by no means idealistic humanitarians determined to promote the interests of African Amer-

icans. Rather, they were political opportunists who twisted the issue of slavery to fit their particular goals. In some cases it suited their needs to provoke their opponents about emancipation, but in other cases they found it useful to warn of the upheavals racial equality might cause. Partisan politics at the national level thus trumped a more sustained ideological and sectional debate over slavery.

It was African Americans themselves who most fervently and consistently took up the task of exposing the possibilities and limitations embedded within the relationship between French revolutionary ideology and American slavery. In the mid-1790s, free blacks in the North signaled their approval of French revolutionary ideals by participating in street parades and civic feasts. Southern slaves enjoyed fewer opportunities for open expression of their beliefs, but they were no less aware of and exhilarated by the international revolutionary movement. Gleaning bits and pieces of knowledge from a variety of sources—including talkative masters, sympathetic white artisans, and Afro-Caribbean sailors temporarily stationed in port—American slaves developed a sophisticated, albeit unstable, network for relaying information. Indeed, the extent of shared intelligence among slaves in the revolutionary Atlantic world demonstrates how transnational upheaval captivated African Americans. Not satisfied simply to learn about French revolutionary affairs and the contest over its meaning in the United States, a number of slaves decided to take action. Some set fire to white Americans' buildings, sparking a wave of paranoia among slaveholders. Others mocked white rhetoric about revolution by proclaiming "Freedom to Africans." At least one slave, Prosser's Gabriel of Richmond, Virginia, used the opportunity created by partisan conflict over the French Revolution to initiate a slave rebellion. No ordinary uprising, Gabriel's Rebellion reached out to various Frenchmen in the United States and had as its goal the overthrow of Federalist merchants and their slaveholding allies. Unfortunately for Gabriel and his co-conspirators, the plot was discovered before it was launched, and the brutal repression that followed made it clear to any observer that Democratic Republican support for the French Revolution did not translate into sympathy for the plight of enslaved Americans.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CONCLUSION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As the French Revolution proceeded from the Reign of Terror to the Thermidorean reaction, and from the Directory to Napoleon's coup d'état in November 1799, diplomatic events continued to affect the

American interpretation of transnational revolutionary struggle. In 1795 the Senate authorized and President Washington signed into law a pact, Jay's Treaty, establishing peaceful relations with the United Kingdom. The announcement of this Anglo-American accord sparked a series of massive popular protests, because pro-French individuals felt it catered to the British and betrayed American obligations to revolutionary France. Yet in the long run Jay's Treaty tempered American attitudes toward the French Revolution by resolving the Anglo-American war crisis of 1794–1795 and by facilitating commercial growth.

Three years later, the XYZ Affair again brought the United States to the brink of war, but this time the crisis was a Franco-American one. On 3 April 1798, President John Adams, who was elected in 1796, disclosed a packet of diplomatic materials—some of which referred to mysterious French officials "X," "Y," and "Z"—documenting a pattern of French belligerence and intrigue. Almost immediately, Democratic Republicans renounced their claims about the interconnectedness of the French Revolution and the progress of American freedom. They also declared their willingness to serve the United States in a war against France. Bombastic displays of popular support for President Adams persisted through the spring and summer, and Congress actually authorized the Quasi-War, an undeclared naval war against France.

The most important response to the XYZ Affair, however, occurred when a cohort of "high" Federalists succeeded in getting congressional approval for two controversial legislative measures, the Alien and Sedition Acts. These acts extended the length of time it took for immigrants to become naturalized citizens with full voting rights and gave the federal government power to punish individuals who spoke or printed anything thought to be slanderous against the Federalist administration. Accurately asserting that the Alien and Sedition Acts were implemented as partisan weapons designed to eviscerate Federalists' opponents, Jeffersonian politicians began reasserting themselves in public by portraying themselves as the defenders of American civil liberties. Democratic Republicans also took a more moderate position on the issue of transnational revolution. The principles of the French Revolution were still praiseworthy in the abstract, and the French Republic merited good wishes in its ongoing military struggle against Britain and its tyrant, King George III, but the cause of American freedom was carefully distanced from practical developments in Europe. Napoleon's rise to power, as a result, did not undermine or retard Jefferson's rise to power because most citizens in the United States had already begun thinking of their nation as the only home for revolutionary republicanism. In a similar vein, Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800 assumed significance not simply as a seminal achievement for the Democratic Republican Party, but also as a great triumph for the American political system. Whereas the peoples of Europe continued to struggle against tyranny, social degradation, and material devastation, white Americans could revel in their freedom, equality before the law, and prosperity.

Although the French Revolution did not produce the same degree of violence and upheaval in the United States as it did in Europe, it had a tremendous impact on American life. Transatlantic turmoil spawned by the French Revolution prompted a wave of millennial yearning and an unprecedented amount of partisan organizing and conflict. It brought into relief the contradictions at the heart of the popular commitment to liberty and slavery. Indeed, though the American Republic was technically independent, events across the Atlantic constituted the frame within which Americans sketched the broad contours of their political and cultural identity. In that sense, the French Revolution decisively shaped the maturation of the United States.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Election of 1800; Haitian Revolution; Jay's Treaty; Quasi-War with France; XYZ Affair.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, W. B., ed. *Works of Fisher Ames, as Published by Seth Ames.* 2 vols. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 1983.

American Political Prints, 1766–1876: Catalog of the Collection in the Library of Congress. Edited by Bernard F. Reilly. Available from http://loc.harpweek.com/default.asp.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Banning, Lance, ed. *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Bloch, Ruth H. *Visionary Republic: Millennial Themes in American Thought, 1756–1800.* Cambridge, U.K., and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Branson, Susan. *These Fiery Frenchified Dames: Women and Political Culture in Early National Philadelphia.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Cobbett, William. *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolution.* Edited by David A. Wilson. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.

DeConde, Alexander. *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958.

Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution.* 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Durey, Michael. *Transatlantic Radicals and the Early American Republic.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Elkins, Stanley, and Eric McKitrick. *The Age of Federalism.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Hazen, Charles Downer. *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution* [1897]. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1964.

Hunt, Lynn, ed. *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History.* Boston: Bedford Books of St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress.* Available from http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mtjhtml/mtjhome.html.

Jefferson, Thomas, and Abigail and John Adams. *The Adams-Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams.* Edited by Lester J. Cappon. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988.

Jefferson, Thomas, and James Madison. *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 1776–1826.* 3 vols. Edited by James Morton Smith. New York: Norton, 1995.

Liberty, *Equality*, *Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution.* Center for History and New Media (George Mason University) and American Social History Project (City University of New York). Available from http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution.

Manning, William. *The Key of Liberty: The Life and Democratic Writings of William Manning, 'a Laborer,' 1747–1814.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Newman, Simon P. *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.

Paine, Thomas. *The Contents of Thomas Paine's Writings, Containing the Major and Minor Works, and Letters of Thomas Paine.* Edited by Philip S. Foner. Available from http://www.thomaspaine.org/contents.html.

Sutherland, D. M. G. *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counter-Revolution.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Washington, George. *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799.* Edited by John C. Fitzpatrick. Washington Resources at the University of Virginia Library. Available from http://etext.virginia.edu/washington/fitzpatrick.

Matthew Rainbow Hale

Mary Wollstonecraft

Born 27 April 1759 in Spitalfields, London, Mary Wollstonecraft was the second of seven children born to Edward and Elizabeth Dixon Wollstonecraft. Wollstonecraft's father was a drunken bully who squandered the family's money and failed repeatedly at every occupation he tried. He not only terrorized his family and reduced them to genteel poverty, he also diminished his daughters' chances of making respectable marriages and denied them formal schooling beyond sketchy lessons in Yorkshire. The oldest son inherited money from a grandfather in preference to his siblings, had a full university education, and became a lawyer, an injustice that shaped Mary Wollstonecraft's views on the education of men and women for the rest of her life.

After failing at most of the acceptable occupations for ladies, including sewing, teaching, and working as a lady's maid and governess, Wollstonecraft began a girls' school in London but quickly ran into financial trouble. Turning to writing, she produced a pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1786), which earned ten pounds and brought her to the attention of Unitarians Joseph Priestley and Richard Price, who in turn introduced her to her lifelong friend and patron, the publisher Joseph Johnson. Johnson's *Analytical Review* hired Wollstonecraft as a writer in 1787, for which she reviewed European works, teaching herself Dutch, French, Italian, and German in the process.

