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OF THE
New American Nation

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ENCYCLOPEDIA
OF THE
New American Nation

*The Emergence of the United States,
1754-1829*

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PRESBYTERIANS to
YORKTOWN, BATTLE OF

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

Paul Finkelman

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CONTINUED

PRESBYTERIANS Presbyterianism in early America traced its origins to the Reformed wing of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation, and particularly to the teachings of the Swiss theologian John Calvin (1509–1564). Reformed Protestants believed that God was in control, or was “sovereign,” over all of his creation; that human beings by nature were sinners or “depraved”; and that God, as an act of grace, chose to save, or “redeem,” some of his sinful creation through the sacrificial death of Jesus Christ. The Reformed tradition taught that human beings, because of their depravity, were incapable of obtaining salvation apart from a sovereign God who, before the creation of the world, predestined or elected those who would be saved and those who would be damned.

In opposition to the Roman Catholic Church, Presbyterians, like most Protestants, reduced the number of sacraments from seven to two, namely infant baptism and the Lord’s Supper, or communion. Unlike Catholicism, which taught that baptism regenerated an infant by washing away original sin, British Presbyterians believed baptism served as the infant’s initiation into the community faith in the hopes that God would regenerate the child at a later time. Presbyterians rejected the Catholic Mass, affirming that communion was a memorial of the

death of Christ, not a sacrament in which the bread and the wine actually became the body and blood of Christ.

What distinguished Presbyterians from other Reformed Protestants were their views on how the church should be governed. Unlike early New England Puritans who invested power in individual congregations, Presbyterians placed religious authority in the hands of presbyteries. Presbyteries consisted of the clergy and appointed lay representatives from a particular geographical region. A presbytery was responsible for appointing ministers to vacant pulpits, enforcing church discipline, monitoring the financial state of congregations, and educating ministers and laymen and -women. While presbyteries presided over the regular activity of Presbyterian life, they were held accountable by synods (made up of all the presbyteries in a geographical region) and, after 1789, the General Assembly (made up of all American synods).

COLONIAL YEARS

Though Presbyterians could be found throughout the British American colonies, they were concentrated in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In 1706 eight ministers, led by Francis Makemie, the so-called father of American Presbyterianism, met in Philadelphia to establish the first American presbytery. Dur-

ing its first two decades, this presbytery was faced with the task of merging two distinct forms of early American Presbyterianism into a unified religious body. The earliest Presbyterian congregations in America were made up of clergymen and settlers who migrated to the New Jersey–Philadelphia region from New England. Many of these Presbyterians were descendants of New England Puritans who had adopted a presbyterian form of church government. The other group of Presbyterians was Scots–Irish in ethnic makeup. These were Presbyterians who migrated from Scotland to Ireland and then migrated again from Ireland to America searching for new land and opportunity or else fleeing persecution under the Test Act of 1704, which prohibited all dissenting (non-Anglican) forms of Protestantism in Ireland. The Scots–Irish, or Ulster Presbyterians, would dominate the church in America well into the nineteenth century.

New England–style Presbyterians, who were prevalent in the New Jersey congregations at Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Fairfield, tended to stress personal piety and an adherence to the teachings of the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice. Scots–Irish Presbyterians, while not neglecting the importance of piety and the Bible, required that ministers subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism (1647)—a statement of Presbyterian belief that served as a theological litmus test for membership in Scotland’s national church (the Church of Scotland). These differences resulted in several controversies within the early American Presbyterian Church until they were resolved by a compromise between the two groups in 1729 called the Adopting Act.

In 1716 two new presbyteries had been formed at Long Island and New Castle, and the seventeen Presbyterian clergymen then ministering in America formed the Philadelphia General Synod one year later. With the controversy over subscription largely alleviated, early American Presbyterians now became divided over the issue of revivalism. As the first Great Awakening—an evangelical Protestant revival that stressed immediate conversion and aggressive evangelization—made its way throughout the colonies, Presbyterians debated how the church should respond to this new religious phenomenon. Some ministers, known as New Siders, emphasized the importance of personal conversion or the “new birth” as an essential element of the Christian life. William Tennent (1673–1746), the Presbyterian minister at Neshaminy, Pennsylvania, began training clergymen at his Log College to take up the mantle of this

evangelical form of Christianity. His son, Gilbert Tennent (1703–1764), the minister of the New Brunswick, New Jersey, church, traveled throughout the region informing fellow clergy members of their spiritual “deadness” apart from a “born-again” experience.

Not all Presbyterians, however, embraced this Great Awakening. Known as the Old Side faction, Presbyterians such as Francis Alison (1705–1779), who ran an academy in New London, Pennsylvania, believed that this new emphasis on immediate conversion and personal piety undermined the historic Presbyterian commitment to a rational brand of Protestantism informed by the teachings of the Westminster Confession. They criticized the Log College men for making religious experience, rather than the strict adherence to theological standards, the most important qualification for those seeking ordination in the church. In 1738 the Old Side gained control of the Philadelphia Synod and three years later expelled the New Side New Brunswick Presbytery for its continued ordination of clergymen (many of them Log College men) who did not have formal degrees from a European college or from Yale or Harvard. As a result, the nearly one hundred congregations of the Presbyterian Church in British colonial America would remain formally divided between Old Side and New Side factions until they were reunited in 1758.

The first Great Awakening resulted in an increased demand for clergymen who upheld the New Side commitments to the importance of the new birth and experimental piety. Several New Side clergymen sought to alleviate this demand by establishing a college in Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in 1746. Jonathan Dickinson, the minister at Elizabethtown and a New Side sympathizer, was chosen as the first president. Dickinson died in 1747; the second president, Aaron Burr (father of the future vice president), moved the college to Princeton, New Jersey. The College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) would be the first major institution of higher education in the mid-Atlantic region and, under the direction of New Side presidents, would serve as a bastion of eighteenth-century evangelical Presbyterianism.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

As some in the British colonies began to rethink their relationship to England after the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763), Presbyterians became some of the most outspoken proponents of American independence. Official Presbyterian pronouncements on the American Revolution stressed the defense of liberty—

especially religious liberty—against an English government which, they believed, was undermining freedom. Presbyterians understood the American Revolution in moral terms. They believed that for the Revolution to be successful, the American colonists needed to be willing to sacrifice their own self-interest for the greater good of the Revolutionary cause. Presbyterian ministers urged their congregations to confess personal sins and, more broadly, to repent of public sins that might hinder God from answering their prayers for independence and religious liberty.

The College of New Jersey at Princeton became the primary center of Presbyterian Revolutionary activity. In 1768 the college appointed John Witherspoon as its sixth president. Witherspoon transformed the college into a school focused on the training of statesmen and politicians for leadership roles in the new American Republic. During the 1770s students at Princeton (with Witherspoon's approval) engaged in a variety of responses to supposed British tyranny. They wore homespun robes at commencement ceremonies to protest the importation of British-made clothing and staged a tea party similar to the one that occurred in Boston Harbor in 1773. Witherspoon was an outspoken clerical voice in support of revolution, publishing sermons and tracts connecting religious liberty with political independence from England. He was an active member of the Continental Congress, serving from 1776 to 1782, and was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence.

With the American victory in the War for Independence, Presbyterians began plans to construct a national church. In 1780 the church maintained over 400 congregations under the umbrella of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, which had been established in 1758 after the New Side–Old Side reunion. With Presbyterian churches forming throughout the new Republic, including many in the southern states and on the frontier, administrative changes were essential. In 1789 the First General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States met in Philadelphia. The General Assembly would serve as the unifying agent for four newly designed synods—New York–New Jersey, Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas—sixteen presbyteries, 177 ministers, and 419 congregations.

THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC

Presbyterians entered the nineteenth century with a new governmental structure in place and a renewed vision for spreading their Reformed faith throughout

the frontier regions of the American Republic. In 1801 the church joined with the Congregationalists of New England in a Plan of Union designed to share the burden of missionary activity in the West. They were also influential in the early years of a new national revival often referred to as the Second Great Awakening. James McGready, a Presbyterian clergyman from Kentucky, led several religious revivals at frontier gatherings known as camp meetings. These revivals, the most famous of which was held in Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in 1801, gained a reputation for the religious enthusiasm of the participants. Reports described new converts falling down, “jerking,” and even barking under the influence of evangelical preaching. In the North, the Second Great Awakening was spread by Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875), another Presbyterian minister. Finney challenged the traditional Calvinist understanding of a religious revival by suggesting that all human beings had the potential, if they performed the correct procedures, or “measures,” to initiate an awakening of God’s people.

Like the first Great Awakening, the Second Great Awakening also bred controversy. As an increasing number of converts embraced the evangelical gospel, it became clear that for many American Protestants a conversion experience was now becoming a more important sign of authentic Christianity than rational assent to the particular confessional beliefs of a specific denomination. Presbyterian critics of the revival pointed to the 1801 Plan of Union and the ecumenical flavor of the frontier camp meetings as an example of the broad evangelical cooperation that undermined the distinctive beliefs of traditional Presbyterianism.

Moreover, Presbyterian revivalists such as Finney were advocating a theology of conversion that celebrated individual free will. The idea that human beings had the potential to choose whether to accept or reject the gospel meshed very well with the democratic values that were beginning to define the nation in the early nineteenth century, but it largely undermined the traditional Calvinist idea that individual salvation and corporate revival were the works of God, not men or women. Divisions over these issues would eventually lead to another major split in the Presbyterian Church in 1837. New School Presbyterians were those who supported the revivals and cooperation with other evangelical denominations in the spread of the Awakening. Old School Presbyterians opposed the revivals and became staunch defenders of traditional Presbyterian orthodoxy as articu-

lated in the Westminster Confession of Faith and other Reformed confessions.

Early national Presbyterians also began establishing theological seminaries. The number of ministerial students at the College of New Jersey had diminished considerably since the American Revolution, and Presbyterian leaders saw the need to develop a separate theological school designed solely for ministerial preparation. In 1811 the General Assembly approved the opening of Princeton Theological Seminary. Archibald Alexander became the first professor at the new seminary and Princeton would develop a reputation throughout the nineteenth century as a theological stronghold of Old School Presbyterianism. Shortly after the founding of Princeton, the General Assembly opened Auburn Theological Seminary in New York, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, and Columbia Theological Seminary in South Carolina.

As the Presbyterian Church entered the pre-Civil War era, it remained divided over how to preserve a historically confessional faith defined by limits, order, and subscription to the Westminster standards in an American religious culture becoming increasingly defined by individualism, opportunity, freedom of choice, and democracy. In addition to these theological and cultural differences, regional divisions over the institution of slavery would also rack the church. Many of these theological, moral, and regional disagreements would not be resolved until the twentieth century.

See also **Congregationalists; Professions: Clergy; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Theology.**

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John Fea

PRESIDENCY, THE

This entry consists of seven separate articles: *Overview*, *George Washington*, *John Adams*, *Thomas Jefferson*, *James Madison*, *James Monroe*, and *John Quincy Adams*.

Overview

The first sentence of Article II of the Constitution (1787) states, "The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." The nature and scope of the presidency depends, in large measure, on the meaning and connotations of the words "executive power." The discussion of the executive department early in the Federal Convention of 1787 resulted, James Madison recorded, for the only time during the convention, in a "considerable pause." The topic was so important, and so unsettled, that the convention seemed "unprepared for any decision on it." What was there, in the previous understanding and experience of the members, that might have caused such uncertainty about the executive? How was this unpreparedness resolved in order to form Article II of the Constitution? And how did the conduct and understanding of the first six presidents (through 1829) give shape to the office that, at the start of the twenty-first century, is generally acknowledged to be the most powerful and important in the world?

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP

Leaders, those who exercised executive power, in the eighteenth century and for ages before that, were ordinarily monarchs or chieftains who were supposed to rule in the interests of all "their" people and to be above factions, regional or special interests, and aristocratic family privilege. Instead, they were to be guided by wise moral precepts defined as natural

law, God's word and will, the mandate of heaven, immemorial custom, or some other version of higher law. The biblical prophet Samuel or his anointed King David, Pericles of Athens, the Roman emperor Trajan, Queen Elizabeth I of England, and King Henry IV of France were the often-praised and -studied exemplars in the West. Each was deemed great and good, and his or her realm blessed, because each was seen as disinterested, intent on ruling according to the welfare of the polity as a whole, eschewing factional bias, dynastic ambition, personal gain, or any other corrupt (partial, selfish) motive. Jezebel, Alcibiades, Catiline, the emperor Nero, and Richard III of England were for opposite reasons reviled as bad rulers. Thus, nearly all political philosophy and nearly all history teaching by example before the eighteenth century judged political life qualitatively by results, not procedurally by the number who ruled.

At the time of the American founding, moreover, the word "democracy" still had its Aristotelian connotations of demagoguery, mob rule, and inevitable decline first to anarchy and then to tyranny. The fondest hope for improving the lives of the people of a nation rested in a benevolent despotism of the sort upheld by Frederick the Great of Prussia or Catherine the Great of Russia. Since government could best be improved through the good character and wisdom of the ruler, much attention was given to the education of the prince who would hold power. John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other early American leaders were familiar with famous books on that subject by St. Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus, Cicero, and rather oppositely and perversely, Machiavelli. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* served the same purpose.

In the minds of those who fashioned the executive office at the Federal Convention of 1787, then, were long-admired examples of good leadership and learned works explaining how such leaders might be obtained or cultivated—as well as equally long-hallowed arguments that democracy, any sort of direct government by the people, led inexorably to opposite results. The task of the convention, and of government in the new nation, was to resolve this dilemma: Could self-government somehow be organized to achieve good government? The footprints of this question are all over the efforts of the convention to frame executive power and the attempts of the first six presidents to conduct their new office.

THE REVOLUTION AND EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

The immediate context of the quandaries over executive authority was the struggle with its exercise by King George III, his ministers, and the colonial gover-

nors that led to the American Revolution (1775–1783). When George III seemed to persist in tyrannical measures despite Patrick Henry's warning that he might thus share the fate of the tyrants Caesar and Charles I, when Lord North and other ministers manipulated Parliament to ignore utterly colonial interests, and when governors such as Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts and Lord Dunmore of Virginia prorogued legislatures and called in occupying British soldiers, the North American colonists saw arbitrary executive power as the very face of tyranny. Fear of executive power in general, and emphasis on legislative power as an antidote, were thus the monitory lessons of Revolutionary struggle. As a result, many of the constitutions of the newly independent states created very weak governors, hemmed in by councils, legislative election, and severely limited function, while the Articles of Confederation (1781) provided for no executive authority at all except that formed by statute of the Continental Congress itself and thus of course subordinate to the Congress.

Along with the widespread disgust regarding arbitrarily exercised executive power, however, a powerful tradition of respect for active, public-spirited leadership persisted in Anglo-America. It was conveyed, Alison G. Olson has noted, in a pattern of thought in England "stretching from the country gentlemen of the 1630s through Shaftesbury, the Tory writers of Queen Anne's time, and Bolingbroke, to Jefferson" that emphasized both a "country agrarian populism" and a need for patriot leadership to stand above the commercial spirit, favoritism, and factionalism (*Anglo-American Politics, 1660–1775*, p. 174). Robert Walpole, Britain's first real prime minister, was generally understood to embody this rule by parties. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, condemned him as "the Minister [who] preaches corruption aloud and constantly, like the impudent missionary of vice" as he manipulated Parliament and the king to exalt the interests of the Whig oligarchs then making Britain into the world's richest and most powerful nation. By "corruption" Bolingbroke meant not only bribery, theft, and so on, but any intention that sought, deliberately or otherwise, the selfish benefit of any person, class, or group rather than the public good; the opposite, to seek the public good, was what eighteenth-century political thinking meant by virtue, the essential quality of good government whether by one, the few, or the many.

In a tract entitled *The Idea of a Patriot King* (1738), Bolingbroke condemned Machiavelli explicitly for requiring of the prince "no more than the appearance of virtue" rather than possession of real vir-

tue and for extolling not genuine wisdom, but merely its counterfeit, cunning. Bolingbroke insisted that a patriot king would “purge . . . the crowds of spies, parasites, and sycophants [who] surround the throne under the patronage of [corrupt] ministers.” After choosing virtuous advisers, the king would “govern like the common father of his people,” as in a patriarchal family where “the head and all the members are united by one common interest and animated by one common spirit.” Such a monarch could “renew the spirit of liberty” in the minds of his people by banishing “corruption [as] . . . an expedient of government, [and] . . . set the passions of their hearts on the side of liberty and good government.” The public good and the welfare of the people, Bolingbroke explained, might come from good executive leadership that could overcome the corrupt and factional tendencies of ministerial and parliamentary government. Under such a patriot leader, “concord will appear, brooding peace and prosperity on the happy land, joy sitting in every face, content in every heart, a people unoppressed, undisturbed, unalarmed, busy to improve their private property and the public stock.” Americans connected this idealized model with their hopes (soon shattered) on the accession of George III in 1760 that he might be the patriot king who would banish ministerial misrule of the colonies. Present at his coronation in London, Benjamin Franklin hoped the new, young king’s “virtue and . . . sincere Intentions . . . [would] make his People happy; will give him Firmness and Steadiness in his Measures.” Thinking of the good such a monarch might accomplish, Franklin recalled an old Latin saying, “*Ad Exemplum Regis, etc.*,” meaning, in a full version, “the manners of the world are formed after the example of the King; nor can edicts influence the human understanding, so much as the life of the ruler.” John Adams, reading George III’s first speech to Parliament in 1761, noted his promise to “patronize Religion, Virtue, the British Name and Constitution, in Church and State, the subjects’ Rights, Liberty, Commerce, Military Merit—these are the sentiments worthy of a King—a Patriot King.” Fourteen years later, on the eve of the Battle of Bunker Hill, General George Washington scorned the redcoats as “Ministerial Troops, [not] . . . the King’s Troops,” while Sons of Liberty, beginning to shift allegiance, toasted “A patriot King or none, over the British colonies.” Abigail Adams expressed the final shift two weeks after the Declaration of Independence: “We have in George a match for a Borgia or a Catiline, a wretch callous to every Humane feeling.” Such sentiments, both the aspirations for an active, virtuous executive and the condemnation of

corrupt ones, remained powerful in the minds of Americans after the Revolution (even though George III was by then thoroughly disqualified) as they sought to reshape executive authority. Abigail Adams again expressed the sentiment writing to her husband in 1783: the nation needed “a Solomon in wisdom, to guide and conduct this great people . . . at this critical era.”

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

As the Convention of 1787 began its discussion of the executive, uncertainty prevailed. When it took up the resolution in the Virginia Plan that “a national Executive be instituted, to be chosen by the National Legislature,” James Wilson “moved that the Executive consist of a single person.” After discussion stalled for a while, one delegate supported Wilson’s motion as likely to secure responsibility and efficiency in the executive. Another opposed it in order that Congress be empowered both to elect the executive and to determine the number to compose it. After Wilson again supported a single executive to achieve “energy, dispatch, and responsibility,” another delegate proposed to “annex a Council to the Executive,” and yet another condemned a single executive as “the foetus of monarchy.” The motion was then postponed, James Madison noted, because the convention seemed “unprepared for any decision on it.”

The convention resumed debate on the executive after the contentious decision to make the states equal in the Senate had been taken. Gouverneur Morris argued that election of a single executive by Congress would “be the work of intrigue, of cabal, and of faction” and make it a “mere creature of the Legislative.” Instead, election by “the citizens of the United States” would “never fail to prefer some man of distinguished character.” Roger Sherman still thought legislative election best because “the people at large . . . will never be sufficiently informed of characters,” a point reinforced by George Mason, who declared such an election was like referring “a choice of colours to a blind man.” A few days later, after Morris, Wilson, and others had again argued that, despite Mason’s caution, election by the people, for a relatively long term, with reeligibility, was the most purely republican form of election, Madison analyzed the problem. The alternatives were election by the people themselves, by some existing body or group, national or state, or by “some special authority derived from the people.” Election by some existing authority, whether Congress, state legislatures, or even state governors collectively, was, as many delegates argued, sure to be hopelessly entangled in

cabal and intrigue, foreign and domestic, like the elections of the king of Poland or the Roman pope. After approving the idea of an electoral college as less subject to cabal and more likely to seek good characters than other modes, Madison nonetheless supported election directly by the qualified part of the people (under state law) because the Convention seemed not to countenance the electoral college idea. However, the first draft of the Constitution, presented on 6 August, returned to the earlier mode: a single executive would be elected by Congress for a term of seven years, but could not be elected a second time. With many delegates still undecided, and relatively wide powers conferred on the executive (though not to make treaties or to appoint ambassadors or judges of the Supreme Court), the convention left many questions to be resolved in the clause-by-clause debate of the draft.

In arguing for both broader powers and a more direct election of the executive, James Wilson again explained that the previous association of tyranny with a king and “really formidable” executive power was no longer relevant in a constitution where the executive was elected, directly or indirectly, by the people and was carefully restrained by constitutional authority. Under such circumstances, especially in a constitution with a powerful legislature partly “aristocratic” (i.e., the Senate), the danger of tyranny might come from it rather than the president. The presidency, on the other hand, might advocate for the people and be itself a center of the republican principle of government by consent of the governed. As the force of this understanding more and more impressed other delegates, the election and powers of the president were in the last days of the convention gradually revised to assume the configuration in the final document. Election would be by an electoral college (weighted largely in accord to population) to avoid legislative cabals. In the absence of a majority in the college for any candidate, the matter would be decided in the House of Representatives (voting by states) to avoid too much Senate power. Also, a shorter term and reeligibility were established to bring elections closer to the people. Furthermore, the president was given treaty-making and appointive powers with the Senate relegated to providing “advice and consent,” in order to enhance his standing as a republican rather than a monarchical authority. The office, though modeled in some degree on the relatively strong governors of Massachusetts and New York and even on the prerogatives of the rejected British king, was in fact perhaps the most creative part of the convention’s work, a new office for a new frame of government, resting, as “Publius” noted in

The Federalist No. 1, not on “accident and force,” but on “reflection and choice.”

ESTABLISHING THE PRESIDENCY

As the convention finished its work, it became clear that the presiding officer, George Washington, would almost certainly be the first to fill the executive office. Indeed, the delegates had often shaped its dimensions with the expectation that the Revolutionary hero before them, without monarchical ambitions, would be the first president. Though there was some worry about whether the considerable powers thus conferred would be safe in the hands of his successors—whoever they might be—Washington’s universally acknowledged patriotism, good judgment, understanding of public affairs, and republican vision were often behind the convention’s decisions. The same proposition loomed through the ratification debates: if Washington would almost surely be the first president, then anti-Federal complaints about the commander-in-chief’s powers, the veto, making appointments to office, and so on were all blunted by the question “Can Washington be safely trusted with these powers?” Alexander Hamilton’s vigorous defense of the mode of election and the powers of the executive in *The Federalist* Nos. 67–77 carries the implicit assumption that Washington would first fill the office—and the hope that his successors would learn from his understanding and conduct of the presidency. There was widespread agreement that the United States did not want a king (thanks to the reviled George III), but an almost equal agreement on wanting somehow to gain for the polity the admired ideals of monarchy: an above-party, energetic, morally respected, principled, and visionary executive, mindful of the other branches of government but nonetheless himself providing firm, active leadership.

A critical test of understanding of executive power came when Congress faced the question of removal from office: Did the Senate have to “consent” to removals as well as appointments? Or was removal, by implication, only possible through impeachment? Or should Congress, in defining each office, also define a removal procedure? Or did the “executive power” vested in the president by the Constitution implicitly leave removal to the discretion of the president? In arguing for the president’s implicit removal power, members of Congress first rejected any senatorial role in removal power as limiting and confusing necessary executive responsibility and opening the door for “cabal” and “discord.” It would “reduce the power of the President to a mere vapor,”

Representative James Madison stated. Members pointed out that while the legislative power was in Article I limited to powers “herein granted” and the judicial power in Article III “shall extend to” only enumerated cases, the executive power was simply “vested,” implying a breadth and discretion in some ways similar to the prerogative given to the British monarch, even under Lockean definitions of distribution of powers. Fisher Ames observed that “the executive powers are delegated to the President, with a view to have a responsible officer to superintend, control, inspect, and check the officers necessarily employed in administering the laws.” He should be able, then, to remove officers “he can no longer trust with safety.” Madison added that under such an understanding, with the president elected at least indirectly by the people, “the chain of dependence . . . terminates in the supreme body, namely in the people.” When the views of Madison, Ames, and others prevailed in the fashioning of the executive departments, it was clear that even Congress had in mind an exalted, responsible executive power exercised independently of partisan legislative contentions and protective of the public good—always the role of the good ruler from Plato and Cicero to Erasmus and Henry IV of France.

THE FEDERALIST PRESIDENTS

Washington sought to maintain this active, nonpartisan approach to his office, but was soon surrounded by intense conflict, especially in his own cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson. The president was appalled, and he begged his secretaries to cease. Without a willingness to subordinate differences to the public good, Washington warned, “every thing must rub; the Wheels of Government will clog,” and he feared that “the Reins of government [could not] be managed, or . . . the Union . . . much longer preserved.” Though Washington, because he came to believe Federalist policies best for the country, was himself drawn into partisan politics, he continued to resist any enshrinement of partisanship in the presidency (in contrast to presidents from Andrew Jackson and Theodore Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt and George W. Bush, who would proudly tie the presidency to extreme partisanship). In his Farewell Address (1796), ironically a form of partisanship itself, Washington warned against “the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally” and noted that already “the alternate domination of one faction over another . . . has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, [and] is itself a frightful despotism.” Instead, he urged the public to support “consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels and modi-

fied by mutual interests.” Washington began and ended his presidency believing this was the essential role of the national executive.

When John Adams became the second president in 1797, he proclaimed his

wish to patronize every rational effort to encourage schools, colleges, universities, academies, and every institution for propagating knowledge, virtue, and religion among all classes of people . . . as the only means of preserving our Constitution from its natural enemies, the spirit of sophistry, the spirit of party, the spirit of intrigue, the profligacy of corruption, and the pestilence of foreign influence, which is the angel of destruction to elective governments.

These are sentiments with which neither his predecessor nor his successor would have disagreed. Adams intended to be an active, above-party leader, respectful of the legislature and mindful of the needs of the people and in charge to defend and seek the public good. In his lifelong compulsion to list good and bad leaders, even before the Revolution he had “warmly recommended” Cicero, Demosthenes, the duc de Sully, Sir Robert Cecil, and the elder William Pitt as model public servants, while he condemned Tiberius, Iago, and Richard III as unworthy leaders—a list to which he later added Napoleon Bonaparte, Hamilton, and Aaron Burr. The distinction in every case was not mode of election nor extent of power, but rather service to the public good, not corrupt power lust, dynastic ambition, nor factional intrigue.

With these standards in mind as president, Adams retained what he regarded as honorable public servants, left over from the previous administration, in his own cabinet despite policy and political differences with them, encouraged militant patriotism in response to the XYZ affair, and most notably, sent off a peace mission in 1799 to end the Quasi-War with France (1798–1800) that, by damping war fervor in the country, probably cost him and his party electoral victory in 1800. (This and other public-spirited actions so angered Alexander Hamilton, the de facto leader of the Federalist Party, that he published, during the 1800 election, a vicious pamphlet condemning Adams so severely that it too contributed to Adams’s electoral defeat.) Long after leaving office, reading again the works of the author of *The Idea of a Patriot King*, Adams reflected that patriotism included

piety, or love and fear of God; general benevolence to mankind; a particular attachment to our own country; a zeal to promote its happiness by reforming its morals, increasing its knowledge, pro-

moting its agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, improving its constitution, and securing its liberties; and all this without the prejudices of individuals or parties or factions, without fear, favor, or affection.

Since Adams understood the president to be a patriot leader, he had defined as well the guidelines for that office.

THE FIRST REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS

When Thomas Jefferson became president in 1801, he declared, in his to-become-world-famous Inaugural Address, that “we are all Republicans—we are all Federalists,” that “though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable,” that he sought to “restore to social intercourse that harmony and affection without which liberty and even life itself are but dreary things,” and that he believed the republican government he had been chosen to lead, rather than being too weak to rule or even survive, was “on the contrary, the strongest government on earth” because of the willing support of its citizens. Though Jefferson set about to reverse or reduce some Federalist programs (for example, taxes, military preparedness, expansion of the judiciary, and the Alien and Sedition Acts [1798]) in order to create “a wise and frugal government” and “compress [its powers] within the narrowest compass [it] will bear,” he also pledged to preserve “the general government in its whole constitutional vigor.” He wrote a friend at the same time that since it was “impossible to advance the notions of a whole people suddenly to ideal right, we see the wisdom of Solon’s remark, that no more good must be attempted than the nation can bear.” Though Jefferson thus urged a certain patience in his conduct of the presidency and insisted that it be in accord with public understanding, he just as clearly signaled the president’s responsibility to discern the nation’s “ideal right” (natural law; the public good?) and to lead toward it. (Theodore Roosevelt, a century later, would make the same point more bluntly: “I simply made up my mind what [the people] ought to think, and then did my best to get them to think it” [Hughes, *Living Presidency*, p. 166].) He thought this could be done in accord with standards of “wise and frugal” government held to a “narrow” rather than an expansive sense of national and presidential power. His cabinet members (James Madison and Albert Gallatin at State and Treasury, respectively, were especially important) were generally like-minded. Administrative actions, diplomatic dispatches, and especially, leadership of Congress carried out through meetings and presentation of pro-

posals to friendly legislators, thus carried the stamp of Jefferson’s guidelines for the executive.

The signal events of his administrations, the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and the embargo (1807–1809), reveal his understanding of constitutional leadership. Jefferson believed that under a proper “narrow” understanding, Congress and the president needed a constitutional amendment to make such a purchase. He had, however, no hesitation in moving ahead rapidly to resolve the diplomatic crisis leading up to the purchase treaty and then in carrying through on it with Congress, even without an amendment (both Madison and Gallatin thought it was unnecessary anyhow); active executive leadership required such.

Then, as the injustices and depredations of the world war between France and Britain increased dramatically after the Battles of Trafalgar (1805) and Austerlitz (1805), Jefferson sought almost desperately to avoid the war in order to avert its inevitable anti-republican features: the dangerous aggrandizing of both federal and executive power. With Madison’s urging and support, Jefferson asked Congress to close American borders to trade with belligerents and to require American ships to leave the high seas where their presence seemed certain to involve them, and American naval vessels, in strife sure to mean war with Britain or France or possibly both. He and Madison saw the Embargo Act of 1807 as a peaceful way to persuade the belligerents, whom he thought needed American trade, to stop their depredations; that is, they saw it as a republican (unwarlike) means of national defense. Jefferson was quite willing to exercise huge powers, carried out by the executive branch, when he thought the common defense required it, but almost as readily he asked Congress to rescind the embargo when he saw its deeply divisive effect in the country and recognized that harsh measures were needed to enforce it. Both the divisions and the harsh measures were deeply antithetical to what for Jefferson were hallowed republican principles of public harmony and mild government.