Although she cultivated a bohemian image, Wollstonecraft also turned out profitable books, including *Mary: A Fiction* (1788); *Original Stories from Real Life* (1788), an anthology for children; and an anthology for female readers in 1789. Already incensed by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's attitude toward women, Wollstonecraft then read Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), which prompted her to write her groundbreaking work, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), in less than three months. Johnson promoted the work as a companion piece and challenge to Thomas Paine's 1791 *Rights of Man*, and the book enjoyed wide circulation in radical circles in Britain and France. Determined to live a genuine existence free of artificial restraints, Wollstonecraft pursued relationships with men, including the artist Henry Fuseli and the American naval captain Gilbert Imlay, that gave her great emotional anguish.

At a dinner for Thomas Paine in 1791, Wollstonecraft had met the author and reformer William Godwin. She met him again in 1796, and they became lovers. Wollstonecraft became pregnant, and in March 1797, at Godwin's insistence, they married. Wollstonecraft gave birth to a daughter (the writer Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley) but died of puerperal

fever on 10 September 1797 in London. Godwin oversaw the posthumous publication of *The Wrongs of Woman, or Maria* in 1798, and followed that year with his *Memoirs*, a frank recounting of Wollstonecraft's sexual history that scandalized her readers and alienated many former admirers.

American readers responded very positively to *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, which appeared excerpted in literary magazines like the *Ladies Magazine* and the *Massachusetts Magazine* in 1792. The first complete American edition appeared in 1793 and went through three printings, surpassing in circulation Paine's *Rights of Man*. There was much for Americans to admire in Wollstonecraft's work. Far from a revolutionary overturning of gender roles, her plans for the reform of female education and the civic responsibilities of women struck a chord with Americans. As prominent women like Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray argued, women needed a revolution in manners, to shed artificial cunning and flirtation in order to be better spouses, mothers, teachers and nurses—occupations that, over time, would confer status in the new nation. The notion of the importance of motherhood won the support of many conservatives. Americans also liked Wollstonecraft's emphasis on the ability of commerce to bring down social distinctions, as related in her 1796 work, *A Short Residence in Sweden, Norway and Denmark*, and her portrayal of women's friendship across class lines, in *Maria*.

However, the release of Godwin's *Memoirs* shocked American readers just as it had Europeans. As the French Revolution burned out, its supporters became disillusioned and Americans became disgusted with Napoleonic France. Some critics attacked Wollstonecraft as an immoral fanatic and derided her ideas about women's education. Nevertheless, Wollstonecraft had framed the case for women's rights in words that had special significance for Americans and echoed key philosophical texts revered by the new nation's intellectual elite. Even critics used her terms when defining the role of women, keeping these issues in circulation until the rediscovery of Wollstonecraft by women activists in the second half of the nineteenth century.

See also **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Paine, Thomas; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Rights; Women: Writers.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gordon, Lyndall. *Vindication: A Life of Mary Wollstonecraft.* New York: HarperCollins, 2005.

Gunther-Canada, Wendy. *Rebel Writer: Mary Wollstonecraft and Enlightenment Politics.* DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2001.

Janes, R. M. "On the Reception of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women.*" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 39 (April–June 1978): 293–302.

Tomalin, Claire. *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft.* Rev. ed. London and New York: Penguin, 1992.

Zagarri, Rosemarie. "The Rights of Man and Woman in Post-Revolutionary America." *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 203–230.

Margaret Sankey

Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule

Americans first became aware of Napoleon Bonaparte in the mid–1790s, while he was a commander in the wars of the French Revolution. Newspaper accounts portrayed him as a gifted general along the lines of Julius Caesar. In particular, descriptions of Napoleon's youthful character, elevated reading taste, and magnanimous treatment of conquered enemies pushed many Americans to think of him as a liberal humanitarian. So inspiring were these printed testimonies that at least two individuals in the Philadelphia area, including an African American servant of soon–to–be Pennsylvania governor Thomas McKean, named their children "Buonaparte." The hunger for news about Napoleon contributed, in turn, to a profusion of misinformation. Rumors about Bonaparte's whereabouts and situation became a minor newspaper industry, and in 1799 it took approximately one month to discredit a rumor that the French general had died in Egypt during a military campaign in North Africa.

Though Napoleon did not assume political power until November 1799, Americans long before then grasped the depth of his political influence. When French and British officials initiated peace talks in June 1797, Americans attributed it to the daring accomplishments of Napoleon. In a similar way, observers of American domestic politics suggested that the European victories of Bonaparte had a moderating impact upon the political disputes between Federalists and Democratic Republicans. A few individuals, like U.S. representative Robert Goodloe Harper of South Carolina, identified a malicious element in Bonaparte, but most Americans in the mid-to-late 1790s viewed Napoleon with appreciation and awe.

THE GENERAL BECOMES A DICTATOR

News of the 9 November 1799 coup d'état bringing Napoleon to power reached most parts of the United

States by late January 1800, but it was not immediately clear how his emergence as a political leader should be understood. At times, Federalist politicians and newspaper editors denounced Bonaparte's rise as another example of the unstable political wrangling and illiberal ideology of the hated French Jacobins. In other situations, they praised Napoleon's regime for quashing democratic despotism and for establishing a foundation upon which international peace and French domestic tranquility might be developed. Democratic Republicans also gave mixed signals about the significance of Bonaparte's assumption of political power. He seemed to some the fulfillment of the French Revolution, a republican champion who persistently opposed monarchists. To others, however, Napoleon represented the betrayal of French revolutionary ideals and the dangers of a standing army.

The ambivalent and relatively nonpartisan approach toward Napoleon was undergirded by the Anglo-French peace treaty of 1802, which temporarily removed the immediate impetus for American discord regarding European politics. By the end of 1802, moreover, most Americans agreed that Napoleon operated as a dictator, not as a benevolent republican. Still, Democratic Republican and Federalist commentators found reason to praise Napoleon's regime. A writer for a Virginia newspaper noted that while Bonaparte continually disregarded constitutional procedures, he was "endowed with the most splendid talents." The author meant that Napoleon had charisma and panache and displayed the ability to shape events in his image. In an era when international conflict forced Americans to make difficult decisions about the character of the United States, and when Americans were developing the myth of the self-made man, the figure of Napoleon was appealing because he exemplified the way in which strong-minded individuals seemed to impose their ideas on external circumstances rather than yielding to the inscrutable forces of fate.

LOUISIANA AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

Reasons for bitter party conflict over the question of Napoleon reemerged rather quickly with the crisis over French occupation of the Louisiana territory. In 1800 France acquired the territory from Spain in a secret agreement. Napoleon hoped to reestablish a French presence in the New World and planned to use the Louisiana territory as the main source of timber and food for the sugar-producing island of St. Domingue. Once news of France's acquisition of Louisiana reached the United States, however, President Thomas Jefferson moved quickly to protect American interests along the Mississippi River valley. While hinting at the possibility of an Anglo–American alliance if Napoleon did not moderate his imperial designs, Jefferson sent ministers to Paris in hopes of acquiring New Orleans and the right to navigate along the Mississippi River. Federalist politicians, in contrast, urged Jefferson to summon an army and take possession of Louisiana by force; only a sycophantic, Francophilic American would not stand up to the foreign threat looming on the western horizon. Unfortunately for the Federalists, the same St. Dominguans who initiated a massive slave uprising in 1791 indirectly gave the Democratic Republican Party a public relations coup when they successfully thwarted Napoleon's attempts to reconquer their island in the first few years of the nineteenth century. For when Napoleon became frustrated with his inability to reassert French force in the New World, he decided to cut his losses and authorized the sale of the entire Louisiana territory—not just the city of New Orleans—to the United States for the bargain price of $15 million. War with France had not only been averted, but a tremendous territorial boon to the United States had been acquired through peaceful negotiation.

Not coincidentally, the Louisiana Purchase (1803) occurred just before a new round of Anglo-French warfare (1803–1815) enveloped the Western world. As with the military strife of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars provided a framework for vicious rhetoric and partisanship in the United States. Federalists attacked Napoleonic France for its aggrandizing, ambitious policies. Napoleon seemed to aim at nothing less than global domination, and comparisons to the Antichrist were not uncommon. Federalists also lauded the merits of Great Britain as it bore the burden of defending political liberty against the tyrannical assaults of France. Democratic Republicans, on the other hand, held up France as the defender of liberty even as they condemned the hypocritical rhetoric of Napoleon. By contending with monarchical, aristocratic Britain, France facilitated the survival of American republicanism. This did not mean that Democratic Republicans favored an alliance with Napoleonic France and a declaration of war against the British. Rather, Jefferson's administration pursued a policy of neutrality, one in which the United States would seek to establish favorable relations with both Britain and France.