One can understand the Jefferson and Madison administrations as divided into three periods: (1) 1801–1805, when a fortunate, relatively peaceful interlude in the Napoleonic Wars allowed the president to lead and govern in a principled but “mild” way; (2) 1805–1815, when the clamored demands of world war intruded on all efforts at republican government; and (3) 1815–1817, when Madison had the opportunity again to exercise executive power in ways he and Jefferson had designed before the war crisis. In 1809, then, Madison entered the presidency

facing desperate international circumstances with a republican, constitutional system little geared to a world at war. Saddled with a weak cabinet because of the intricacies of politics, with constitutional restraints that required deference to Congress, and with assaults from both belligerents that demanded forceful response, Madison struggled to sustain republican guidelines while also defending the nation. He gradually strengthened his cabinet, persuaded Congress to enact some preparedness measures, and exhausted diplomatic channels for peaceful resolution. Though he did not, in the style of an Andrew Jackson or Winston Churchill (or even an Alexander Hamilton), find ways to be a commanding, inspiring war leader, he managed to conduct the war, finally successfully, while maintaining the forms and spirit of republican government. French minister Louis Sérurier, in Washington throughout the War of 1812, asserted that “three years of warfare have been a trial of [American republican] institutions to sustain a state of war, a question . . . now resolved to their advantage.” Secretary Gallatin had noted the need, as the war began, to avoid “perpetual taxation, military establishment, and other corrupting or anti-republican habits or institutions,” while retired President John Adams observed simply at the end of the war that “notwithstanding a thousand Faults and blunders, [Madison’s] Administration has acquired more glory, and established more Union, than all his three Predecessors Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, put together.” Madison emerged from the war not a dictatorial republican executive, but rather an executive convinced of the need for active leadership and of the president’s authority to do so within the republican forms defined in the Constitution. With the dangers to those forms presented by Hamilton’s domination in the 1790s of the executive (and what Jefferson and Madison regarded as its corrupt influence on Congress) now allayed by fifteen years of republican experience, Madison led confidently. He proposed recharter of the National Bank, an equitable commercial treaty with Britain, a mildly protective tariff, a small but high-quality defense establishment, a national university, and a program of internal improvements—but this last only by constitutional amendment.

THE RISE OF PARTIES

James Monroe’s accession in 1817 to the presidency—deserved, he and his two predecessors thought, for his patriotism in war and peace and for his long service in government—marked the culmination in practice of the executive office’s standing above party. Virtually unchallenged entering office (he lost

only 34 of 217 electoral votes in 1816 and 1 in 1820), Monroe declared in his first Inaugural Address that “the American people . . . constitute one great family with a common interest” and hoped the nation might “soon attain the highest degree of perfection of which human institutions are capable.” He asserted his intention as “Chief Executive to . . . not be the head of a party, but of the nation itself.” His model was Washington, under whom he had served heroically in the Revolution; thus, Monroe was “the last of the cocked hats,” guiding the nation, he hoped, to peace, prosperity, and harmony. His able secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, negotiated an 1817 treaty providing that no warships or forts be on either side of the Canadian border (still in effect today), negotiated another that acquired Florida and for the first time drew a transcontinental boundary between Mexico and the United States (1819), and promulgated with British support the Monroe Doctrine (1823) forbidding expansion of European despotism in the Americas. Despite this remarkable foreign affairs record, Monroe generally was bypassed in the nation’s public life by zealous partisanship both in the legislature and within his own cabinet. Bitter sectional battles in Congress, especially over the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and incessant quarrels and maneuvering in his cabinet over the presidential succession clouded the scene at Monroe’s retirement in 1825. Noting what was going on, Jefferson wrote “do not believe a word that there are no longer parties among us; that they are now all amalgamated.” Monroe still hoped there might be “sufficient virtue in the people to support our free system of republican government” (that is, transcend the corruption of party), but Madison—no longer “sanguine” that an “engendered and embittered spirit of party” could be avoided in the United States—wrote his predecessor that he hoped only that it might be “so slight or so transient as not to threaten . . . permanent [damage] to the character and prosperity of the Republic.” After twenty-four years of earnest effort by Jeffersonian Republican presidents to fulfill a nonpartisan ideal in the presidency (and in fact, twelve years of effort by Federalist presidents before that), it was moribund in practice and under increasing challenge ideologically.

In a presidency that can only be called paradoxical, however, John Quincy Adams—child of the Revolution, son of John and Abigail Adams, master of half-a-dozen languages, the United States’ premier diplomat for thirty years, and in American public life through his post-presidential service in the House of Representatives where he was a colleague of Abraham Lincoln’s—sought doggedly to remain a nation-

al president even as all the forces around him, in the country, in Congress, and even in his own cabinet, had become aggressively partisan and sectional. His first annual message to Congress in 1825, with, as he thought, liberty won and Union assured, proposed a broad program in the public interest. He asked Congress (echoing his father) for laws to promote “the improvement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the cultivation and encouragement of the mechanic and of the elegant arts, the advancement of literature, and the progress of the sciences, ornamental and profound, . . . [including] a lighthouse of the skies” (a national observatory). The proposals, offered so earnestly and fulfilling, he thought, his duty as a republican leader above party, went nowhere, ridiculed and lost amid personal and sectional controversies seething everywhere. Virtually ignored in the White House as the political vitalities of a free and democratic nation burgeoned in all directions, Adams lost the presidency to Andrew Jackson overwhelmingly in the 1828 election.

In fact, the nature and authority of the presidency was undergoing a basic shift as the very idea of democratic leadership altered in the 1820s and 1830s. Martin Van Buren and others began to articulate a new, positive conception of party and of its relationship to presidential leadership far different from the purposes of the first six presidents. Their upholding of nonpartisanship, the new view asserted, generally had the effect of maintaining an elitist status quo against changing and more democratic ideas of the needs of the country. Instead, those who aspired to leadership, especially the presidency, should draw strength from new and diverse forces and form or work with a political party to organize and give effect to what it saw as the public good. This organization, a political party proudly called such, giving voice and coherence to the will of the people, would become a permanent, ongoing presence and would itself embody democratic processes. It would then support a president who in office would be the leader of the party, carrying out its purpose and policies; a real fulfillment of the idea of government by consent, not a counterfeit as Washington, Jefferson, and Madison would have thought. Such partisan activity would, argued Martin Van Buren, “rouse the sluggish to exertion, excite a salutary vigilance over our public functionaries, . . . [and by] the very discord which is thus produced, may in a government like ours, be conducive to the public good.” The president would be both the beneficiary of this partisan activity and the leader and perpetrator of it in executing his office. In forming what became the Democratic Party in the 1820s, in helping to elect Jackson

in 1828 as its first president in office, in supporting him while president (1829–1837), and then in succeeding him in office as the next leader of the party (1837–1841), Van Buren reconfigured the place of both political parties and the presidency in American public life. The first American presidency, from 1789 to 1829, above party in conception, was over; the second, party-based presidency, from 1829 to 1901, was beginning; and the third, active or imperial presidency, from 1901 to 1981, and the fourth, managed and less active presidency, beginning in 1981, were in the future, with signs of a return to the first, above-party conception nowhere in sight.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Government: Overview; Politics: Political Thought; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties.**

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Ralph Ketcham

George Washington

George Washington, the first president under the U.S. Constitution of 1788, was sworn into the new office on 30 April 1789 after being elected to that post, created with him in mind, by a unanimous electoral college.

Washington took unique prestige into the presidency. Since early 1775, he had been the living embodiment of American nationality. The Continental Army was the first national organization, and Washington was from the beginning its commander in chief. Washington insisted throughout the war that American military officials must defer to their nominal superiors in Congress. It is to him more than to anyone else that America owes its tradition of subordination of the military to the civilian authorities. The immortal illustration of this was Washington's voluntary surrender of his sword and commission to the Confederation Congress at the Revolution's end.

Washington also had presided over the Philadelphia convention which drafted the Constitution. As James Monroe put it in 1788, Washington's prestige had been the key to the ultimate ratification of the new federal charter, especially in his native state of Virginia—the most populous, most extensive, and wealthiest state.

ESTABLISHING THE NEW GOVERNMENT

Once elected president, Washington had his choice of all the leading men in American politics to fill positions in his cabinet and in the new federal judiciary. Employing three tests for office—eminence, geographic diversity, and support for the ratification of the Constitution—Washington selected a "who's who" of American leaders to fill the new government's top posts. Thus, his friend John Jay of New

York became the first chief justice of the United States. Others appointed to the Supreme Court included John Rutledge of South Carolina, a leading framer of the Constitution and his state's most significant politician, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania, who had played key roles both in the Philadelphia convention and in the ratification contest.

As in the days surrounding the Philadelphia Convention, Washington's foremost adviser in the early months of his first term was James Madison of Virginia, a newly elected member of the first House of Representatives. Besides drafting Washington's inaugural and first annual addresses, Madison also assisted Washington in assembling his cabinet. Madison persuaded Thomas Jefferson to serve as secretary of state and suggested his recent fellow contributor to *The Federalist* (1787–1788), New York's Alexander Hamilton, to be the first secretary of the Treasury.

The First Congress adopted several measures of enduring significance. Of most immediate importance was its creation of the major executive agencies: the departments of the Treasury, of state, and of war. Besides the heads of these agencies, the original cabinet also included Attorney General Edmund Randolph, the former attorney general, then governor, of Virginia.

Also of lasting importance was the Judiciary Act of 1789, which fleshed out the sparse provisions of Article III of the Constitution by creating a three-tiered judiciary very similar to the one that existed two-hundred-years later. Where Article III provided for a U.S. Supreme Court with a chief justice and such inferior courts as Congress cared to create, the new law established a six-member Supreme Court, at least one district court in each state, and six circuit courts of appeal.

The Judiciary Act of 1789 had two other provisions that bear mention as well. One, section 25, said that questions of federal law decided in state supreme courts could be appealed to the federal Supreme Court. Therefore, in matters of federal law the U.S. Supreme Court would have a supervisory role over all state courts, which would allow it to police the interpretation of federal law in all the state systems, thus theoretically ensuring that federal law would have a uniform meaning throughout the country. The other provision said that cases brought into federal court under federal diversity of citizenship jurisdiction would be decided according to the law of the forum state (the state in which the court sits); thus, there would be no federal common law of torts, contracts, or other everyday matters; making policy in

these important areas would be reserved to state governments.

Bill of Rights. Madison had only narrowly been elected to the House of Representatives, and that after seeing his candidacy for the Senate defeated in Virginia's General Assembly. In order to ensure his election to the House, Madison had assured his constituents that he would pursue adoption of constitutional amendments as a congressman. Thus, to the consternation of many of his colleagues, Madison repeatedly drew their attention to the idea of adopting a bill of rights. He had opposed this idea when it was bruited by moderate Federalists and anti-Federalists during the ratification contest. Yet Madison had concluded that this politically expedient step might have the positive effect of winning the Constitution the support of men who might otherwise oppose it.

Anti-Federalists, including Virginia's two U.S. senators and Patrick Henry, the eminence of the General Assembly, wanted amendments that would more carefully define and limit the federal government's powers. Madison had no interest in that, but wanted simply to offer moderate men a harmless placebo of amendments to quiet their fears on the question of the new government's threat to individual liberties. He also futilely attempted to win approval of an amendment allowing federal courts to enforce select individual rights against state governments, thus inverting anti-Federalists' hopes for amendments limiting federal power.

Ultimately, Congress referred twelve amendments to the states. Ten of those amendments were ratified in 1791, and an eleventh—the Twenty-seventh Amendment—won ratification two centuries later, in 1992. Virginia's senators expressed their disappointment in the proposed amendments, saying that they would do nothing to limit federal power. The First Congress's amendments were rarely the subject of litigation in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, and even more rarely did they affect the outcome of a case or the interpretation of a law, state or federal.

Formalities. The First Congress and President Washington were uncertain precisely how a republican government should behave. Washington, for his part, believed that he should be more accessible than was George III, yet he realized that his own fame made it impracticable for him to maintain the open-door policy of the presidents of the Continental and Confederation Congresses. One result was the famous levees, stilted social affairs held by Washington at his house in order to keep in contact with members

of Congress and local notables. If the description of Pennsylvania's sardonic senator, William Maclay, is to be believed, the levees were so formal as to serve no purpose other than making Washington and his invited guests alike uncomfortable and impressing extreme democrats with the monarchical tendencies of the new government.

For its part, Congress could not even decide how the president should be addressed. In Europe at the time, monarchs—their countries' chief executives—commonly were addressed with long strings of titles indicating God's role in selecting them to reign and the territories over which they ruled. Vice President John Adams insisted that Congress should address Washington in a similar way, to ensure that his new office, and thus the new government of which it was the most visible symbol, received the proper respect.

This seemingly innocuous, not to say trivial, matter tied up the Senate for several days. Wags referred to the short, corpulent vice president as "His Rotundity." Finally, Madison led the House in refusing to accede to the Senate's desire to give Washington a title other than "President of the United States." For both Madison and Washington himself, as the president had confided, that was enough.

HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL POLICIES

Constitutional reformers of the 1780s had desired to strengthen the central government chiefly to empower it to raise armies and taxes without the states' cooperation. The first concerns with which the fledgling government had to deal were financial. Hamilton believed that the United States needed to provide for the prompt repayment of its war debt. Since the states had amassed substantial debts during the Revolution as well, Hamilton also recommended that the Congress move to assume those debts. His goal was to concentrate responsibility for and power over those debts in the federal government.

One instrument for the management of the federal debt was to be the Bank of the United States, established in 1791, in which the federal government would be the most substantial, but still only a minority, shareholder. Hamilton believed that the United States could follow the British example in funding its debt, thus tying the economic interests of holders of debt instruments throughout the country to the success of the new federal government. Virginia's preeminent representatives, Madison and Jefferson, drove a hard bargain, however: in exchange for allowing the assumption bill to pass the House in 1790, they secured the permanent site of the federal capital on the Potomac River, Virginia's northern

boundary, and a very favorable system of calculating the states' debts that ultimately made the Old Dominion a creditor of the federal government instead of—what it deserved to be—a significant debtor.

Secretary Hamilton differed from the other significant officers of the executive branch in having been born abroad. Since he had no felt affinity for any particular state, but was instead a patriotic American, Hamilton could see the interests of America generally in a way that few other Americans of his day could. Thus, the idea of having the federal government assume the states' debts, an obvious expedient for improving the country's creditworthiness, did not strike him as especially dangerous; localism or particularism simply did not factor into his mental makeup.

Once the federal government had assumed the state debts, a question arose concerning the extent to which the government debts should be repaid. Hamilton argued in favor of redeeming the government's debt instruments at face value, because to pay less than face value likely would affect American credit adversely. Hamilton's opponents, led by Representative James Madison, called this proposal unfair, and they said that only the original holders of wartime debt instruments should be able to redeem them at face value. Hamilton called his opponent's schemes for discriminating among debt holders impractical, besides potentially ruinous to the new government's fiscal reputation, and he won the debate in Congress.

Hamilton also wanted to follow the British government in funding the government's debt—that is, in providing a perpetual stream of government income dedicated to payment of the interest on the government's debt. His opponents considered this a maneuver to give the Treasury influence over the financial markets, thus over the Congress, and argued against the idea.

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES, SLAVERY, AND REBELLION

For some other leading players in American politics, the vector of Hamilton's policies seemed dangerous. Thus, when his bank bill came before Congress, Madison stood up in the House to argue against its constitutionality. There was no clause of the Constitution granting Congress power to charter a bank, or indeed a corporation of any kind, Madison noted. Madison said that only the enumerated powers were granted. Thus, he concluded, Congress had no power to charter a bank.

When the matter came before President Washington, he expressed his doubts on the question of constitutionality. Having Madison's objections in mind, the president asked his cabinet for written opinions. Jefferson, in a classic "strict constructionist" essay, essentially repeated his friend Madison's argument. Washington passed it on to Hamilton.

In his response, which subsequently formed the basis of Chief Justice John Marshall's opinion in the crucial Supreme Court case of *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819), Hamilton spelled out the "broad constructionist" reading of the Constitution. If the ends were clearly constitutional, Hamilton counseled, and the means were not prohibited, the means were permissible. Thus, he concluded, Congress's bill to charter the bank was constitutional. Washington, who sympathized strongly with Hamilton's financial goals for the government, signed the bill into law.

Hamilton also proposed that the federal government should adopt various excise taxes as part of its fiscal plan. Among the items he proposed to tax were carriages and whiskey. Both would become significant flash points.

Lurking behind the growth of organized opposition to the Washington administration, which historians generally date to 1793, was concern about the effect of Hamilton's approach to the Constitution on the future of slavery. As early as the First Congress, southern congressmen expressed grave concerns about slavery's future in the federal Union. Virginia pamphleteer John Taylor of Caroline linked the issue to concerns about the excise on carriages.

The carriage tax, Taylor said, was unconstitutional and unjust. He rested his claims concerning the tax's unconstitutionality on Madison's reasoning in the bank bill debate: there was no express grant of power to levy a carriage tax in the Constitution, and the Tenth Amendment stated that all undelegated powers remained in the states; therefore, only the states could tax carriages. His claim of injustice reflected the tax's sectional incidence: significant planters throughout Tidewater Virginia owned carriages, he said, but only two people in the entire state of Connecticut owned taxable carriages. Thus, Congress had chosen an item possessed almost entirely by people in one region to tax. If this precedent were allowed to stand, Taylor warned, there was another type of property whose owners lived principally in one part of the country; he did not have to say that he was referring to slaves.

In July 1794, opposition to federal excises took a far less refined form. The Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania saw violence launched against

federal excise agents. In response Washington, at Hamilton's urging, amassed a force of fifteen thousand militiamen to enforce the federal law and mounted his horse at their head. Hamilton's purpose, besides cowing the opponents of what remained an experimental federal government, was to prove to European observers that the United States would take energetic measures, even use the military, to enforce its taxes.

The Whiskey Rebellion dissipated quickly in the face of Washington and, once the army had reached some distance from New York, Hamilton, but its effects were long lasting. It cemented for the administration's opponents what they had long suspected: that the Treasury secretary wanted to convert the Republic into an empire.

FOREIGN POLICY

Understanding that suspicion requires understanding the international context of the Washington administration. In 1789, the same year the new Constitution took effect, the French Revolution began. At first, Americans sympathized with what they understood to be a move toward constitutional monarchy in the country that had aided them indispensably in securing their independence. Soon, however, the French king was overthrown, then executed; his wife and thousands of noblemen and clergymen followed him to the guillotine; Christianity was outlawed in France; and the new republic attacked all of its neighbors.

The chief dividing line in American politics, namely over constitutional interpretation (especially federalism), coincided with a principled division over foreign policy. In general, advocates of an energetic federal government, like Washington and Hamilton, favored neutrality in the European wars, while those who tended to favor the idea that legislative powers had been reserved to the states favored the French.

Hamilton's advocacy of neutrality had two bases: growing revulsion with the French Revolution and recognition that the financial prospects of the new government rested on a stable relationship with Britain, America's chief trading partner. On the other hand Madison, Jefferson, and their fellows believed that America owed France a moral debt for its assistance in the Revolution, considered the treaty of alliance signed in 1778 legally binding despite France's change of government, and sympathized with French efforts to establish a republic over first the objections, then the violent opposition, of other European nations.

Hamilton did not help matters with his repeated observations, in private settings and in political gatherings (most notably the Philadelphia Convention of 1787), concerning the great merits of the British Constitution. Jefferson, on the other hand, maintained an astounding equanimity as a number of his friends suffered death at the hands of French revolutionary authorities. Vice President Adams, too, told the two Virginia senators that the United States would soon find it necessary to establish a monarchy, fanning the flames of Republican suspicion.

For Jefferson, then, Hamilton's financial measures, explicitly modeled on those of Britain, smacked of monarchism; for Hamilton, Jefferson's and Madison's opposition to the Washington administration was "Jacobinical" (after the most radical, bloodiest, most warlike faction in the French Revolution). Hamilton had his way in 1793, when the European conflict elicited Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality over Jefferson's vociferous objections. Despite the treaty of 1778, any American who assisted either side would be prosecuted. Republicans were furious.

Jay's Treaty. Reactions to the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 perfectly summed up the situation on both sides, as Jefferson brooded concerning Hamilton's militaristic intentions for America and Hamilton gloried in the opportunity to employ the federal government in intimidating lawless Jeffersonian tax dodgers. The following year, Chief Justice John Jay returned from England with the treaty that soon would be known by his name. Passed on by President Washington to the Senate in secret, then ratified in executive session, Jay's Treaty seemed to implement the program Jefferson had feared of making the United States the tail of the British dog. Americans had chafed over British restrictions on American trade and over impressments of American sailors into the Royal Navy, and the treaty that Jay brought home did nothing about those complaints. It also forswore any American intention to use differential tariff rates to coerce Britain economically—a favorite scheme of Madison's.

What Jay did achieve, on the other hand, was a firm British commitment instantly to withdraw from military bases in the Old Northwest, along with a binding mutual obligation to maintain peace in an international environment that bade fair to draw the two Anglophone countries into armed conflict. From Washington's point of view, as from Jay's and Hamilton's, the essential point was that America remain aloof from European wars for an-

other fifteen to twenty years, after which it could—to borrow a phrase—bid defiance to all the world.

The Democratic Republican opposition staged popular protests throughout the country upon learning the particulars of Jay's Treaty. Washington's acceptance of it made even him anathema to his administration's opponents. Although Jefferson and Hamilton had long since left his cabinet, only to be replaced by far lesser figures, they remained the guiding lights of their respective parties. Jefferson was happy to see the Democratic Republican clubs that supported him mushroom in the days after Jay's Treaty, and John Jay said that he could have walked from Charleston, South Carolina, to Boston by the light of his burning effigies.

FAREWELL ADDRESS

The partisan press, launched by Jefferson and Madison and somewhat effectively countered by Hamilton and his supporters, tore into Jay's Treaty. Washington, who had thought of retirement in 1792, determined that he had certainly had enough by 1796. He went to Hamilton for assistance in composing a farewell address.

That address, published in September 1796, served as a valedictory. Americans must maintain a strong union of the states, Washington wrote. Sectionalism in politics threatened the breakup of the United States, according to the retiring president. Washington also cautioned against entanglement in foreign alliances; neutrality was the best policy for a weak young country that must soon wax very strong. He also averred that the proper role of the average person in republican politics was to help in electing officials, then to let them run the country.

Washington's administration was very successful. The federal government's three branches were organized on lasting bases. The financial system established by Washington, with Hamilton's able assistance, made America fiscally stable and put the federal government at the financial center of what had always been a state-centered political culture—and would remain so for many decades to come. The Washington administration's policy of neutrality in international affairs was prudent, despite the heated insistence of Secretary of State Jefferson that America lend its slight weight to the feckless and sanguinary course of the French Revolution. Most important, Washington left office voluntarily, thus establishing a precedent that all of his successors have been bound to follow, whether they wanted to or not.

See also **Adams, John; Bank of the United States; Bill of Rights; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Judiciary Act of 1789; Madison, James; States' Rights; Washington, George; Whiskey Rebellion.**

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Kevin R. C. Gutzman

John Adams

On 1 May 1812, as the nation teetered on the brink of war with Great Britain during the Madison administration, John Adams penned a letter to his “founding brother” and former vice president Thomas Jefferson, chastising the Democratic Republican policies imperiling the moment. “In the Measures of Administration I have neither agreed with you or Mr. Madison,” Adams wrote. “Whether you or I were right posterity must judge. . . . You and Mr. Madison had as good a right to your Opinions as I had to mine, and I must acknowledge the Nation was with you. But neither your Authority nor that of the Nation has convinced me.” The two had resumed

their correspondence only a few months earlier, breaking a silence that had spanned a dozen years. During the hiatus Jefferson acknowledged to Abigail Adams that partisanship, not personality, had driven the wedge between them. "The different conclusions we had drawn from our political reading and reflections were not permitted to lessen mutual esteem, each party being conscious they were the result of an honest conviction in the other." Their warm and lively correspondence that revived over the last fourteen years of their lives testified to the competing philosophies of their presidential administrations, but also to their admiration for one another.

John Adams met Thomas Jefferson when they were delegates to the Continental Congress. Staunch advocates for separation from the crown, they served together on the committee that drafted the Declaration of Independence and joined again in Paris to negotiate the peace. Together they began and ended the American Revolution, and in 1796 they were elected president and vice president of the nation they had founded. Theirs could have been the most remarkable administration in history were it not for the partisanship and international developments of the intervening years. During the administration months passed—once even more than a year—when the two men could not speak or even write to one another.

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

During the Washington administration, for which Adams had served as vice president, Jefferson, as secretary of state, along with James Madison in Congress, had opposed the economic schemes of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, in which the federal government assumed the state's debts and funded it with a national bank. They also opposed the president's Proclamation of Neutrality during the Anglo-French War, demanding that the United States honor the Franco-American Treaty of Alliance to support France's democratic revolution as France had supported America, and the Jay Treaty, which they believed would unfairly assist the British in their war against France and tie the economic interests of the United States back to the imperial monarchy. Citizens siding with Jefferson and Madison issued petitions, remonstrances, and toasts in clubs they called Democratic Republican societies. By 1796 this opposition to the Washington administration galvanized into the Democratic Republican Party, with Jefferson at its head voicing the rhetoric of liberty and democracy while decrying monarchy and aristocracy. Devotees of Washington, including

Adams, championed the need for order that a vigorous federal government could provide. Federalists, as they called themselves, wanted to save the nation from a descent into democratic licentiousness. Adams, a Federalist, and Jefferson, a Democratic Republican, would form the only presidential administration in American history split between two parties. Partisanship, and the foreign policy that underlay it, would define the Adams administration.

In the election of 1796, Adams in republican fashion refused to campaign, and though he was a faithful supporter of Washington administration policies, he was determined to stay above the partisan fray. As vice president he had been an active member of the Senate, casting deciding votes on thirty-one occasions, most often in support of his president. Yet powerful Federalist insiders, particularly Hamilton and then Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, distrusted Adams. Hamilton was the spokesperson for a conservative wing of the party known as High Federalists, who feared the expanding democratic threat of the French Revolution, demanded closer economic ties with Britain, and called for the formation of a permanent, professional fifty-thousand-man standing army. Some High Federalists also clamored for war with France. Although Adams supported the Jay Treaty, he was suspicious of "standing armies" and favored the "wooden walls" of naval protection. In the election Hamilton and Pickering worked behind the scenes to support rival Federalist candidate Thomas Pinckney from South Carolina. Although Adams secured enough electoral votes to narrowly defeat Democratic Republican rival Thomas Jefferson as well as Pinckney, the split in his party would dog his presidency.

TENSIONS ABROAD AND AT HOME

When Adams took office on 4 March 1797, the French navy was busy attacking American commercial vessels in the Atlantic and the Caribbean in retaliation for the Jay Treaty. This undeclared conflict was known as the Quasi-War. In February the French had refused to receive the American diplomat Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Adams's cabinet called for stern action. Adams had retained the four department heads from the Washington administration: Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, Secretary of Treasury Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of War James McHenry, and Attorney General Charles Lee. The first three were High Federalists who took marching orders from Alexander Hamilton. But Hamilton wanted to avoid war and favored the dispatch of a so-called Extraordinary Commission to negotiate

with France, whereas Pickering and Wolcott thought such a move would tarnish the national honor. It was one of their few disagreements.

In May Adams addressed the Fourth Congress and called for a vigorous preparation for defense and for negotiations. Over the summer, Federalists C. C. Pinckney and John Marshall of Virginia, along with Democratic Republican Elbridge Gerry, left for France to bargain for peace. Meanwhile, Congress struggled over the nature of defensive measures. The president and his moderate congressional allies, known as Adams Federalists, favored a massive and expensive naval program. High Federalists demanded even more expensive and dangerous plans for a standing army and war, and Democratic Republicans pushed for less expensive fortification of ports and harbors and at least neutral trading relations between France and England. What resulted was a compromise combination of the three visions. Congress approved the funding of the three warships *United States*, *Constitution*, and *Constellation*, approved an act to fortify the country's ports and harbors, authorized private vessels to arm themselves for protection against French predators, and consented to call the states to be ready to supply eighty thousand volunteers for armed duty in the event of war. All this came at a cost. Treasury Secretary Oliver Wolcott drafted reports to suggest methods of taxation for Congress to consider. Congress passed a stamp tax in the summer of 1797, an indirect tax on legal papers and documents relative to international trade, and began discussing the implementation of a direct tax on the property of U.S. citizens to fund a \$6 million loan from the Bank of the United States.

During this time the president and vice president stopped communicating. Jefferson vehemently disagreed with the borrowing, taxing, and militarizing policies; the disagreement would only intensify in 1798 when word came that the French Directoire, the five officials who governed France from 1795 to 1799, refused to receive the American Extraordinary Commission without a payment of tribute, a bribe demanded by three French officials identified in code as X, Y, and Z. When news of the so-called XYZ affair broke in March in the Federalist press, Democratic Republicans dismissed it as Federalist propaganda intended to fan the flames of war, and they demanded release of the "XYZ Dispatches." Adams complied in a 19 March address to Congress, and much of the American public responded with outrage.

In Congress, High Federalists clamored for war and an army, but the president and his moderates, working with Democratic Republicans, staved them

off. They created a provisional army of ten thousand men, about half the size Hamilton wanted, and at Adams's instigation they created the Department of the Navy and approved funds to raise his "wooden walls." All told, the mostly naval defense measures of the Fifth Congress cost over \$10 million, more than 60 percent of the budget and almost \$4 million more than all other normal expenditures for the year. To fund these measures Congress passed and Adams signed the Direct Tax Act, the federal government's first attempt to lay direct levies on the property of its citizens, their lands, houses, and slaves.

NATIONAL SECURITY LEGISLATION

Congress passed and Adams signed other national security legislation. The Naturalization Act extended from five to fourteen years the length of time necessary for immigrants to naturalize, and the Alien Act and Alien Enemies Act gave the president the authority to deport legal and illegal enemies at his own discretion. The Sedition Act, prohibiting the utterance or publication of "any false, scandalous, or malicious writing . . . against the government of the United States or the President . . . with intent to defame . . . or to bring them into contempt or disrepute," was perhaps the darkest moment of Adams's presidency. Although clearly an affront to the First Amendment rights of "freedom of speech" and "freedom of the press," the law did, for the first time, admit truth as a defense. Many Democratic Republicans went along with these laws, collectively known as the Alien and Sedition Acts, though some like Jefferson foresaw that the Federalist-dominated Congress and administration would use the laws as political clubs to thump their partisan adversaries. Indeed, Federalist prosecutors zealously prosecuted Democratic Republican newspaper editors to silence their critics. Hamilton had agreed with the Alien laws but worried that the Sedition Act could create a partisan backlash that might dash his hopes to build his army. He was right.

CLASHING POLICIES AND PERSONALITIES

In the fall of 1798 Adams worked feverishly to avoid war with France and, against the near unanimous advice of his cabinet, sent a second delegation of three Federalists, the Ellsworth Commission, to negotiate peace. Democratic Republicans were pleased with the overtures for peace but concerned that they had no representation on the commission. Furthermore, in response to Federalist prosecution of the Sedition Law, Jefferson vehemently attacked the president and his party by authoring the Kentucky Resolu-

tions, a series of resolves advocating the states' right to nullify federal laws violating the precepts of the Constitution, and calling on other states to ratify them and follow suit. Madison helped author the Virginia Resolutions, less strident measures appealing to states for a nationwide petition campaign to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. Most states rejected the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, but petitions with thousands of signatures poured into Congress from all across the nation demanding repeal of the acts.

Meanwhile, Adams had appointed George Washington to lead the Provisional Army, and Washington, who had no desire to take the field, suggested Alexander Hamilton as his second in command. Adams, fearing Hamilton's zeal to create an army, instead appointed his son-in-law. Washington and McHenry responded with outrage, and Adams appointed Hamilton under pressure. Adams's dispatch of the Ellsworth Commission was meant in part to undercut Hamilton's military ambitions.