Neutrality during the Napoleonic Wars was much easier to proclaim than to achieve. Caught in the middle of yet another round of Anglo-French

conflict, the United States struggled to defend its interests and national honor. Especially damaging to Americans' economic welfare were foreign restrictions on U.S. trade and naval attacks perpetrated by British and French ships. As a result, President Jefferson issued the Embargo of 1807, which prohibited American trade with all foreign countries. Unfortunately for Jefferson and his Democratic Republican colleagues, the embargo was a dismal failure: American exports declined from over $100 million in value in 1807 to just over $20 million in 1808; Federalists enjoyed a partial revival of popular support; and Britain and France refused to modify their policies. Jefferson's successor, James Madison, sought to curtail these negative consequences by repealing the embargo and by promulgating the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, which prohibited trade with Britain and France only. Like its predecessor, however, the Non-Intercourse Act persuaded neither British nor French authorities to respect American maritime and commercial rights. Undeterred in their attempt to influence peaceably European policy toward the United States, Madison and Congress experimented with yet another piece of legislation. Macon's Bill No. 2 (1810) repealed the ban on trade with Britain and France, but simultaneously authorized the president to reimpose that ban on either nation if the other decided to rescind its restrictions on American trade.

At this point, Napoleon sensed a weakness in American policy and exploited it to the advantage of France. In particular, Napoleon had his foreign minister declare that France was lifting its ban on American shipping. Though the actions of Napoleon's minister represented a clear attempt to manipulate American policy, Madison followed through on the promise of Macon's Bill No. 2 and reimposed restrictions on trade with Britain. In other words, Napoleon forced Madison's hand and not so subtly pushed Americans to take a more aggressive stand against the British. And when officials from Britain refused to alter their stance on trade restrictions, Americans appeared to have no choice but war with that nation. Formal conflict came to pass when Congress declared war on Britain in June 1812. Though American ships achieved a number of dramatic triumphs over British vessels, the land confrontation in the struggle that became known as the War of 1812 (1812–1815) was a series of virtually uninterrupted disasters. The United States survived the war with its territorial integrity intact and self-confidence growing, but only because Napoleon's forces occupied the vast majority of Britain's resources, military manpower, and political energy.

THE LEGACIES

When Napoleon's enemies defeated his armies and forced him to abdicate in the spring of 1814, Americans responded, predictably, by dividing into partisan camps. Federalists rejoiced at the fall of Bonaparte and viewed the relative indifference among the French populace as a sign that his regime had never been very popular. Democratic Republicans argued that peace would be a blessing for Europe, but lamented the possibility of a return to French monarchical rule. After Napoleon returned from exile in 1815 for his 100 Days Campaign, Americans once again interpreted events along political lines. Federalists feared that the Napoleonic forces of disorder would threaten European stability, while Democratic Republicans claimed that Bonaparte fought for the right of self-determination. In the end, the duke of Wellington defeated Bonaparte's French army at the Battle of Waterloo (1815), and Napoleon's influence upon the United States underwent a drastic transformation. After that date—and more particularly after Napoleon's exile to a remote South Atlantic island, St. Helena—the French commander ceased to affect American life through direct political and military activity.

Yet Bonaparte's legacy in the United States persisted well beyond his political demise. Napoleonic military tactics became a staple for the education of cadets at West Point, while the Congress of Vienna (an assembly of European delegates gathered together in 1814 and 1815 for the express purpose of stabilizing international relationships in the wake of Napoleon's fall) indirectly assisted American economic and cultural growth by successfully establishing the framework for a century of relative transatlantic tranquility. No matter how Americans after 1815 viewed Napoleonic politics and warfare, they generally expressed amazement at the way in which the French general shaped the entire Western world in his image. Referred to as a "luminous star," a "great man," and the subject of "wonder, astonishment, and pity," Bonaparte seemed to comprehend and harness the vast potential of individual willpower in a way that few others in history ever had. Napoleon's name and image, therefore, became one of the most powerful symbols of Romantic belief in the nineteenth century. Transcendentalist thinker Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote about him in a collection of essays, *Representative Men* (1850). Andrew Jackson kept a bust of Napoleon on a bookshelf throughout his career. And dashing Civil War general George B. McClellan reveled in his nickname, Little Napoleon. As late as the 1920s, a poll found that Americans considered Bonaparte one of the three greatest figures

of history, along with Jesus Christ and Henry Ford. Napoleon died in exile on St. Helena in 1821, but the French general's image continued to evoke for Americans the power of individual exertion and visionary self-confidence.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; French; Haitian Revolution; Louisiana Purchase; Presidency, The: Thomas Jefferson; Presidency, The: James Madison; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ames, Fisher. *Works of Fisher Ames, as Published by Seth Ames.* 2 vols. Edited by W. B. Allen. Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Classics, 1983.

Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978.

Banning, Lance, ed. *Liberty and Order: The First American Party Struggle.* Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004.

Bergeron, Louis. *France under Napoleon.* Translated by R. R. Palmer. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Cappon, Lester J., ed. *The Adams–Jefferson Letters: The Complete Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987.

A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774–1875. Available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw.

Dumbauld, Edward. *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950.

Hickey, Donald. *The War of 1812: A Forgotten Conflict.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Holtman, Robert B. *The Napoleonic Revolution.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1967.

Jefferson, Thomas. *The Thomas Jefferson Papers at the Library of Congress.* Available at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/mtjhtml/mtjhome.html.

Jefferson, Thomas, and James Madison. *The Republic of Letters: The Correspondence between Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, 1776–1826.* 3 vols. Edited by James Morton Smith. New York: Norton, 1995.

Kaplan, Lawrence S. *Jefferson and France: An Essay on Politics and Political Ideas.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1967.

Lewis, James E., Jr. *The Louisiana Purchase: Jefferson's Noble Bargain?* Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2003.

Lyon, E. Wilson. *Louisiana in French Diplomacy, 1759–1804.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934.

Markham, Felix. *Napoleon.* New York: New American Library, 1963.

Napoleon Series Site Map. Available at http://www.napoleonseries.org/index/sitemap.cfm.

Reilley, Bernard F., Jr., ed. *American Political Prints, 1766–1876: Catalog of the Collection in the Library of Congress.* Available at http://loc.harpweek.com/default.asp.

Shulim, Joseph I. *The Old Dominion and Napoleon Bonaparte: A Study in American Opinion.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Smelser, Marshall. *The Democratic Republic, 1801–1815.* New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Sutherland, D. M. G. *France 1789–1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution.* London: Fontana, 1985.

Matthew Rainbow Hale

EUROPEAN RESPONSES TO AMERICA

When news of the Battle of Yorktown, decided by the capitulation of General Charles Cornwallis on 19 October 1781, reached London, British ministers who had viewed King George III's military involvement in America as folly rose in prominence. Critics of the military conflict in America viewed it as an extension of the conflict between Britain and France and thought that Britain was foolish not to subordinate its American concerns to the contest with France. In a memorable speech at the outset of the American Revolution, the leading British statesman of that age, William Pitt the Elder, had foretold that the war with America would lay Britain prostrate before the power of France. After Yorktown, new British ministers tried to prevent military defeat from becoming a complete diplomatic defeat as well, and fighting in America virtually ceased. Britain recognized an independent United States by the Peace of Paris of 3 September 1783. The American Revolution had a major impact not only on British diplomacy but on European diplomacy as a whole. The Revolution also affected European economies by spurring the establishment of free trade policies. Finally, the Revolution left its mark on European monarchies and national identities.