But Hamilton would get the chance to flex the muscle of his "New Army" in the winter of 1799, when Pennsylvania German farmers—who raised liberty poles, burned mock copies of the Alien and Sedition Acts, petitioned for repeal, and opposed the professional army—obstructed the assessment of the Direct Tax on their lands and houses less than fifty miles from the nation's capital in Philadelphia. When a federal marshal arrested and jailed some of the farmers in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, an armed force of four hundred led by Revolutionary War veteran John Fries first offered bail and then threatened violence to secure their release on 7 March 1799. President Adams issued a proclamation demanding that the insurgents "cease their treasonable activities," and he authorized the activation of the "Eventual Army," a law he had signed five days earlier to federalize state militia in the event of a French invasion or French-inspired insurrection. Secretary of War McHenry, acting on advice from Hamilton, overstepped the president's order and added Provisional Army troops to the volunteer force. Adams, as was his custom, had withdrawn to his home in Quincy, Massachusetts, and left his secretaries to manage the country. In April thousands of soldiers were mobilized in and around the Delaware and Lehigh River valleys. Scores of resisters were arrested and charged with sedition and obstruction of process. Taking the cue from the president's proclamation, Federalist prosecutors charged John Fries and two others with treason, and after two sensational trials convicted and sentenced them to death.

Following Fries's Rebellion Adams conducted his own investigation and determined that the offenders were guilty only of a "most unreasonable riot 'n rescue" and were not traitors deserving of the rope. On 21 May 1800, following the lead of his predecessor (Washington had pardoned those convicted during the Whiskey Rebellion), Adams, against the unanimous advice of his cabinet, issued full pardons to all convicted. Pickering and McHenry railed against the president; he fired them both. Hamilton believed that the move was politically calculated to win Democratic Republican votes in the fall, and that there was a "coalition" between Adams and Jefferson in which the two planned to reverse positions after the upcoming election, an unfounded charge. Hamilton decided to cut his losses with the Adams Federalists and worked to elect the rival Federalist candidate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Hamilton published a twenty-seven-page letter, "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams," excoriating the president for "deviating from the high road of Federalism" with his resistance to the army, his dispatch of the Ellsworth Commission, his firing of Pickering and McHenry, and "the pardon of Fries . . . the most inexplicable part of Mr. Adams' conduct." In the election, Democratic Republican candidates Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr tied for first place in electoral votes, shutting the Federalists out of the executive office once and for always. The House of Representatives would decide for Jefferson in what Democratic Republicans called "the Revolution of 1800." It took thirty-six ballots and concluded just two weeks before the scheduled inauguration.

THE FINAL YEAR

Adams's last year in office was one in which he could take pride. In February 1799, despite critics' fears that he would encourage slave uprisings at home, he received a representative from the new republic of Haiti, which had just overthrown French rule in a slave insurrection. Of great importance to Adams was his stewardship of the United States Navy; he also in this year signed the bill creating the Library of Congress and became, when the capital moved to its current site, the first resident of the President's House, later called the White House.

In signing the controversial Judiciary Act of 1801, he doubled the number of circuit courts to six and increased the power and independence of the federal judiciary. Democratic Republicans claimed that Adams rushed to appoint Federalists to the court before he left office. He appointed numerous men to local offices in the newly created federal city, includ-

ing William Marbury as a justice of the peace. Jeffersonians called all these appointments “midnight judges.” Secretary of State Madison’s refusal to honor Marbury’s appointment not long afterward led to the Supreme Court decision *Marbury v. Madison*. Under Chief Justice John Marshall, an Adams appointee whom Adams called his “gift” to the American people, the Court further increased the power and independence of the judiciary by establishing the precedence of judicial review.

To Adams, no achievement surpassed the news that he received on 7 November 1800 from the peace convention at Mortefontaine. A treaty with France had been negotiated a month earlier. By remaining a president above party, Adams had kept the nation at peace, rebuffed the military machinations of the Hamiltonians, and yet still provided for the nation’s security. Although Jefferson later pardoned all those prosecuted under the Alien and Sedition Acts, secured the repeal of the Judiciary Act, and dismantled the Federalists’ tax structures, Adams believed that he was leaving the country better than he found it, “with its coffers full” and “with fair prospects of peace with all the world smiling in its face, its commerce flourishing, its navy glorious, its agriculture uncommonly productive and lucrative.” He left Washington at 4:00 A.M. on the morning of 4 March 1801, refusing to witness Jefferson’s inauguration and missing his successor’s famed pronouncement that “we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists.”

More than a decade later, with both of their presidential administrations behind them, Adams and Jefferson resumed their correspondence and their friendship in a series of letters that are perhaps the most instructive debates about the philosophy of republican and democratic forms of government ever recorded. In one of his last letters to Adams, Jefferson referred to himself as Adams’s “amicissimi,” his dearest friend, to which Adams replied that he would be Jefferson’s “friend to all eternity.” On 4 July 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of their Declaration of Independence, Jefferson and Adams died within hours of one another. It was reported that Adams, unaware that his colleague had preceded him in death, uttered, among his last words, “Thomas Jefferson survives.”

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1796; Election of 1800; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Fries’s Rebellion; Hamilton, Alexander; Jefferson, Thomas; Quasi-War with France;**

Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Washington, George; XYZ Affair.

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Paul Douglas Newman

Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson’s inauguration as the third president on 4 March 1801 marked the first successful transfer of power in the new nation’s history. The previous Federalist administrations were dominated by proponents of “energetic” national government, including department heads appointed by George Washington (1789–1797) and kept in office by his successor John Adams (1797–1801). As the candidate of the increasingly well organized Republican opposition, Jefferson promised a radical transformation of men and measures. Incumbent Federalists, anticipating a massive purge, warned that Jefferson’s election would undercut their state-building efforts, unleashing centrifugal forces that would destroy the Union. The new president signaled a moderate course in his conciliatory First Inaugural Address, however, and his performance in office reassured most rank and file Federalists that the federal regime would survive.

The tie in the electoral college between Jefferson and his putative running mate, Aaron Burr of New York, set the stage for the transfer of power. Before passage of the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution in 1804, votes for president and vice president

were not distinguished; because Republican electors, anxious to secure their fragile interstate alliance, failed to withhold one of Burr's votes, the two candidates each tallied seventy-three votes. When, as the Constitution required, the election was thrown into the lame-duck, Federalist-controlled Sixth Congress, Federalists sought to exploit the impasse by cutting a deal with Burr or gaining concessions from Jefferson on Federalist officeholders. While the outcome remained uncertain through thirty-five ballots, rumors circulated that Jefferson's enemies planned to steal the election and thus thwart the people's will. By raising the specter of a High Federalist coup, the electoral crisis of 11 to 17 February—finally resolved by Jefferson's election on the thirty-sixth ballot—underscored the moderation of the new Republican administration. Jefferson's most obdurate opponents finally capitulated, recognizing that their further resistance would jeopardize the survival of the regime they so ostentatiously sought to preserve.

PARTISAN PRESIDENT

Jefferson's status as party leader proved crucial in smoothing the transition. The new president demanded unswerving loyalty from his subordinates on the basis of subscription to party principles, the "federal and republican" values he sketched out in his Inaugural Address. Jefferson would thus eschew the more personal mode of leadership that secured support for the great Washington—but not for Adams—and the "corrupt" appeals to personal interest that marked Alexander Hamilton's tenure as secretary of the Treasury (1789–1795). Jefferson's new cabinet, led by his close political ally James Madison at the State Department and Albert Gallatin, a leading Pennsylvania Republican, at Treasury, epitomized the new regime of principled partisan "friends." Madison and Gallatin remained in place through both Jefferson administrations, providing stability and continuity that had eluded preceding Federalist administrations. (Less important appointees, such as Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts at the War Department, also stayed the course with Jefferson.)

The demands of party loyalty were more modest at lower levels of the bureaucracy and at a greater distance from Washington. On one hand, Jefferson had to satisfy demands of party functionaries for a share of the loaves and fishes that had long been denied them; on the other, it made sense to placate suspicious Federalists and recruit as many as possible into the Republican coalition. Jefferson's policy therefore was to purge Federalist officeholders who would not trim their sails, relying on the resulting

vacancies to provide his followers with a fair share of federal patronage. This prudent approach could not make everyone happy: some disgruntled Federalists believed that Jefferson had (at least tacitly) agreed during the electoral crisis to leave the bureaucracy largely intact, and Republican loyalists were distressed to see so many of their former enemies still in office. But Jefferson succeeded in keeping most of his troops in line while preempting the development of an effective Federalist opposition party.

The most serious challenge to the Republican ascendancy came from entrenched Federalist judicial appointments who were beyond the new president's control and therefore immune to his emollient appeal. The Republican Seventh Congress moved quickly to repeal the Judiciary Act of 1801, a blatant attempt by lame-duck Federalists to secure control of the judiciary by reducing the number of Supreme Court justices to five (so preempting Republican appointments) and establishing sixteen circuit courts, with federal judges and other personnel (the "midnight appointments") named by the outgoing Adams administration. Jefferson and his congressional followers also launched impeachment proceedings against the most obnoxiously partisan (or incompetent) federal judges, including John Pickering of New Hampshire (convicted and removed from office in March 1804) and Supreme Court judge Samuel Chase of Maryland (acquitted in March 1805). The outcome of the Republican war against the judiciary was ambiguous: Chief Justice John Marshall of Virginia (Jefferson's distant cousin) and his Federalist-dominated Court survived but kept a low profile, avoiding further risky political confrontations. For his part, Jefferson remained deeply hostile to an undemocratic and unresponsive Court that would remain a bastion of Federalism—and a threat to states' rights—long after Jeffersonian Republicans had consolidated their control over the rest of the federal government. The war against the judiciary revealed the limits of Republican party-building, thus sustaining the ideological animus against counterrevolutionary enemies that inspired Jeffersonian oppositionists in the 1790s. The much exaggerated threat of the Marshall Court served to counter centrifugal tendencies within an increasingly tenuous Republican coalition that may have been too successful for its own good.

Jefferson was most successful managing Congress during his first term when the threat of a Federalist revival remained most compelling. Jefferson's "friends" in Congress—including Virginians John Randolph, William B. Giles, and Wilson Cary Nicho-

las, and Caesar Rodney of Delaware—kept Republican troops in line as they orchestrated majorities for administration measures. Jefferson led with a light hand, reinforcing commitment to party principle by cultivating his political friends and promoting the inspiring fiction that the administration truly represented—and spoke for—the American people. Jefferson’s famous White House dinner parties where he entertained guests with fine food and wine and dazzling conversation strengthened bonds between Republican congressmen and the administration while neutralizing—or at least blunting the edge of—hostile Federalist partisans. Strengthening the link between the executive and the legislature served simultaneously to limit, though not altogether preempt, the emergence of hostile Republican factions in Congress. High turnover in Congress also mitigated against factionalism, as did the tenuous links among highly volatile Republican factions in the states.

The key to Jefferson’s success was a unified cabinet. Jefferson dispensed with weekly cabinet meetings, thus minimizing conflict and collusion among his subordinates. Department heads’ primary relationship was with Jefferson, not with cabinet colleagues. Secretaries were thus less likely to combine to influence, or undermine, Jefferson, and they were also secure against the kind of humiliation Jefferson had experienced at Hamilton’s hands during his unhappy years in Washington’s cabinet (1789–1793). Jefferson’s Circular Order of 6 November 1801 was important in setting up procedures that guaranteed good behavior and preempted ministerial turf wars. Directing all executive correspondence to flow through his secretaries to his own desk, Jefferson could be assured that his administration would speak with a single, unified voice. Ideological and political harmony meant that department heads enjoyed a high degree of operational autonomy within their respective spheres; dealing directly with the president, they were in turn drawn into his widening circle of political friends, reinforcing their loyalty to Jefferson and thus participating in his imaginative identification with the American people.

FEDERALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

Jefferson did not dismantle the administrative apparatus—including the first Bank of the United States—established by his predecessors, but he did reverse strong Federalist tendencies toward political centralization and intrusive federal governance. Jefferson eliminated the controversial direct taxes that had spurred Republican mobilization in the late 1790s and allowed other emergency measures

adopted by the Federalists during the war scare with France to lapse. Import duties continued to provide the bulk of federal revenues, but Treasury secretary Gallatin now used them to pay down the consolidated Revolutionary War debts, which—despite major expenditures such as \$15 million for the Louisiana Purchase—were reduced from \$83 million at Jefferson’s inauguration to \$57 million at the end of his second term. Taking advantage of a brief interval of peace during the Napoleonic Wars, the administration economized on defense and scaled back on the new nation’s diplomatic establishment.

Fearful Federalists imagined that Jefferson, the “Jacobin” atheist, would follow the radical lead of the French revolutionaries in revolutionizing American society. But despite his well-known Francophilia, Jefferson had always had reservations about the French Revolution, particularly concerning its destruction of provincial liberties and consolidation of authority in a powerful central government. Jefferson’s goal as president was to redress the balance between federal and state governments that the Federalist centralizers, like the French, threatened to destroy. Jefferson and Madison defined the proper role of the states against federal encroachment in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the “Principles of 1798” that became the Republicans’ creed. But if the sovereign states had their own legitimate sphere of authority, the federal government was sovereign within its own domain, notably in providing for collective security. Relations among the states—the character of the federal Union itself—remained ambiguous in the Jeffersonian scheme. In theory, the Union was consensual and noncoercive: the states were drawn together by shared republican values and common interests. But the theory was tested when Jefferson’s embargo on foreign commerce (1807–1809) imposed unequal burdens on different parts of the country. The great question for Jeffersonian federalism was whether the spheres of state and federal authority could be clearly defined and secured in practice.

Invoking the memory of the Americans’ victory over Britain in the Revolution, Jefferson called the United States “the strongest government on earth” in his Inaugural Address. Jefferson’s faith in the American people’s ability to mobilize against any external threat justified demobilizing the conventional navy, relying instead on a new generation of “gun-boats” for a first line of defense. Jefferson also authorized the establishment of a new military academy at West Point, New York, to expedite mobilization in the event of any future land war. He had no doubts

about the federal government's constitutional authority over war and peace, nor about his own role as commander in chief. If, in the absence of any immediate foreign threat, the national interest was best served by scaling back on defense expenditure, when a clear and compelling interest seemed to be at stake Jefferson did not hesitate to fight and spend. Certainly he was willing to stretch the definition of "defense" when he launched a naval campaign in the distant Mediterranean in response to the depredations of the Barbary states on American merchant vessels. Jefferson's bold strike led to a peace treaty with the pasha of Tripoli in June 1805, though Americans continued to pay tribute to Algiers, Morocco, and Tunis for the next decade.

Jefferson's greatest accomplishment in his first term, the completion of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty—signed by American negotiators James Monroe and Robert R. Livingston in Paris on 2 May 1803 and confirmed by the U.S. Senate on 20 October—also demonstrated his readiness to act decisively in the national interest. The Purchase accelerated a process of territorial expansion—adding 828,000 square miles and doubling the nation's size—that set the stage for the emergence of the United States as a continental and hemispheric power. But Jefferson's immediate concern was defensive: the prospect of a strong French presence at the mouth of the Mississippi and the volatility of loyalties in its vast hinterland threatened the survival of the American Union. The first law of nature, self-preservation, demanded decisive action. Jefferson's misgivings about Louisiana focused on incorporating "foreign" territory into the Union without violating a strictly construed federal Constitution: Jefferson's robust conception of executive authority over foreign affairs thus seemed to come into conflict with federalism. Heeding Gallatin and congressional advisors, Jefferson suppressed his scruples, recognizing any delay would give Napoleon the opportunity to change his mind and Federalists in the Senate the opportunity—and the arguments—to defeat the treaty.

SECOND TERM

The successful outcome of the Louisiana crisis led directly to Jefferson's landslide victory in the 1804 presidential election, with New York's George Clinton now taking Burr's place as vice president. Jefferson and Clinton amassed 162 of 176 electoral votes in the contest against Federalists Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York: in New England, the Federalist heartland, only Connecticut held out against the Republican juggernaut.

Jefferson sought to cement the new Republican ascendancy in New England by actively promoting and defending the region's mercantile interests, embracing a broad conception of "neutral rights" when the Napoleonic Wars resumed and American shipping was under assault from both the British and the French. As depredations mounted and diplomatic efforts to protect American interests failed, Jefferson initiated a ban on all foreign shipping in his Embargo Act, effective 22 December 1807. Jefferson's motives remain ambiguous: certainly he hoped that the embargo, by forcing concessions from combatants desperate for American staples (and increasingly reliant on American shipping) would be an alternative to war; but an embargo could also signal a determination to prepare for war. In 1812 Jefferson's successor, James Madison, led the United States into another war with Britain—for which the nation was woefully unprepared. Meanwhile, the embargo wreaked havoc in mercantile centers, particularly in New England, raising demoralizing questions about the costs of commercial warfare and reviving sectional tensions. Jefferson's quixotic effort to avoid or postpone war led to draconian enforcement measures that subverted the rights of local and state governments and jeopardized individuals' civil liberties. Enforcing the embargo was the moral equivalent of making war, and war—by creating a large military establishment and expanding executive authority—threatened to subvert the federal and republican principles that Jeffersonians had sought to vindicate in their struggle against Federalism.

The success of Jefferson's first term, culminating in the Louisiana Purchase, contrasts markedly with an increasingly troubled and politically incoherent second term. In both cases, foreign affairs were determinative, suggesting that it would be a mistake to give the third president too much credit or blame for developments beyond his control. A second-rank neutral power on the periphery of the European balance of power could hardly hope to shape the outcome—or avoid the implications—of the Napoleonic Wars. As Federalist critics (and some Republicans) argued, an earlier accommodation with Britain might well have been prudent: surely the War of 1812 could have been avoided. But though Jefferson and his Republican successors squandered considerable political capital, particularly in the commercial Northeast, they continued to command the loyalties of the majority of patriotic Americans across the continent. The Republicans successfully articulated a new political consensus: the federal government would rule with a light hand (in peacetime at least), state governments would vigorously promote inter-

nal improvements and economic development, and ordinary (white) American men would pursue happiness according to their own lights. The measure of Jefferson's success was the perpetuation of the Republican ascendancy with the transfer of authority to his lieutenant Madison in 1809 and then to Monroe in 1817. The botched Quasi-War with France in the late 1790s led to Jefferson's "Revolution of 1800." The foreign policy failures of Jefferson and his successors gave Federalism a lease on life in various parts of the country but did not lead to serious challenges to the Republican regime.

See also **Adams, John; Barbary Wars; Constitution: Twelfth Amendment; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Embargo; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Influences: Napoleon and Napoleonic Rule; Federalism; Federalist Party; Federalists; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Marshall, John; Quasi-War with France.**

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Peter S. Onuf

James Madison

James Madison took the oath of office as the fourth president of the United States on 4 March 1809. During his presidency Madison worked with a fractious majority party in Congress, which created challenges for a president who believed that the legislative

branch, not the executive, should predominate in a popular government. The British government, too, caused problems for Madison, engaging in a war with the United States from 1812 to 1815. While Madison's leadership was suspect at times, by the end of his administration the nation was more secure than it had ever been. The former president John Adams summed up Madison's presidency by writing that "notwithstanding a thousand Faults and blunders, his Administration has acquired more glory, and established more Union, than all of his three Predecessors, Washington, Adams and Jefferson, put together." Madison served two full terms as president and retired to his Virginia estate in 1817.

EARLY CHALLENGES

Madison came to the presidency with impressive credentials. He had been an architect of the Constitution, the author of the Bill of Rights, an adviser to President George Washington, a founder of the Democratic Republican Party, and Thomas Jefferson's secretary of state. Jefferson's support for Madison secured his nomination in a congressional caucus. In turn, this nomination practically guaranteed Madison the presidency, as the rival Federalist Party was comparatively weak. Madison won 122 electoral votes in 1808, while the Federalist Charles Cotesworth Pinckney garnered only 47.

Challenges to Madison's leadership arose even before he assumed office. A small group of senators objected to his preferred nominee for secretary of state, Albert Gallatin. Instead of alienating them by nominating Gallatin, Madison accommodated the group. He retained Gallatin as secretary of the Treasury, where he had served President Jefferson, and appointed Robert Smith, the brother of the group's leader, to be secretary of state.

The appointment of Robert Smith turned out to be a serious mistake. Smith was neither a capable administrator nor was he loyal to Madison. In early 1811 Gallatin threatened to resign if Madison did not fire Smith, and Smith undermined Madison's foreign policy by discussing the administration's diplomatic strategy with the British. Madison relieved Smith of his duties in March 1811 and selected James Monroe as his successor. Smith promptly published a scathing pamphlet denouncing Madison. The pamphlet's tone was so harsh that it discredited Smith and increased sympathy for the president.

The most troubling issue facing the nation as Madison took office was the long-standing tension with Great Britain. Britain had blockaded Europe to prevent trade with nations at war with it. Madison

understood international law to give neutral nations like the United States the right to trade with anyone, even nations at war. The British navy also harassed American vessels, insisting that some American sailors were deserters and forcibly taking them from American ships. The United States placed an embargo on Britain in 1807 to force it to recognize American rights on the high seas, but the embargo hurt the domestic economy more than Britain's. It also heightened sectional tensions because it disproportionately harmed the shipping-oriented economies of the northeastern states.

That this "republican" attempt at peaceful coercion was not working disturbed Madison. He was, however, eager to improve relations with Great Britain. He seemed to have a willing partner in the British envoy David Erskine. Madison and Erskine concluded a tentative agreement in the month Madison took office: the embargo would be lifted and American vessels would not be searched nor their goods seized on the high seas. Unfortunately, when the terms of the agreement reached England, it was rejected as too generous. Many Americans interpreted this rejection as another affront. The British seemed unwilling to accept the United States as an equal.

With the collapse of the Erskine agreement, Madison advocated closing American ports to both British and French ships while still allowing American ships to carry goods to and from the United States. Congress did not agree to the proposal, but in May 1810 it passed Macon's Bill No. 2, which gave the president power to impose nonintercourse on either France or Great Britain if one nation lifted its restrictions on American shipping and the other nation did not. The French emperor Napoleon saw an opportunity in this policy. He pledged to lift restrictions, expecting Britain not to respond in kind. Napoleon hoped to provoke an active break in British-American relations. His gamble succeeded. In November 1810 Madison declared that all commerce with Britain would cease. France did not abide by its pledge, but by the time the Americans realized this, the United States was already heading toward war with Great Britain.

THE WAR OF 1812

In November 1811 Madison called for the nation to prepare its military for war, something he and Jefferson had scrupulously resisted for a decade. To pay for increased military expenditures, Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin favored reauthorizing the national bank, raising tariffs and other internal taxes, and borrowing the remainder. Congress voted to add

twenty-five thousand troops to the army (Madison had asked for ten thousand) and to raise revenue almost exclusively through borrowing. Despite the problematic state of both military and financial preparedness, congressional leaders increasingly pressed for war. When Madison was sure diplomacy had failed, he suggested that Congress declare war against Great Britain, which he already believed to be at war with the United States. Most northeastern legislators were against the declaration, but they were outvoted. On 18 June 1812 the nation went to war with Great Britain for the second time.

The War of 1812 was fought on three fronts. The most action occurred on the United States's northern frontier. Madison hoped to invade British Canada and either take possession of it or use it as a bargaining chip. This hope proved to be naïve because of the poor initial coordination of American forces and the extensive alliances the British had established with the area's Indian tribes. Land and water battles occurred from Lake Champlain across the Great Lakes and into the Michigan Territory. The American navy performed well, but the majority of both British and American land attacks were repelled, leading to a virtual stalemate in this theater by 1814.

In August 1814 a British fleet sailed up the Chesapeake, where three thousand veterans of the Napoleonic Wars (1801–1815) disembarked and marched toward the poorly defended American capital. The British easily took the District of Columbia, burned the president's mansion, and took control of the Capitol building. President Madison and the rest of the government fled ahead of the British troops. Put in charge of evacuating the White House while the president was with the army, First Lady Dolley Madison saved critical government documents and a portrait of George Washington that still hangs in the White House in the twenty-first century. But the sacking of Washington was humiliating. Luckily for the Americans, Washington, D.C., was not much of a prize. Its population was so small that there was no advantage to holding it. After an attempt by these same troops to take Baltimore, where the bombardment of Fort McHenry in September 1814 inspired Francis Scott Key to write the song that became America's national anthem, they withdrew to the northern theater. The third front of the war was on the Mississippi River at New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson commanded the American troops there and produced a decisive victory in three battles in December 1814 and January 1815.

The war produced a stalemate, but that was a good outcome for the United States. It meant that the

world's foremost military power could not overrun the United States or appropriate its territory. The American military, woefully ill-prepared as the nation contemplated war, had proven its mettle. The peace brought by the Treaty of Ghent (1814) did not alter American boundaries at all. With the British unable to defeat the Americans, the nation had won its "second war for independence."

Of equal importance was the fact that the national government fought a war without restricting domestic freedom. Committed to the popular government he had helped create, President Madison protected civil liberties as scrupulously as any wartime president has. He had ample provocation to do otherwise, as most New Englanders did not support the war and many actively opposed it. Additionally, in the decades after the war, military heroes like Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, and Winfield Scott became prominent political leaders.

DOMESTIC POLITICS

Federalists viewed "Mr. Madison's war" as an opportunity to regain their former strength. They hoped to exploit the growing rifts within the Democratic Republican Party to form an anti-Madison majority. A willing partner in this effort was Madison's vice president, George Clinton. Clinton was the most powerful New Yorker of his time and a Federalist-Clintonian alliance seriously challenged Madison's reelection in 1812. Clinton had disappointed the president by casting the deciding vote against reauthorizing the National Bank in 1811, but he could not run against Madison. He was old and infirm and died in April 1812. The New York mayor DeWitt Clinton, the deceased vice president's nephew, was selected to run against Madison. The electoral college tally was close, but Madison won a 128 to 89 victory.

As the war dragged on, a number of Federalists advocated secession. To prevent such talk from getting out of hand and to produce policies more favorable toward New England, leading Federalists called for a convention of their party. The Hartford Convention met in December 1814 and January 1815. Its conclusions were moderate, but it met in secret just before the United States triumphed in the Battle of New Orleans and news of the peace treaty with Britain reached America. Holding a private convention when they might have been rallying around the flag made Federalists look bad, and thereafter the party ceased to be a serious rival to the Democratic Republicans.

The Democratic Republican majority did not support Madison on all matters, however. Supreme Court nominee Alexander Wolcott Jr. was rejected decisively by the Senate 24 to 9, for example. Wolcott was a solid Madisonian, but that was part of the problem in many senators' eyes. A subsequent appointee, Joseph Story, became one of the nation's most distinguished justices, but his thinking was often contrary to Madison's. Few of the Court's decisions during Madison's presidency are remembered, but the president's inability to shift its ideology set the stage for important nationalist-oriented decisions of later years.

The Union expanded during Madison's presidency. Louisiana became a state in 1812; four years later Indiana joined the Union. With the authorization of Congress, Madison gained control of "West Florida" and made a serious bid to secure all of Florida for the United States before the War of 1812 intervened. Territories grew in population and several were ready to become states as Madison left office. The settlement of territories and their admittance to the Union as states was of great interest to Madison. He shared Jefferson's preference for an economy dominated by independent small farmers, and admitting new states seemed to ensure the economic predominance of agriculture. Unfortunately, as settlement spread, so did the practice of slavery. During Madison's presidency neither the U.S. government nor Madison himself displayed the political will required to check its advance.

Madison's hopes of getting Native Americans to farm were largely unsuccessful. The refusal of American Indians to abandon their traditional ways of life led the administration to negotiate land cessions with them instead. The removal of British support after 1814 and the dwindling of the fur trade facilitated this policy, making Indians desperate for the money they could make from the sale of land. In 1813 and 1814 Andrew Jackson led a band of west Tennessee militia to intervene in a civil war among Creek tribes. Jackson routed the Creeks hostile to white expansion. These developments facilitated white settlement but yielded ill will between white and native cultures that Madison was only marginally successful in tempering.

James Madison grew and learned in office. His annual message of December 1815 most clearly demonstrated his growth. In it Madison asked Congress to do several things he had not previously favored. He urged that the nation maintain a continuous commitment to a viable defense force and a professional military; he suggested a protective tariff

to safeguard American industries; and he proposed allocating federal money for improving roads and canals. Madison's critics charged him with hypocrisy, but the president seems genuinely to have come to a new understanding of how best to pursue the national interest.

Even so, Madison maintained his constitutional scruples. When he was presented with a public works bill in the last days of his presidency, he vetoed it because the nation had not ratified a constitutional amendment allowing Congress to spend money in this way, as he had suggested it do. Madison also asked Congress to reauthorize the National Bank and it finally did so in a way satisfactory to him in 1816. The new bank spurred commerce and added tax revenue to help pay down the \$120 million debt incurred during the war. James Madison left office on a high note. The nation was prosperous and secure. It was poised to become an economic powerhouse, and even most Democratic Republicans had gained an appreciation of national power.

See also **Bank of the United States; Creek War; Democratic Republicans; Embargo; Federalist Party; Hartford Convention; Impressment; Internal Improvements; Madison, James; "Star-Spangled Banner"; Tariff Politics; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of.**

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David J. Siemers

James Monroe

James Monroe's two terms as president (1817–1825) represented the culmination of a long public career that began on the Revolutionary battlefield and included service as a U.S. senator, governor of Virginia, and secretary of state. Monroe's presidency coincided with generational and organizational changes in national politics, as a younger group of regional politicians sought to succeed the venerable founding fathers and the political organizations of the founding period, particularly the Federalist Party, began to lose their national clout. These tensions defined many of the issues and debates that occurred within and during Monroe's presidency.

MONROE'S TOURS

Monroe's election to the presidency was largely a foregone conclusion thanks to his long political association with Thomas Jefferson and James Madison and the continued strength of the Republican Party as the Federalists collapsed nationally. Facing the prospect of single-party rule for the first time in the nation's history, Monroe saw an opportunity to eliminate political parties from republican government altogether. He dedicated his presidency to the promotion of this nonpartisan vision of government and had limited success in this pursuit. Symbolically crossing the political aisle, Monroe modeled his presidency after George Washington's, rather than Jefferson's and Madison's, by presenting himself as a virtuous republican president who remained detached from the political infighting occurring in his cabinet and in Congress.

Monroe's decision to promote the message of partisan healing and national unity through national tours—as Washington had done during his first term—was the catalyst for the nation's first major political transition. During his northern tour of 1817, Monroe made his boldest gesture, reaching out to his Federalist opponents in their own regional stronghold of New England. The Federalists reaffirmed their national loyalty during the northern visit but were less successful in obtaining political appointments from Monroe. Thus his visit to New England confirmed the demise of the Federalists as a national force and compelled the younger members of the party to contemplate a new political home.

The younger members of Monroe's own Republican Party, many of whom served in Monroe's cabinet, were less moved by the message of nonpartisanship, imagining a political future that placed them at the pinnacle of the nation's government. In a government without parties, as Monroe envisioned it, men

like Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, William H. Crawford, and Andrew Jackson had everything to lose. Power-sharing with the Federalists would have greatly weakened the Republicans' political base. The southern tour of 1819 provided an opportunity for younger, regional politicians like Calhoun, Crawford, and Jackson to share the spotlight with the respected president while raising their own national profiles. Old met new during these tours, as the nation saluted a venerable founding father and prepared for a new generation of political leaders and party organizations.