DIPLOMACY

"Every nation in Europe," said Benjamin Franklin, "wishes to see Britain humbled, having all in their time been offended by her insolence." By the time of Yorktown, the truth of this was clear. France allied itself with the new American Republic and against Britain mainly because of the French leaders' desire to seize the diplomatic opportunity Britain had given them; but spite also played a part in the decision. The French defeat—largely at the hands of Pitt the Elder—in the Seven Years' War imbued the court at Versailles with bitter rancor toward King George III.
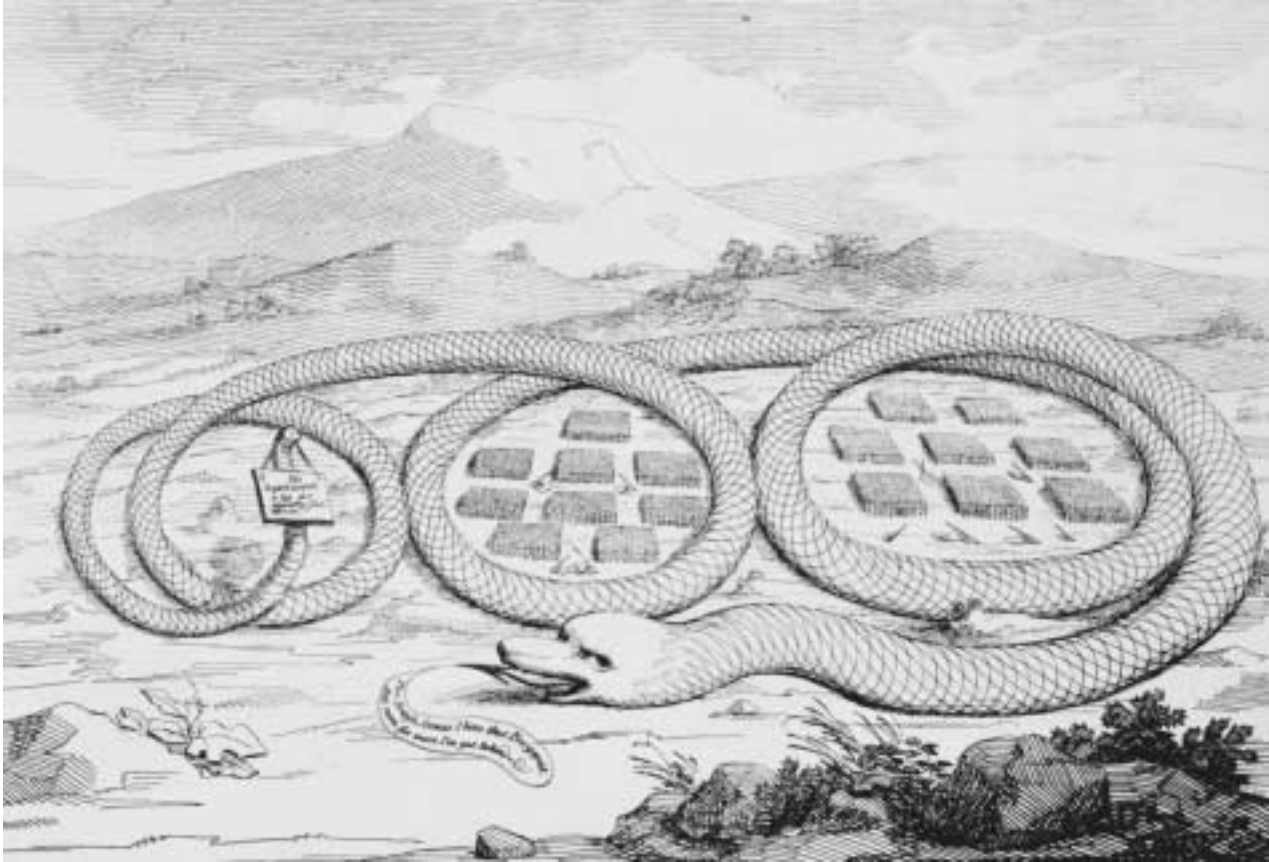
The American Rattle Snake. This etching by the British satirical artist James Gillray was published in London in April 1782 to mark the opening in Paris of peace negotiations between Great Britain and the United States. Gillray portrays America as a snake coiled around the British army encampments. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Other European states, like the Netherlands and Russia, welcomed the opportunity to weaken Britain but opted for neutrality rather than outright war. Even neutrality implied hostility toward Britain. As the legitimate sovereign in America, George III expected European princes to support him against rebels. Instead, neutral European states aided America through trade. Dutch neutrality failed as a policy, and Britain forced war upon them.

In the era of the American Revolution, the European states can be divided into two groups. There was a European center comprising Britain itself, France, and to some extent the Netherlands. These three states vied among themselves for supremacy, although the Dutch were experiencing a long, slow defeat in the contest. France and Britain were locked in bitter contest. British defeat in the War of the American Revolution induced the same kind of spite in Britain as in France, contributing to the unyielding mind-set of Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, during which Britain truly, single-mindedly, and successfully fought France for supremacy in Europe.

Around the European center, there was a periphery comprising Spain, the German Empire with its principalities, and Russia, among other states. Some in this group welcomed the war because they hoped that a British loss in America would lead to a loosening of British power elsewhere. The Spanish, Germans, Russians, and other peripherals expected France to carry most of the costs, although some private individuals in these states were prepared to assist France themselves.

The most important peripheral state to join France was Spain. At one time a mighty power, Spain had declined to marginal status by the time of the American Revolution. This decline dated at least to the seventeenth century, but the Seven Years' War had hastened the process because Spain was humiliated, although it gained some North American possessions from France. Not content with the expulsion of France from North America and the humbling of Spain there, the Royal Navy dispatched Captain Cook to investigate whether Spain's South American colonies might also be opened to British trade. The Span-

Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man. This 1774 mezzotint by Philip Dawe illustrated for the English the lawless behavior of Americans in its depiction of a group of Boston men forcing tea down the throat of John Malcolm, a customs official who has been tarred and feathered. The Liberty Tree and the Boston Tea Party are visible in the background. ART RESOURCE, NY.

ish court felt therefore the same rancor toward Britain as did its counterparts at Versailles. Further, a family alliance bound the two courts, the French ruling house of Bourbon having placed one of its members on the throne of Spain. The two branches of the Bourbon family eagerly joined hands. They undertook joint naval action in 1779, threatening the English coast with invasion. In addition, the Spanish monarchy sent money, war materiel, officials, and military officers to America.

A small number of Europeans came to America to offer their personal assistance. The Marquis de Lafayette was perhaps the most famous. A major general in the Continental Army during the Revolution, he also played a prominent role in French politics during the French Revolution. Baron Friedrich von Steuben of Prussia was almost as famous, becoming inspector general of the Continental Army. Two other Europeans who made major contributions to the American cause were Count Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko, both from Poland.

However, these famous names belied the European reality. Whether at the center or on the periphery, most Europeans knew little of America and placed little value on its Revolution. America was a backwater. French scientists thought that even nature in America was feebler than in Europe, plants and animals smaller and weaker, and natural process more prone to decay. Although America had already produced a great philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, few Europeans read American books, and fewer valued American political ideas. Despite the contributions to the American Revolution of some German volunteer officers, reactions in Germany and Russia mostly reflected this combination of ignorance and disdain.

American notions of political liberty or representative government were attractive to very few Germans. Instead, Germans thought of America, when they did think of it, mostly as a place of fantasy or escape. "Here or nowhere is my America!" wrote the greatest German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, over the door of his house in Weimar. Under the nominal sovereignty of the German emperor, German princes were nevertheless effectively independent, and they could even go to war with one another. Some German princes opposed Britain in spirit. Silas Deane, an American diplomat in Europe, recommended Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick as a possible commander of American forces. Other German princes supported King George III, who after all was himself a German prince and who eventually married his eldest son to a daughter of the Brunswick house. American notions of republican liberty had

even less appeal in Russia than in Germany. Empress Catherine the Great and Tsar Alexander I both had some sympathy with republican notions, but Catherine stayed neutral. The British attempted to obtain her cooperation against America; she suspected British motives, yet she did not want to seem too hostile to Britain. Nor did Alexander assist the French Revolution. Hostility to all revolution then hardened in Russia in the early nineteenth century. When a French visitor, the Marquis de Custine, visited Russia in 1839, he discussed American notions of a representative republic with Tsar Nicholas I. Reminding Custine of the legacy of Tsar Alexander I, who had established a constitutional monarchy in Poland, Nicholas told Custine that the constitutional system was vile, complaining that a monarch should not have to stoop to petty deals with base politicians.

ECONOMY

After news of the Battle of Yorktown was reported to the Scottish economist Adam Smith, the carrier of the news said that the British nation was ruined. Smith replied coolly that there was much ruin in the British nation. He had predicted before the Revolution that a political separation of America from Britain would in fact make both parties more prosperous. Smith was not alone in this view. The eccentric but brilliant English economist Josiah Tucker had been even more outspoken than Smith on the subject, saying well before the Revolution that American colonies were a burden to Britain.

Smith described the principles that had long governed British thinking on matters of international trade and colonial administration. Calling these principles mercantilism, he said that states attempted to achieve a favorable balance in trade with one another, leading nations to regulate and limit trade. These were futile attempts because each nation viewed wealth as something to be gained at the expense of its neighbors. When states left trade free, wealth increased in absolute terms because merchants had larger markets and therefore incentives to invest more capital in larger and more efficient systems of production. So long as Britain controlled American commerce, Smith believed, regulation would tend to stifle trade. American independence would open American markets and rationalize British production.