During the northern tour, an overly optimistic Federalist newspaper editor coined the phrase "Era of Good Feelings" to describe Monroe's Boston visit. The phrase reflected the Federalists' wishful thinking rather than the end of partisan tensions, as Republican newspaper editors throughout the northern and southern states were quick to point out. Although many historians have employed this expression to describe Monroe's first term, the source of this statement, along with the sectional and partisan conflicts evident as early as 1817, raises serious questions about its usefulness in summarizing Monroe's presidency.

Despite Monroe's limited success in eliminating political parties, he continued to follow Washington's presidential example and remained above the political infighting in his administration and in Congress. Monroe's intentional aloofness did not mean he was disengaged from the nation's political debates or that he delegated important decision-making to his cabinet members. Monroe played an active role in formulating domestic and foreign policy during his two terms, but after a long career in public service, he believed that avoiding political intrigue was the best way to fulfill his mandate as the nation's Republican president.

DOMESTIC POLICY

The War of 1812 had exposed weaknesses in the U.S. economy and its military fortifications, and like his predecessor, James Madison, Monroe embraced aspects of the nationalist program that had previously belonged to the Federalist Party. Monroe supported the Bank of the United States and the imposition of protective tariffs on imported goods. He opposed using federal money for internal improvements such as roads and canals because of an absence of constitutional authority for such projects. With the exception of the National Road, internal improvements such as the Erie Canal were paid for using state and private funds.

When the Missouri territory petitioned Congress for permission to form a state government in 1819, slavery became an unexpectedly important issue during Monroe's presidency. The slavery issue, which had remained largely dormant since the Constitution's ratification in 1788, triggered an explosive debate that nearly destroyed the Union. The Missouri territory remained committed to slavery, but a majority of northern congressmen supported the Tallmadge Amendment, which would have required the gradual abolition of slavery in Missouri as a requirement for statehood. The debate over Missouri statehood quickly became a referendum on slavery's continued existence in the United States. Northerners opposed the expansion of slavery, particularly into the Louisiana Purchase territory, whereas southerners saw the Missouri petition as an opportunity to affirm their rights as slave owners.

The political fireworks over the Missouri petition occurred largely in Congress. Monroe played a low-key role, consistent with his presidential style, to achieve a compromise. Privately, Monroe supported the gradual emancipation of slaves and their eventual relocation to either the western territories of the United States or to Africa. The latter position eventually formed the basis of the American Colonization Society, an organization that Henry Clay, the congressional architect of the Missouri Compromise, also supported. For the purposes of the Missouri debate, Monroe made it clear to his fellow southerners that he refused to support any statehood legislation that required Missouri to abolish slavery. A compromise presented itself when the Maine territory (at the time part of Massachusetts) also sought statehood: Missouri would enter the union without any restrictions, while Maine would join as a free state, producing an equal number of slave and free states (eleven each) in the nation and in Congress. Furthermore, slavery would not be permitted in the Louisiana Purchase territory north of the 36°30' latitude, a major triumph for antislavery northerners who wanted to keep this western land free from slavery. Monroe supported the Missouri Compromise because it defused a larger national controversy by balancing the needs of free and slave states. The Missouri Compromise deflected the more difficult question of slavery's future in the United States, but the legislation Congress and Monroe worked out succeeded in preserving national unity, at least for the time being.

FOREIGN POLICY

The most enduring achievements of Monroe's presidency, in part attributable to his able secretary of

state, John Quincy Adams, came in the area of foreign affairs. Monroe provided the overall policy direction of his administration, and Adams handled the detailed negotiations. With the resolution of the European conflicts that had circumscribed American foreign policy, Monroe saw an opportunity to assume a more forceful role in the Americas. First, Monroe wanted a reluctant Spain to sell Florida to the United States and also clarify the boundaries of Louisiana. Monroe quietly supported General Andrew Jackson's decision to pursue southern Indians into Florida, an aggressive policy that forced Spain to negotiate with the United States. Jackson was reprimanded for overstepping Monroe's explicit orders, but the raid produced the concessions from Spain that Monroe and Adams had been seeking. The resulting Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 gave the United States control over Florida and resolved boundary disputes with Spain.

Monroe further asserted American control over the Western Hemisphere with his Annual Message to Congress in 1823. Eventually known as the Monroe Doctrine, this bold statement served as a stern warning to Spain, France, England, Russia, and other European countries that the Americas were no longer available for colonization and that any attempt by Europe to interfere in the Western Hemisphere would be regarded as a hostile act. In 1823 the doctrine reflected the nation's desire to be independent from European affairs; as the century progressed and the United States grew in power, the doctrine gained in significance.

THE ELECTION OF 1824

As a result of the generational change in politics, coupled with the shifting party structure, no clear frontrunner emerged to succeed Monroe. Following in the tradition of Washington and Jefferson, Monroe refused to designate a successor. Even if Monroe had been willing to act as a political powerbroker, there was no obvious choice to succeed the founding generation. Instead, it was up to the nation's electorate to determine which regional politicians and what party organizations were qualified to lead the nation into the future. The 1824 election became a wide-open contest among four of the rising stars of the aging Republican Party: John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, William H. Crawford of Georgia, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Although each of these candidates had strong regional support, none had the national following to produce an unqualified victory. Thus, with no one winning a majority of electoral college votes, the na-

tion's first presidential election that did not feature a distinguished founding father was resolved in the House of Representatives.

After a long career in public life that culminated with the presidency, James Monroe worked diligently to uphold the ideals of the American Republic while fulfilling his domestic and international responsibilities. His enduring legacy was a distinguished career that exemplified service, integrity, and sound judgment.

See also **Antislavery; Bank of the United States; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1824; Federalist Party; Louisiana Purchase; Missouri Compromise; Monroe Doctrine; Proslavery Thought.**

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Sandy Moats

John Quincy Adams

The four years spent in the White House by John Quincy Adams, the nation's sixth president (1825–1829), was a miserable experience for him both politically and personally. Adams, while a man of great personal integrity and intelligence, was completely lacking in the political skills necessary to be even mildly successful as president.

As a political candidate, Adams did not inspire or excite attention and seemed to be above the politicking required for public officeholders. He was elected president in 1824 in one of the most peculiar elections in U.S. history. None of the four candidates—William Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and Adams of Massachusetts—received the majority of electoral votes required to be elected president. It was, by the terms of the Constitution, left to the House of Representatives to choose the nation's next president. Clay, then the Speaker of the House, threw his sup-

port behind Adams, whom he personally disliked but thought to be the most qualified of the three remaining candidates. Once elected, Adams showed his political ineptitude by nominating Clay to be secretary of state. Supporters of the other two candidates, as well as those of newly elected vice president, John C. Calhoun, spoke and wrote of "corruption and bargain," charging a deal had been struck between Adams and Clay.

Another early example of Adams's political naiveté, yet also of his great character, involved his attempt to set an example of integrity in government by declaring that no employee of the executive branch would lose his job for any reason other than incompetence. He was, in other words, willing to leave political opponents in office, provided they performed competently. Crawford and Jackson refused offers to serve in Adams's cabinet, though Jackson supporter John McLean, originally appointed postmaster general by President Monroe, continued to serve in that capacity in the Adams administration. In that post he actively aided the Jackson coalition through the influence and patronage of his office. When Jackson later became president, he used the first vacancy on the U.S. Supreme Court to reward McLean for his efforts.

DOMESTIC POLICY AND AFFAIRS

Adams's first annual message, delivered to Congress in December 1825 (in written form, as State of the Union speeches were not given at the time), was grandiosely ambitious; it failed to take into consideration the political dynamics of the day. The type of message he gave was suitable for a president who had been elected with a mandate, not one elected against the wishes of nearly two-thirds of the nation. Prior to sending the message to Congress, Adams assembled his cabinet, but he ignored its members' caution about its overambitiousness.

The message, a bold declaration of what the national government could do to advance the well-being of the nation, proposed an extensive system of roads, canals, bridges, and highways, known then as internal improvements. Adams called for the founding of a national university and a naval academy, along with the erection of an astronomical observatory. Few of his domestic proposals were ever adopted. For example, his proposal for an observatory was laughed at and then voted down. The proposal for a Naval Academy passed the Senate but not the House, while the national university plan passed neither house. A few ideas in his message of 1825 became reality, mainly infrastructure improvements that

passed because congressmen saw a chance to bring money and new projects home to their constituents. Congress defeated virtually everything else that promoted national development through federal funds.

Adams failed to take advantage of an opportunity to get public support for his programs when he opposed lowering the price of public land sold to settlers. He wanted to maintain the price and use the proceeds for internal improvements, such as those proposed in his 1825 message. Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri wanted to make obtaining the land easier by either lowering the price or simply giving it away. Benton's proposal failed, with Adams getting most of the blame, which resulted in a further decline in his support in Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana.

The midterm congressional elections of 1826 enlarged the anti-Adams faction in Congress, whose primary goal was making life even more difficult for the president. An extremely unfair tariff bill was written in the House Committee on Manufactures. It was quite favorable to farmers, but not so to manufacturers. The tariff had been drafted to make Jackson appear as a free trade advocate in the South and a protectionist in the North. Behind this was a Jacksonian strategy based on the expectation that New England congressmen would defeat the bill so that the Jacksonians could then claim that they had tried to meet the needs of farmers and manufacturers but were blocked by Adams and his supporters. Adams reluctantly signed the bill, recognizing he was being made a scapegoat by his enemies. He gave little if any thought to vetoing the measure, because at that time the veto was rarely used. This bill, the Tariff of 1828, bearing Adams's signature, effectively ended whatever slim hopes he had of reelection.

FOREIGN POLICY AND AFFAIRS

John Quincy Adams was one of the greatest diplomats in U.S. history. His exemplary service as a diplomat, along with his eight years of effective service as secretary of state during the Monroe administration, matches the career of any government servant. But not even in foreign affairs could he be successful as president, in part because of a coalition against him of Jackson, Crawford, and even Vice President Calhoun.

In his December 1825 message to Congress, Adams wrote that the United States had accepted an invitation to the Panama Congress. There was much opposition, with Jacksonians and others claiming that Adams was getting involved in the affairs of other nations and arguing that this was contrary to

the principle of avoiding unnecessary foreign entanglement put forth in George Washington's farewell address. Congress eventually authorized the necessary funds for the mission, but purposely did so too late for the United States actually to participate.

One foreign policy success during the Adams administration was blocking Colombian and Mexican efforts to seize Puerto Rico and Cuba from Spain, which could have resulted in independence for Cuba. Adams and Clay deemed it in the best interest of the United States to keep Cuba in the hands of Spain. Another foreign policy success was the promotion of free trade. With several countries in Europe as well as Mexico, Adams and Clay negotiated deals giving the United States either most-favored-nation trading status or, at least, reciprocity in trade with those countries.

International trade, however, was also the realm in which the Adams administration made quite possibly its greatest diplomatic blunder. Britain and the United States were in an ongoing dispute about whether the United States should have the same trading rights with the British West Indies as did Britain and its colonies. Clay, however, disagreed with this position, and so Adams sought help from Congress, which provided none with the intent of leaving Adams to dangle by himself. Congress then watched Adams lose a great economic opportunity by "forcing" Britain to close its ports to the United States and then having to reciprocate in kind, again without congressional support. From Jacksonian supporters there then came sarcastic description of the president as "Adams the Great American Diplomat." The entire reason for the action, or inaction, of Congress was the humiliation of the administration and the demonstration of its ineptitude.

NATIVE AMERICAN AFFAIRS

Adams's handling of Native American affairs was no more successful than any other area of activity during his presidency. The primary reasons for his failure were lack of support from Congress; the disposition of George Troup, the governor of Georgia, against cooperating with the federal government; and the lack of political savvy or capital on Adams's part to do what he knew was right.

The Treaty of Indian Springs with the Creek Indians was approved by the Senate the day before Adams took office in March 1825. Adams signed the treaty although warned that it had been unethically negotiated. The treaty involved the Creeks leaving their land in return for compensation and a delay in leaving it until Georgia began to survey the land for

settlement. As time passed, Adams realized the Creek Nation in Georgia had been cheated by chiefs of other Indian groups and their white allies, led by Troup. An investigation was ordered by Adams, as well as instructions to Georgia on how to proceed, which were ignored. Only through the threat of force could Adams get Troup to cooperate. Had the Treaty of Indian Springs been allowed to remain in effect, it would have resulted in bloodshed, so a new treaty was negotiated in Washington, D.C., and submitted to the Senate, where it lacked sufficient support. Negotiations were reopened, the Treaty of Washington was modified, and the Treaty of Indian Springs was declared void. Conflict continued between Georgia and the Adams administration, with Congress giving only limited, and sometimes no, support to Adams in the matter. In the end, Adams's lack of political skills prevented him from helping the Creeks in any significant way.

A FAILED ADMINISTRATION

The presidency of John Quincy Adams was clearly not a success. All that he wished to accomplish was blocked by an antagonistic Congress. The public perceived the manner of his election to be questionable, and one political blunder after another did nothing but embolden his opponents. Yet while the great majority of the domestic proposals contained in his message to Congress in 1825, as well as the overriding philosophy behind them, seemed grandiose at the time, many were eventually implemented over the course of the next 125 years.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; Election of 1824; Georgia; Internal Improvements; Panama Congress; Tariff Politics.**

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J. Mark Alcorn

PRESS, THE The press experienced tremendous growth between 1754 and 1829. Its expansion outpaced economic growth, impelled by an outsized be-

lief in the cultural and especially the political significance of print communication, and by favorable government policies. Colonial North Americans, especially in the northern British colonies and among the gentry in the southern ones, hailed print communication as “the art preservative,” a technology profoundly transforming the ways that a society might conserve and extend its texts, values, and history. They understood it as the engine of Enlightenment, expanding the intellectual and scientific frontiers of civilization.

First among the uses of printing in British colonial North America, however, was religion. The famous attachment of the Puritan settlers of New England to pious reading made that region the center of print production through the seventeenth century and the sole host of newspaper production in the first two decades of the eighteenth. New England’s, and especially Boston’s, primacy lasted till the end of the colonial period.

In the early Republic, as the political concerns generated by the Revolution interacted with commercial interests in the rising cities of the mid-Atlantic region, Philadelphia (and later New York) overtook Boston as the center of print culture. At the same time, biases in print culture against women and members of lower social classes began to fade, as women’s literacy levels moved toward parity with men’s and as popular styles became more common in newspapers, pamphlets, and chapbooks (literally, cheap books).

Benjamin Franklin embodies these shifts. Born in Boston and raised in a highly literate family, he experienced rebellion against the theocracy of New England firsthand as an apprentice at his brother James’s newspaper, the *New England Courant*. After breaking with James, he moved to Philadelphia, where he spearheaded a variety of civic improvements, won fame for his experiments with electricity, and transformed himself from an artisan into a gentleman political leader and later a diplomat. As the most famous printer of the colonial period, he symbolizes the role of the press in commerce, politics, and Enlightenment, as well as its migration to the mid-Atlantic region and its increasing secularization.