The removal of British regulations in America stimulated transatlantic trade. The former colonies soon bought more British goods than they had before the war, with exports to North America from England and Wales rising from 2,460,000 in 1772–

1773 to 5,700,000 in 1797–1798. Then, during the French Revolution, Britain blockaded European ports, and it enjoyed the Atlantic trade without much rivalry or interference from other European powers. These opportunities more than repaired the loss of its thirteen American colonies, and Britain rose to unparalleled economic and political power in the nineteenth century. Britons learned from Smith. "We are all your students now," the younger William Pitt told Smith during the wars of the French Revolution.

The movement toward free trade was a permanent European legacy of the American Revolution. However, this movement further exacerbated the contrast between the European center and the European periphery. Britain, France, the Netherlands (which included Belgium until 1830), and parts of Germany and Italy all made rapid economic progress, partly owing to the spread of free trade policies, while the peripheral region fell behind.

MONARCHY AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

In the late nineteenth century, the liberal English economist Walter Bagehot explained how the American Revolution had changed the role of the British monarchy. American colonists were wrong about the monarch, said Bagehot. They thought George III was a tyrant, but instead he was a fool and a madman. However, King George did nearly as much damage as if he had been a tyrant. His incapacity triggered the American Revolution, a misfortune that revealed to the British that their monarchy required an adjustment. In Bagehot's view, Britain's poor showing in the War of the American Revolution impugned George III's active, daily oversight of government.

Bagehot's opinions echoed those opposed to George III's policies, and Bagehot implied that these ideas reflected public opinion at large in Britain. However, the most careful recent scholarship has failed to establish clearly how the various parts of the British public reacted to the American Revolution. No doubt, opinion was split, and changed over time. Exactly how it was split, and exactly how it changed, however, is not known. One result was clear: Britain established a foreign office, replacing the cumbersome system that previously mixed the management of foreign policy.

Such reforms, many of them consequences of the American Revolution but more of them of the French Revolution, allowed European monarchies to become powerful symbols of national identity. Some scholars have argued that the American Revolution created national identity. Others have argued instead that Britain had a strong national identity before the American Revolution, which that event recast and strengthened. What is indisputable is that a spring of nationalism welled up in the American Revolution and the French Revolution, and in the nineteenth century that spring became a European torrent. For the most part in Europe, monarchs succeeded in making the monarchy a symbol of this torrent of identity. The rise of free trade and the emergence of powerful European national identities, symbolized by renewed and in some cases reformed monarchies, were the two most important European reactions to the American Revolution.

See also **British Empire and the Atlantic World; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; Lafayette, Marie-Joseph, Marquis de; Revolution, Age of; Revolution: European Participation; Treaty of Paris.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailyn, Bernard. *To Begin the World Anew: The Genius and Ambiguities of the American Founders.* New York: Knopf, 2003.

Dickinson, H. T. *Britain and the American Revolution.* London: Longman, 1998.

Dull, J. R. *A Diplomatic History of the American Revolution.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985.

McCusker, John J., and Russell R. Menard. *The Economy of British America: 1607–1789.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985.

Namier, Sir Lewis. *England in the Age of the American Revolution.* London: Macmillian, 1963.

Pagden, Anthony. *Lords of All the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain, and France, c.1500–c.1800.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995.

Palmer, R. R. *The Age of the Democratic Revolution: A Political History of Europe and America, 1760–1800.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1959.

Scott, H. M. *British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution.* Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Tuchman, Barbara W. *The First Salute.* New York: Knopf, 1988.

John A. Taylor

EXPANSION   In a little over two hundred years, a few tiny, beleaguered English settlements evolved into a mighty nation that would soon extend its

Towering Rock Formations. In August 1805 the Lewis and Clark expedition stopped near these rock formations along Tower Creek in Idaho. © DAVID MUENCH/CORBIS.

boundaries across the entire North American continent. Although "expansion" accurately describes the geographical transformation that would continue throughout the nineteenth century, the term connotes passivity and inexorability. The growth was so rapid, deliberate, energetic, and violent that it could just as well be described as an "explosion" that overwhelmed those colonists' five rivals—the French, Spanish, Dutch, British, and Native Americans.

The English colonists had several competitive advantages over their opponents, the most important of which was their rapidly expanding population. The Spanish lusted after silver and gold, which they failed to use as the foundation of a system of public credit and private power. Generous agricultural subsidies failed to attract many Spanish colonists because there was a shortage of labor in Spain. Although the French engaged in some farming, they primarily sought such natural resources as beaver

skins in North America and sugar in the West Indies. For instance, French leaders thought they had acted wisely when they did not pursue England's tentative queries about trading all of Canada for the sugar island Guadeloupe after the French and Indian War ended in 1763. This diplomatic blunder reminds historians how fortune (as well as particular decisions by particular leaders) plays a major role in history. If France had controlled Canada at the time of the American Revolution, the Revolutionaries might have won more easily and then successfully conquered Canada.

The Dutch simply did not have a large enough population at home to compete against the swarms of English who rushed over to the New World in four discrete waves during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The English colonists quickly turned to agriculture and trade (even as some continued to look for gold), activities that transformed the landscape

Expansion

Number of persons
per square mile

45 or more
18–45
0–18

and provided sustenance for a populace that grew from about one million settlers in 1740 to four million in1790. They imported the dynamic, flexible common law system of rural capitalism: a free market in land, labor, and goods. Lightly taxed and well fed, the colonists were soon much taller than their European counterparts. Fully aware of their growing power and needs, the colonists chafed at the constraints the British put upon them after the French and Indian War: although the British had given them rights and access to all lands east of the Mississippi, they banned any further migration. Caught between these four competing European empires, the Native American tribes had neither the technology nor the cultural traditions to overcome numerous plagues, internal disputes, and the vast number of determined colonists.

THE IDEOLOGY OF COLONIZATION

From the beginning, the English colonists had continental aspirations, for which they had several ideological justifications beyond immediate self-interest and providing for one's family. Virginia governor Alexander Spotswood's expedition in 1716 to the Blue Ridge Mountains was self-consciously nationalistic; he foresaw "a new English nation" sweeping across the frontier. Both Europeans and Americans preferred to wrap up their imperial ambitions in legal rhetoric. The king of England granted his colonists royal charters extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, a grant covering not only Native Americans but also the French. The king authorized these grants on the legal theory that the English had "discovered" these lands even though Native Americans already lived there. Like his European rivals, the king based this circular, self-serving argument on the theory that non-Christian leaders had no capacity to establish their own title and that the Europeans were the first Christians to discover and thus legitimately own the lands.

When Chief Justice John Marshall faced the question of title in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, he did not rely on euphemisms or noble principles. He invoked the doctrine of "conquest," bluntly stating that the Native Americans had lost a "contest for empire" because of their inferior military capacities. Sovereignty is a phenomenon described by the philosopher Thomas Hobbes: "In the exercise of sover-

eign right, the sovereign is the sole arbiter of his own justice. The penalty of wrong is war and subjugation." The philosopher John Locke provided a jurisprudential justification for English title: the Native Americans had no natural law property rights to the land because they had not cultivated the land (even though many tribes actually had extensive agriculture).

For most of the colonists, religious beliefs were not a pretext for a land grab. Many of the English left their native land to pursue their religious beliefs in the new country. The Puritans' desire to practice their religion (and suppress other religious views) enabled them to endure the harsh environment of New England. John Winthrop Jr.'s famous claim that the Puritans were establishing "a Citee on a Hill" combined religious and political aspirations. William Penn created Pennsylvania to protect the freedom of conscience. Many of the English sought to save the souls of the heathen natives, while others sought to eliminate them or at least move them out of the way. Thus, the early colonists believed in "Manifest Destiny" long before John O'Sullivan invented that phrase in 1845 to describe how Americans "overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." English racism also was a tool of empire. Unlike the French, who often went "native" in every sense of the word, the English remained more culturally and sexually isolated from their local rivals. They quickly embraced race slavery throughout the colonies, a system that achieved a high level of productivity at relatively little cost because the black slaves could not easily escape. The "rights of Englishmen" to representation, the common law, and the jury did not apply to anyone else.

THE STRUGGLE FOR DOMINION: WARS, SKIRMISHES, AND REVOLUTION

All the contestants paid a high price in terms of lives lost during these protracted struggles for control of the continent, which did not cease until the end of the nineteenth century. The list of atrocities, ranging from the slaughter of entire villages to isolated murders, is agonizingly long. During King Philip's War in 1675, Wampanoag Indians killed more than six hundred whites. The colonists retaliated by killing over four thousand Wampanoags—40 percent of the tribe. A century later, John Floyd described to Thomas Jefferson the hard life on the Kentucky frontier:

> We are all obliged to live in forts in this country, and notwithstanding all the caution that we use, forty-seven of the inhabitants have been killed and taken by the savages, besides a number wounded,

since the first of January last. . . . Whole families are destroyed without regard to age or sex. Infants are torn from their mothers' arms, and their brains dashed out against trees.

Thus, for almost three hundred years, the colonists engaged in a "total war" that included civilians as well as combatants.

While the colonists continued their long war with the Native Americans, they faced a more dangerous threat from the French, who were wealthy, far better organized, and generally more effective in developing alliances with the Indians. The French sought to contain British expansion by building a ring of forts along the western frontier. When George Washington, a leading speculator in western lands, tried to negotiate with the French, they told him of "their absolute Design to take possession of the Ohio, and by G— they would do it." On his return trip in 1754, Washington helped trigger the French and Indian War by ambushing a French scouting party at Great Meadows (in what is now southwestern Pennsylvania).

England's eventual victory over France revealed that one of the perils of empire is ingratitude. The British had spent a great deal of money to defeat the French and maintained the Americans should help reduce the resulting national debt. The Americans, no longer threatened by the French and their Native American allies, saw no reason to pay any additional taxes without their own consent. After all, they had spilled their own blood to help Britain expand its empire. But the controversy extended beyond taxation without representation. In 1763 the British tried containment once again by proclaiming that colonists could not move into western lands already occupied by the Indian tribes, who now were also British subjects engaging in a lucrative fur trade, and by building forts to enforce the mandate. Even worse, in 1774, the Quebec Act extended Canadian jurisdiction to the Ohio River while also protecting loathed French Catholicism. In 1775 the Continental Congress responded to these constraints (as well as the escalation in the use of force by both sides) by invading Canada, knowing that such an act made reconciliation all but impossible. One year later, Thomas Jefferson turned those actions into the enduring words of the Declaration of Independence. The king's efforts to combat colonial expansion were listed among the Declaration's complaints justifying armed revolution: "[The king] has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, &

raising the conditions of new appropriations of land."

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF AMERICAN EXPANSIONISM

Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson were geopoliticians of the first rank. In 1748 Franklin described Captain Christopher Middleton's arduous attempt to find the fabled North-West Passage to the South-Sea, a quest to facilitate the shipping of furs and other valuables to growing markets in Asia. Franklin would later fund another failed effort to find the nonexistent river route. As soon as Europeans began conquering the New World, they also started constructing a global market tying together Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Franklin understood sooner than most of his fellow colonists the need for coordination between the different colonies; his newspaper published the first political cartoon, a drawing of a snake cut into many pieces that were marked as various colonies, resting above the admonition "Join or Die." Less noticed is the snake's hissing recommendation to "Unite and Conquer." That snake would later consolidate, warning "Don't tread on me." Franklin envisioned dramatically increased colonial coordination when he drafted the Albany Plan of Union, which described itself as a "Plan of a proposed Union of the Several Colonies . . . For their Mutual Defence and Security, and for extending the British Settlements in North America." Even more important, Franklin developed the revolutionary premise that England's constitution must apply equally throughout the empire. Jefferson would transform this notion into an "Empire of Liberty" offering unlimited opportunities and equal rights to any white males who would venture into the wilderness. In 1801, soon after Gabriel's slave revolt reminded Southerners of their vulnerability, Jefferson described his hemispheric vision to James Monroe in terms intimating political, cultural, and even racial uniformity:

> However our present interests may restrain us within our own limits, it is impossible not to look forward to distant times, when our rapid multiplication will expand itself beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern, if not the southern continent, with a people speaking the same language, governed in similar forms, and by similar laws; nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface.

Jefferson, the son of a surveyor, understood the necessity of exploration as precondition to establishing title and sovereignty. He organized the Lewis and Clark expedition to satisfy both his insatiable scientific curiosity and to begin the process of establishing sovereignty as far as the Pacific Ocean.

These examples of American leadership should not obscure the role that untold thousands of unknown, individual American settlers made throughout this era to change the face of the continent. Whatever the French, the British, the Native Americans, or American leaders said or did, the pioneers relentlessly risked their lives and fortunes to explore and develop new lands. Just before the Revolution, Lord Dunmore, governor of the Virginia colony, described this force to the Earl of Dartmouth, colonial minister and secretary of state for the colonies:

> The Americans acquire no attachment to Place: But wandering about seems engrafted in their Nature. . . . In this colony Proclamations have been issued from time to time that restrain them. But . . . they do not conceive that Government has any right to forbid their taking possession of that Vast tract of Country, either uninhabited, or which serves only as a Shelter for a few scattered Tribes of Indians. Nor can they easily be brought to entertain any belief of the permanent obligation of Treaties made with those People, whom they consider but little removed from brute Creation.

Embracing rather than fighting the inevitable, Dunmore issued a proclamation granting title to new settlers who moved beyond the Allegheny Mountains and provided surveyors to facilitate development.

Heavily influenced by the economist Thomas Malthus and the French physiocrats, Madison and Jefferson believed the United States' population surge was a short-term boon that would eventually undermine their ideal of agrarian republicanism. Explosive population growth would enable the Americans to spread the "empire of liberty" across the continent. As Madison argued in *The Federalist Number Ten*, this increase protected the Republic because a large republic is less prone to factionalization and tyranny than a small one. Thus the fortuitous Louisiana Purchase from Napoleon, which doubled the size of the new nation, not only augmented American power but also protected republicanism by providing an essential outlet for continued growth. Dissenting Federalists accurately observed that the purchase also provided new opportunities for the slave economy. The two Virginians understood that there was only a finite amount of arable land. Eventually, a surplus populace would move to the cities, which would turn that overflow into a dependent, corrupt faction, vulnerable to demagoguery. However, the steadily swelling populations of numerous urban centers indicated that many Americans did not perceive their cosmopolitanism to be incompatible with republicanism. In the meantime, Jefferson required that any growth be of the right kind of people. He refused to let the new citizens of Louisiana imme-

diately elect their own representatives because they were not of Anglo-American stock, preferring to wait until enough Anglo-Americans moved into the new territories before permitting elections. Jefferson also believed (or more accurately, blindly and self-servingly hoped) that expansion would resolve the slavery issue. Somehow slavery would disappear or at least become diluted as it spread westward. He never explained how his admired yeoman farmers could easily coexist with the new plantations, which would increase the demand for slaves.

While Jefferson preferred to enlarge the country and take residual title from Native Americans through negotiations and purchases, Madison preferred conquest. Twice Americans invaded Florida, only to retreat for diplomatic reasons. American leaders started the War of 1812 with the hopes of conquering Canada. Like most American military operations during that war, the invasion failed miserably. But a diplomatic return to the status quo obscured profound victories for expansionists. Andrew Jackson had effectively crushed any residual Native American resistance east of the Mississippi before he defeated the British at the Battle of New Orleans. Madison partially rejected the traditional Republican Party antipathy to the powerful federal government that Alexander Hamilton had argued was necessary to support and protect this union; Madison supported a second national bank but vetoed a bill to build federal roads to link the newly settled lands with the Atlantic Coast.

Aided by Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, President James Monroe paved the way for continued American expansion, both formal and informal. In 1819 the Monroe administration purchased Florida from Spain. In 1821 Russia attempted to forbid all foreign shipping as far south as Vancouver Island. Bluffing brilliantly, Adams convinced the British not to invade Alaska. When the British minister asked if the Americans were planning to invade Canada again, Adams replied, "Keep what is yours, but leave the rest of the continent to us." Relying on suggestions from the British, Adams next persuaded Monroe to declare in the Monroe Doctrine that no European nation could expand anywhere in either hemisphere, a dramatic step toward Jefferson's vision of hemispheric hegemony. Having secured the northern flank, Americans turned to the Southwest. Once again, individual settlers made foreign policy on the ground by moving in large numbers into Texas and pouring into the lands west of the Mississippi, thereby guaranteeing more conflicts with Native American tribes and the Spanish. The historian

Henry Adams best described the Americans' assessment of their next opponent:

> In the end, more than half the territory of the United States was the spoil of the Spanish empire, rarely acquired with perfect propriety. To sum the story up in a single word, Spain had immense influence over the United States; but is the influence of a whale over its captors, —the charm of a huge, helpless, and profitable victim.

But the coming victories carried with them another peril facing successful empires: virulent internal dissension.

SLAVERY THREATENS THE CONSENSUS
Territorial expansion aggravated the sectional fault line of slavery, an issue swept off the table since the Constitutional Convention. When Southerners originally agreed to join the Union, they mistakenly thought their region would grow more quickly than the North. But thanks to immigration and the attractions of a free market culture, the North's population quickly outpaced the South's. The constitutional compromise giving Southerners three-fifths of a vote for every slave enabled Virginians to be president for twenty-four years; but events quickly revealed that the South could not control the House of Representatives. Consequently, the South desperately defended equality in the Senate, demanding that half of any new states, with their invaluable two senatorial seats, be admitted as slave states. In 1820 Representative James Tallmadge Jr. of New York broke the taboo by proposing that Missouri be admitted into the Union only if it banned the importation of new slaves and emancipated all slaves born there at the age of twenty-five. Tallmadge explained that slavery's "baleful consequences would surely conquer the West." Tallmadge's victory in the House demonstrated the loss of southern influence. Senator Henry Clay averted immediate conflict by pushing through the Missouri Compromise, which admitted Missouri as a slave state and Maine as a free state.

The historian Vernon Parrington offers one interpretation of the unstable situation of the United States. The nation was torn, he argues, between three rival forms of imperialism, each with its emerging utopian vision. The North was starting to create the world's second "industrial capital order." The South relied on cotton to create a "dream of expanding fields of white bolls and black slaves, reaching into Mexico and embracing the West Indies." The West preferred an individualistic society for whites only, seeking "county-seat towns where land holdings mounted in value with every new wave" (p. xiii) of immigrants. No longer seriously concerned about

external opposition, the growing country would turn on itself in a gruesome civil war to resolve this sectional competition.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Albany Plan of Union; American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; British Empire and the Atlantic World; Concept of Empire; Constitutional Convention; Declaration of Independence; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Frontier; Frontiersmen; Geography; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Missouri Compromise; Monroe, James; Monroe Doctrine; Spanish Empire; War of 1812.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Henry. *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of Thomas Jefferson.* New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1986.

Adams, Henry. *History of the United States of America during the Administrations of James Madison.* New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1986.

Bailyn, Bernard. *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.* Enlarged ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

Bradford, William. *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647.* Edited by Samuel Eliot Morrison. New York: Knopf, 2001.

Chernow, Ron. *Alexander Hamilton.* New York: Penguin, 2004.

DeVoto, Benjamin. *The Course of Empire.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Eckert, Allan W. *That Dark and Bloody River: Chronicles of the Ohio River Valley.* New York: Bantam, 1995.

Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Franklin, Benjamin. *Writings.* New York: Library of America, 1987.

Jefferson, Thomas. *Writings.* Edited by Merrill D. Peterson. New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984.

McCoy, Drew R. *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; New York: Norton, 1982.

McDougall, Walter A. *Freedom Just around the Corner: A New American History 1585–1828.* New York: HarperCollins, 2004.

Meinig, D. W. *The Shaping of America: A Geographical Perspective on 500 Years of History.* Vol. 1: *Atlantic America, 1492–1800.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986.

Parrington, Vernon Louis. *Main Currents in American Thought: An Interpretation of American Literature from the Beginnings to 1920.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

Stephanson, Anders. *Manifest Destiny: American Expansionism and the Empire of Right.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1995.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History.* New York: Dover, 1996.

Van Alstyne, Richard W. *The Rising American Empire.* New York: Norton, 1974.

Williams, William Appleman. *The Contours of American History.* New York: Norton, 1988.

Wilson, James Gordon. *The Imperial Republic: A Structural History of American Constitutionalism from the Colonial Era to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.* Aldershot, U.K., and Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002.

James G. Wilson

EXPLORATION AND EXPLORERS   Following the first tentative probings of the continent from the early sixteenth through the middle of the eighteenth centuries, a second critical period of exploration in the United States began. Whereas the earliest phase of exploration was almost exclusively commercial in nature, this second phase, although maintaining a commercial thrust, was also related to imperial ambitions for territory and to the period of scientific awakening in Europe and North America that is known as the Enlightenment. During this exploratory phase, from 1754 to 1829, the grand game of imperialism, with explorers as the chief players, was completed over most of what is now the United States, leaving the bulk of that territory under firm American control. In addition, most regions of the present–day United States were brought to the light of Euro–American science, which began to understand the continent in ways very different from those of earlier periods. The first phase of exploration of what became the United States dealt with discovery or "finding"; the second phase involved the process of exploration or "understanding," as the traditions of Enlightenment science developed. By the end of the 1820s North America was no longer thought of as an Asian promontory; the Renaissance world–view had given way to an Enlightenment geographical conception based on detailed examination of both Atlantic and Pacific coastal regions and considerable penetrations of the continental interior.

Five groups of explorers were involved in scientific, geopolitical or imperial, and economic or commercial explorations in the United States. The Spanish operated primarily out of their settlements in northern Mexico and the Rio Grande valley. Russian explorers moved down the Pacific coast from their

Eskimo Lodges on the Sea. This engraving by George Francis Lyon appeared in *Journal of a Second Voyage for the Discovery of the North-West Passage*, published in London in 1824. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

fur-trading establishments in the Aleutians. French scientific explorers investigated the coastal areas of the Pacific Northwest, and other French explorers continued, as members of British or American fur trade ventures, to push south out of the St. Lawrence valley and west out of Louisiana (the western portion of the Mississippi drainage basin) even after the cession of Lower Canada to Great Britain and Louisiana to Spain in 1763. British naval explorers explored the Pacific Northwest and the colonial British probed westward from the Atlantic seaboard and south and west from trading posts in the western Great Lakes and Hudson Bay drainage basins. Finally, Americans at the time of the French and Indian War (1756–1763) and after the War for Independence began major explorations into the territories west of the Appalachians and, by 1804, west of the Mississippi.

SPANISH EXPLORATION, 1776–1821

The lands of northern New Spain, including the internal provinces of New Mexico and Texas, served as points of departure for two principal types of Spanish explorers: the pathfinders who marked trails and geographical features across regions previously unexplored; and the explorer-colonizers who conducted explorations as part of the process of establishing temporary or permanent settlements. Between the cession of Louisiana Territory to Spain at the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 and the achievement of Mexican independence in 1821 (and thus the end of Spanish exploration in what is now the United States), both pathfinders, such as Franciscan friars Dominguez and Escalante and trader Pedro Vial, and explorer-colonizers, such as Franciscan missionary explorer Fray Francisco Garcés and Spanish army captain Juan Batista de Anza, were active in the territories that now make up the American Southwest.

The Dominguez-Escalante expedition of 1776–1777 took the friars north from the Rio Grande valley of New Mexico in search of a rumored city of bearded Indians and a northern route to California. They crossed the southern Rockies into the Great Basin (the first Europeans into that area) and proba-

bly fell just short of reaching Great Salt Lake before returning to the Rio Grande settlements. Pedro Vial was a trader employed by the government of New Spain to locate trading routes between Santa Fe and San Antonio, St. Louis, and New Orleans. Vial's several crossings of the southern Great Plains in the 1780s and 1790s provided the basis for the eventual opening of the Santa Fe Trail between that New Mexican city and St. Louis in 1821.

During the final phase of Spanish exploration, explorer-colonizers established the Old Spanish Trail linking the Rio Grande valley settlements of Santa Fe and Albuquerque with the Arizona mission settlements and the new mission-presidios along the California coast from San Diego north to San Francisco. The most prominent of the clerical explorers was Fray Francisco Garcés, who explored the Gila and Colorado River valleys in the mid-1770s and also joined Captain Juan Batista de Anza on Anza's pioneering explorations of the route from the junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers across the Mojave Desert and Cajon Pass to the San Gabriel Mission near today's Los Angeles, a route now crossed by major interstate highways and the Union Pacific railroad. Other colonizing explorations in the Upper or Alta California coastal area aimed to establish the mission-fort settlements designed to protect Spanish territory from the possible encroachment of Russian fur traders moving down the Pacific coast from the north. Sergeant Jose Francisco de Ortega discovered San Francisco Bay in 1769, and Alferéz (Sublieutenant) Gabriel Moraga explored the entire Great Valley of California between 1806 and 1819, revealing much about the Sierra Nevada, the interior river valleys, and mountain passes across both the Sierras and the coastal ranges. After 1821 and Mexican independence, Spanish explorers were no longer active in the American Southwest. But they had laid the foundation for later explorations by the Americans and eventual United States control over the Southwest.

RUSSIAN EXPLORATION, 1770–1812

Russian explorations in the United States were entirely commercially driven by the Russian fur trade, first established in the Aleutians in the 1770s. The southward push of the merchant fur traders (*promyshlenniks*) along the coast of Alaska and, by 1812, to northern California was simply an extension of the rapid Russian advance eastward across Siberia in search of sable fur. By the time these fur traders had reached the Aleutians, the seal and sea-otter trade had begun to develop and the pelts of marine mammals supplanted sable as the primary goals of the fur

trade companies. Although their explorations of (mostly coastal) Alaska were significant, the Russian explorers were overextended, undersupplied, and undermanned by the time they had begun to penetrate as far south as Vancouver Island. And although Russian commercial explorers reached northern California and established Fort Ross in 1812, that venture was never economical. The Russians' chief contribution to North American exploration was in posing a potential imperial challenge that forced Spain to colonize California and Britain and France to pursue significant explorations of the Pacific Northwest in what is now the Washington and Oregon coastal region.

FRENCH EXPLORATION, 1754–1829

Like the Russian explorers, French explorers in this period were motivated almost entirely by the fur-trade and related concerns, such as the discovery of a water route between the Atlantic and the Pacific. Even though official French exploration of the continental interior ceased with the French and Indian War, French coastal exploration in the Pacific Northwest, initially stimulated by the promise of riches in the sea-otter trade with China, was significant. But exploration along the Pacific Coast also was a part of the traditional French exploratory objective of linking the Atlantic and Pacific via a sea-level route: the illusory Northwest Passage. Finally, French exploration in the Pacific Northwest was important for the advancement of Enlightenment science. In 1785–1786 the navigator Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, was commissioned to explore the Pacific Ocean and investigate whaling and fur prospects, search for a passage between Pacific and Atlantic, and establish French claims in the "northwestern parts" of North America. Accompanying La Pérouse were a number of civilian scientists, including a physicist and three naturalists. Although Captain James Cook's explorations in the Pacific Northwest a decade earlier were more important than those of La Pérouse, for scientific purposes his expedition's work provided the most solid investigations of the coastal regions of the Northwest before American explorers of the early nineteenth century.

BRITISH AND ANGLO-AMERICAN EXPLORATION, 1754–1792

British exploration of what is now the United States during this era was, like that of official French exploration, largely maritime and commercial but with overtones of imperial ambitions to match those of the Russians, Spanish, and French. This was particularly true along the Pacific Coast, where Captains

James Cook in the 1770s and George Vancouver in the 1790s led some of the century's most important exploratory endeavors. They produced excellent maps of the coastal region of Washington and Oregon. Vancouver depicted the course of the Columbia River approximately 100 miles inland and provided representations of the great volcanic peaks of the Cascade Range. Cook demonstrated the limited likelihood of a sea-level strait connecting the Atlantic and Pacific, slowing down the British naval maritime search for the fabled Northwest Passage. Civilian scientists on both missions collected considerable amounts of scientific data, particularly ethnographic data and information on "natural history."

Other British exploration in the present-day United States was largely confined to the hunting expeditions of settlers into the woods and valleys to the west of their farmsteads and villages along the Atlantic seaboard. This "Anglo-American" exploration (to distinguish it from "American exploration" of the postrevolutionary era) was often only a brief prelude to settlement; explorers such as Dr. Thomas Walker and James Robertson in the 1750s, among the first to view the great interior river systems west of the Appalachians, were followed closely by settlers like Daniel Boone who opened up the Ohio-Tennessee-Cumberland region for American settlement. In many instances the lands between the Appalachians and the Mississippi were actually settled by frontier farmers before they were officially "explored"; one of the primary geographical tasks of the new American government was to sort out conflicting land claims over land that was already being farmed but had never been mapped by an explorer, official or otherwise. The objectives of Anglo–American exploration, like those of other exploratory groups, were to find marketable land for settlement, to collect animal skins and pelts, and to locate a passage to the Pacific and the wealth of the Orient. The first major American explorations after Independence had the same general goals.

AMERICAN EXPLORATION, 1804–1829

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the goals, priorities, and results of exploration in what was becoming the continental United States underwent a dramatic shift. The imperial clash between the British, Spanish, and Americans for possession of North America was still very much a part of the business of exploration in 1800. But by 1807, continuing through 1829, commercial exploration—primarily by representatives of the fur trade in western North America—became the primary exploratory incentive. What could be termed "imperial exploration" at this time was carried out under the auspices of the government of the early Republic. America's epic exploratory endeavor, the expedition of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, had multiple goals: commercial, geopolitical, and scientific.

The primary objective of Lewis and Clark—as stated by Thomas Jefferson, the sponsor of their expedition—was to locate a water route to the Pacific via the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. In doing so, Jefferson hoped they would also open the newly acquired territory of Louisiana to American merchants and farmers, thereby consolidating the American hold on the western interior and eventually wresting the Columbia basin and Pacific Northwest away from the British. It was, after all, an American sea captain, Robert Gray in the ship *Columbia* out of Boston, who had first discovered the Columbia River in 1792, giving the young Republic at least some claim over the lands it drained. Although Lewis and Clark succeeded in negotiating the lengthy Missouri River to its source and thence down Pacific slope waters to the Columbia and the Pacific, they failed in their objective to locate a commercially feasible water route. But they did not fail in their goal of opening the trans-Mississippi region for American commerce. Within a year of their return to St. Louis, American fur trading posts were located in the remote western interior, as far as the junction of the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers in south-central Montana.

U.S. Army explorers, such as Zebulon Pike (in 1807–1808) and Stephen Long (in 1820), explored the central and southern Great Plains westward to the Colorado Rockies with the intent of defining the southern limits of the Louisiana Territory and the boundary between the United States and the interior provinces of New Spain. Civilian explorers Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis were commissioned by the government to ascend the Red River with much the same objective. All these explorers had some measure of success in collecting new geographical information on the southern portions of the Louisiana Territory (paralleling the contributions of Lewis and Clark in the territory's northern and western reaches). But it was the fur trade explorers between 1807 and 1829 who truly opened up the West for American exploitation.

If Lewis and Clark, Pike, and other government explorers were "diplomats in buckskin," then the members of the Rocky Mountain fur trade were "expectant capitalists." Profit–seeking rather than securing political claims to territory remained the chief goal of the fur-trade explorers. Fur-trade exploration

began with John Colter, George Drouillard, and Andrew Henry, employees of Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company. From 1807 to 1810 they began to clarify the relationships between the source regions of the Missouri, Snake, and Colorado Rivers as the result of their search to establish trade relationships with tribes of the northern Plains and Rockies. Lisa's men were followed by John Jacob Astor's grand scheme to establish Astoria, an American fur–trading post at the mouth of the Columbia. A westbound party of Astor's men, led by Wilson Price Hunt in 1810, and an eastbound party led by Robert Stuart in 1812, laid down almost the entire route that would, a few decades later, become the Oregon Trail.

After these promising beginnings came a tenyear hiatus resulting from the War of 1812 and Indian resistance to American traders on the upper Missouri. Then the Rocky Mountain fur trade emerged again, this time under the auspices of William Henry Ashley and his Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Although the members of the fur trade were active in western exploration until the conclusion of the furtrade era in the early 1840s, it was the decade of the 1820s that represented the high–water mark of furtrade exploration. Chief among the fur trade explorers was Jedediah Strong Smith, who, in less than a decade in the West, saw more territory than any explorer before or after him. Smith's journeys took him from the Missouri and Platte to the Snake and Columbia, south to Great Salt Lake, across the Great Basin to California, throughout California and north into Oregon and Washington, and into the lower Colorado River country and across the Great Basin back to Great Salt Lake. Smith's manuscript map was lost, but the geographical knowledge it contained was not. American maps in the 1830s clearly demonstrated the significance of the fur trade in contributing to American knowledge of the western interior. With that knowledge came political control, and with the Louisiana Territory firmly in American

hands, the country was poised for the military expansion that followed.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Cartography; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Expansion; French; French and Indian War, Consequences of; Frontier; Fur and Pelt Trade; Geography; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; Natural History; Northwest; Spain; Trails to the West.**

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, John Logan. *Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975. Reprinted as *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest.* New York: Dover, 1991.

———. *Jedediah Smith and the Mountain Men of the American West.* New York: Chelsea House, 1991.

Allen, John Logan, ed. *North American Exploration.* 3 vols. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.

Cook, Warren. *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543–1819.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973.

DeVoto, Bernard. *The Course of Empire.* Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1952; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Goetzmann, William H. *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and Scientist in the Winning of the American West.* New York: Knopf, 1966; New York: Norton, 1978.

———. *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery.* New York: Penguin, 1987.

Lavender, David. *Land of Giants: The Drive to the Pacific Northwest, 1750–1950.* Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979.

Weber, David. *The Spanish Frontier in North America.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992.

John Logan Allen