Franklin’s print output also captures the various uses of printing in the late colonial period. His two most famous imprints were *Poor Richard’s Almanac* and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which remain among the most readable colonial publications. The *Almanac*, which sold ten thousand copies a year, was the lead title for Franklin’s large and successful publish-

ing and bookselling enterprise, which included an American edition of Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela*—the first novel published in North America—and a series of popular pamphlet versions of the sermons of the evangelist George Whitefield. In addition to printing and publishing titles, Franklin and his London partner, William Strahan, also imported and sold British imprints. The North American colonies still looked to London as their cultural metropolis, and the logistics of printing in the colonies made it far easier and cheaper to import long works, especially full-length books. The first full-length English-language Bible to be printed in America, published by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, did not appear until 1782. For the most part, early American printers simply could not afford to tie up so much of their scarce type in a long work.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* was a more typical production for a colonial printer. If one counts each edition of a newspaper as an individual imprint, then newspapers were by far the most common kind of printed good in the late colonial period, except perhaps for job printing, the printing of ad hoc items like handbills or legal forms. Franklin’s *Gazette* was archetypical. The largest and most successful newspaper of its day, it performed four basic tasks. First, it was an authoritative source of “official” information, carrying true texts of government proclamations and reliable shipping news. Second, it guided its readers through the available “intelligence” copied from British newspapers and informed letter writers, ship captains, and other informational middlemen. In this task, its work was aided by Franklin’s position as postmaster for Philadelphia (appointed 1737) and later for the colonies (appointed 1753). These patronage posts also point to the typically close association of colonial printers with governing authorities; for Franklin and other printers, official government printing, the second task, was a crucial revenue source. But they also performed a third task that separated them from the government in providing a platform for letter writers arguing about public affairs. By printing and monitoring such discussions, colonial newspapers provided an incipient public sphere in the colonies. Since at least the acquittal of John Peter Zenger for seditious libel in New York in 1735, colonial printers had claimed the right to publish honest criticism of corrupt officials; by providing a forum for public criticism, the press worked as the “palladium of liberty.” Colonial printers always exercised discretion in publishing controversial pieces, however. Freedom of the press, a phrase that meant different things to different people, was best enjoyed in moderation. Fourth, the *Gazette* carried advertis-

SADDLERY.
 THE subscriber of furs for sale his Stock which consists of a large assortment of Saddles, Bridles, Trunks, of all descriptions, Harness, Hobble Horses, rough Ducks, Leys and Hacks. This is a good opening for any person in the business, who can advance a few thousand dollars, or those that stand in need of any of the above articles, either by wholesale or retail. They can supply themselves on better terms than is known in this city, by applying at 100 Store No. 141, Water-street, corner of Duport-street.
 Aug 3 '67 JOHN HASKETT.

PLATT & FAULKNER,
MERCHANT TAILORS,
 No. 123 WILLIAM STREET.
 HAVE the honor to inform their Friends, and the inhabitants of New-York in general, that they will continue business in all the various lines of their profession. From a long course of practice in most of the principal cities in the United States, they are induced to hope with confidence that whatever article is introduced by their attention into the line of their business will be valued with a degree of preference, which will not allow the favored of their past age. They have established an apprenticeship with the principal houses of the profession in the United States; and frequently supply from London, the newest and most correct fashions.
 They have constantly on hand an excellent assortment of CLOTHS and FANCY GOODS forming a variety which cannot fail to gratify their customers.
 Any Gentleman providing his own goods, will be punctually attended to, and his favors thank fully acknowledged.
 Work done while absent, and at a moderate price, for Cash or approved credit.
 J. F. PLATT & SONS, Successors to Platt & Faulkner, were unitedly employed. Goods sent apply but those who can produce acceptable recommendations will be attended to.
 Sept 14

MANHATTAN INN,
 SIGN OF THE STAG AND PACKETS
WILLIAM MORGAN respectfully informs the public, that he has removed to No. 210 Greenwich Street, in New-York, where he will be happy to receive his former customers, and those who may favor him with a call, that he is in possession of a large, airy, and comfortable apartment, furnished with every article necessary for the convenience of his guests. He has also a large and commodious dining room, and a well supplied kitchen, and a large and airy parlour. He has a large and airy parlour, and a well supplied kitchen, and a large and airy parlour.
 N. B. His right honorable can be accommodated with board, with rooms to themselves, at a very moderate rate.
 August 18

MARTINET & HOE
 UMBRELLAS of PATENT MANUFACTURE. CH. H. HOE & CO. Manufacturers of the above, and the public, that they have constantly on hand large and fashionable assortments of all sizes, styles, and colors. They have also a large and airy parlour, and a well supplied kitchen, and a large and airy parlour.
 TABLE of the first quality, which they will direct of on good terms, wholesale and retail.
 N. B. Umbrellas and Parasols repaired and overhauled in the best manner.
 May 18 '67

JOSIAH DUNN,
 HOUSE CARPENTER, JOINER,
 PENNSYLVANIA W. SPRING BLIND MAKER.
 Rose-Street, one door from Peck-Street.
 BEGINS business to repair the Public and the Private that he still carries on the usual business of housework, and carpentry.

E. MILLON,
FRENCH MERCHANT TAILO
AND LADIES, HAHIT MAKER,
(Ladies from Paris)
 No. 54 MAIDEN LANE,
 RETURNS his most grateful thanks to his customers and friends, for that support which they have so liberally granted him, and assures them that his utmost endeavor to please, shall still remain unchanged, but by the goodness of his work and his great facility at stated periods.
 E. MILLON still makes Ladies, Robing Dresses and Gowns in the first style. He has on hand Cloths and Cuttoms of all qualities and prices.
 All orders gratefully received and punctually attended to.
 Sept. 25th 1811.

RICHARD MARSH,
 No. 66 John-Street,
 RESPECTFULLY informs his friends and the public that he continues to carry on the business of FANCY and WINDSON CHAIR-MAKING, of the newest fashions, and on the most reasonable and accommodating terms. Those of his friends who please to honor him with their commands may rest assured that the utmost punctuality and exactness will be observed.
 N. B. He also takes his friends, that he has moved a large stable, at the above place, where customers may be accommodated with horses & carriages at the cheapest rates.

JACOB KATEN,
 Boot and Shoe Maker,
 No. 240,
 STRENGTH STREET,
 A few days from this day will be opened, a new and elegant establishment, where the most respectable and fashionable gentlemen and ladies will be accommodated with the most extensive and complete assortment of boots and shoes, which he will endeavor to supply by immediate attention to an account he may be favored with.
 May 11.

WILLIAM MERRILL,
 House-Carpenter, Ship & Ship Joiner,
 Caret of Two and Three Stories,
 BEGINS business to repair the Public and the Private, that he still carries on the usual business of housework, and carpentry.

PIRATES,
 BY JOHN TROTCH,
 No. 238 WATER-STREET, NEW-YORK.
 The Publisher by subscription the
PIRATES PROGRESS
 From this world is that which is to come.
 DEDICATED under the patronage of a Society of friends, who have agreed to support it. It will be published weekly, and will contain many interesting and useful articles.
 ADDRESS:
 THE High school, to which the Progress's progress has been lent for a number of years, and is now removed to the old site, and there it will be ready to receive the subscribers. It will be published every week, and will contain many interesting and useful articles.

PIRATES,
 BY JOHN TROTCH,
 No. 238 WATER-STREET, NEW-YORK.
 The Publisher by subscription the
PIRATES PROGRESS
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 DEDICATED under the patronage of a Society of friends, who have agreed to support it. It will be published weekly, and will contain many interesting and useful articles.
 ADDRESS:
 THE High school, to which the Progress's progress has been lent for a number of years, and is now removed to the old site, and there it will be ready to receive the subscribers. It will be published every week, and will contain many interesting and useful articles.

FANCY CHAIR STORE.

JOHN K. CONVERSE & CO.,
 No. 4 CHATHAM SQUARE,
 The above store has just received, from the best makers in England, a large assortment of FANCY AND WINDSON CHAIRS, of various and elegant designs, of the most durable materials and art finished, which he offers for sale on the most reasonable terms.
 All orders will be punctually executed and promptly attended to.
 M. B. G. J. Chairs repaired, painted, and re-gilt.
 July 31

New-York Music School,
 FOR teaching the art of performing on various sorts of Musical wind and String Instruments, is a short, true and successful method. Also, Military Bands taught, and known, engaged in the shipping business, by JAMES H. HOFFMAN,
 11. Nassau Street.

New-York Sacred Musical Society,
 THE New-York Sacred Musical Society, under the direction of Messrs. HAYS & MERRILL, will be open on the second Monday in October, to receive their members. For the reception of members in the art of singing, if any person desires to be admitted, he should call on the Secretary of the Society, who will be ready to receive him, and to give him a full and complete course of instruction in the art of singing, and to give him a full and complete course of instruction in the art of singing, and to give him a full and complete course of instruction in the art of singing.
 N. B. The Society will meet at the School room in Nassau Street, on the 21st Oct.

Wanted Immediately,
 An Apprentice in the best and most useful way to be taught in the art of singing, and to give him a full and complete course of instruction in the art of singing.

GREEN TREE PORTER HOUSE,
 No. 27 FALMOUTH STREET.
 J. GREEN TREE, proprietor, in general, and in the most useful way to be taught in the art of singing, and to give him a full and complete course of instruction in the art of singing.
 N. B. The House will be open on the 21st Oct.

DANCING ACADEMY,
MR. KENNY
 RESPECTFULLY informs the ladies and gentlemen of this city that he intends opening his Academy for the winter season at Mr. WILSON'S Long Room, No. 51 Bowery. His first public will be on Thursday the 12th inst. His course of tuition will be Friday and Saturday, from 6 o'clock P. M. until 9 o'clock, and will be continued every week, and will contain many interesting and useful articles.

MEDICAL AID.
 I possess several well tested and safety, independent of British drugs.
 My subscribers having for a number of years attested the efficacy of my medicine in curing the most difficult cases.

Advertisements from the *Independent Mechanic* (1811). The *Independent Mechanic* was a newspaper begun in New York in 1811 and directed towards the artisan community. Like all newspapers, its main source of revenue was advertising. At the time, New York had more than ten newspapers, each filled with advertisements showing the expanding commerce of the city. COLLECTION OF HOWARD ROCK.

ing. In a prosperous colonial newspaper, advertisements could fill half the space.

By the 1750s almost every colony had a newspaper. In the southern colonies newspapers usually were printed by state-supported printers, who had been brought to the provincial capital to do the official printing of the laws. Such newspapers, which were usually local monopolies, claimed to be printed "By Authority"; their printers took great care not to offend the government. In a few northern cities, competitive newspaper markets had appeared. In 1775 Philadelphia had six newspapers, Boston five, and New York three. In between these two models were situations of moderate competition, like Connecticut, where four newspapers were published in different cities, or Rhode Island, where newspapers were published in Providence and Newport.

THE PRINTING PRESS AND THE REVOLUTION

As the Revolution approached, the political work of these newspapers changed dramatically, and a raucous pamphlet literature circulated transatlantically. A key moment of change occurred with the Stamp Act crisis in 1765. The Stamp Act was in part a tax on printing. Even though their business was targeted by the tax, printers moved slowly to oppose it, reined in by their habit of deferring to authority. Franklin himself, working in London as a colonial agent, lobbied against the tax, but also nominated his friend and business associate John Hughes to be a stamp distributor. Only after angry popular protests exploded throughout the colonies did printers realize that this was not business as usual. Pressure forbade publishing on stamped paper, and, ultimately, printers rallied in opposition, printing illegally or stopping publication.

From then until the outbreak of actual warfare in 1775, printers were caught between a traditional avoidance of partisan attachment and the demands of activists on the one hand and authority on the other. The ambiguity in the opposition movement regarding independence and loyalty could throw printers off balance. Printers who misread the situation by favoring the Loyalist cause, like John Mein in Boston and James Rivington in New York, became targets of mob violence. Mein published cargo manifests appearing to show that John Hancock had violated nonintercourse agreements by importing enumerated British goods. Rivington published a series of pamphlets ridiculing the Patriot leadership. Both claimed "impartiality" but, simply by displaying disunity in colonial opinion, undermined the resistance. Colonial publications also circulated in Britain and

were included in governors' reports as records of public opinion. In fact, Rivington and Mein both received financial subsidies from the British as well.

The Revolutionary controversy politicized printing. Intensifying with the committee movement in the early 1770s, Patriots policed public sentiments, even while producing a mountain of printed arguments about legitimate government in pamphlets and newspapers. This propaganda campaign climaxed with Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, the publishing sensation of the age, which, Paine claimed, ran 120,000 copies in its first few months—one copy for every ten adults.

Throughout the period of active warfare, neither side tolerated opposition publishing in territory it controlled. Freedom of the press was not a key goal of the Revolution. Rather, the revolutionaries concentrated on presenting a convincing depiction of public sentiment to, as the Declaration of Independence put it, a "candid world." A key part of this candid world was the British public, including Parliament. Both sides battled for support through the press. The newspaper habit of copying news directly from other newspapers meant that any circulating publication might be the equivalent of a wire service story today.

The Revolution confused the question of freedom of the press but heightened the sense of the press's importance to republican government. After the Revolution, printing was overwhelmingly framed as an instrument of self-rule, and all sectors of political opinion concurred on its importance. Culturally, this meant that literary production, including novels and plays, was assigned a political mission. Women were drafted into the project of literary nationalism, in part through the institution of "republican motherhood." The Republic became the template for understanding any work in the realm of print, including religious newspapers. When such newspapers began to appear at the turn of the century, they styled themselves and their evangelical mission after the political work of the revolutionaries.

A NATIONAL PUBLIC SPHERE

An overriding concern with the successful functioning of the Republic was manifest in the extension of the postal system. In the first federal administration, when congressional leaders had difficulty agreeing on any of the key institutions of the national government, they quickly and consensually passed sweeping postal legislation, creating the department with the greatest number of officeholders, the largest amount of available patronage, and the most contact

and influence on the everyday lives of ordinary people. The postal system was designed as an information infrastructure. It was, in other words, designed to support a dramatic expansion of printing. Thus Congress authorized the postal system to subsidize the circulation of printed goods through reduced postage for newspapers and periodicals. Printed matter, then as now, constituted the overwhelming bulk of material in the system. The postal system also subsidized the circulation of information by stipulating free exchange of newspapers and periodicals among editors. Until the advent of telegraphic news in the mid-nineteenth century, the work of editing a newspaper largely consisted of reading the “exchanges” and copying interesting items.

The new federal and state governments also subsidized printing through requirements for publishing the laws. The federal government required the secretary of state to publish laws at advertising rates in two newspapers in each state; state governments had similar requirements. In addition, legislatures, including the U.S. Congress, contracted with printers to publish their proceedings, and all levels of government generated a great deal of job printing. Thus printers, competing in the early Republic for government patronage, served as intensifiers of partisan competition.

PARTISANSHIP AND THE PRESS

All the informational initiatives of the early Republic were rooted in a recognition of the importance of a national public sphere. Because legitimate government, as thinkers like Thomas Jefferson explained, came from the informed consent of the people, it was necessary to create a system by which information and opinion circulated. Such a public sphere would also produce a national identity, an imagined community. But this line of thinking did not reckon on partisan divisions. Coming out of the Revolution, leaders expected citizens, as well as printers, to approach national issues as rational individuals seeking a common good. This ideal conflicted with the recent reality of a revolutionary movement deploying heated propaganda. In other words, the Revolution’s ensemble of advocacy practices contradicted its ideology of rational liberty.

This tension played out in the work of printers in the 1790s and was resolved by the 1820s. The so-called first party system produced a vicious pamphlet and newspaper war, radiating outward from Philadelphia to rival networks of printers in state capitals. The Federalist administrations of George Washington and John Adams patronized printers like John

Fenno and tried to find ways to stifle the opposition printing of Philip Freneau and Benjamin Franklin Bache, who enjoyed varying levels of support from Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Because republican mores condemned the personal participation of government leaders in partisan attacks, the printers and pamphleteers fought a kind of proxy war. Their marginal status allowed opposition publicists to deploy the old advocacy tools of the Revolution; but, because they now used them against a legitimately elected government, their patriotism was continually challenged. The partisan conflict climaxed in the controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts, passed in 1798. The outcry against these attempts to muzzle the opposition was vehement enough to contribute to Jefferson’s election as president in 1800.

Jefferson’s election seemed to validate partisan newspapering. Ironically, his administration also began to withdraw from the practice by establishing the *National Intelligencer* as its official newspaper. Although a staunch Republican organ, the *Intelligencer* was also a steadfast source for authoritative reports of the proceedings of the federal government and was used as a resource by printers of every political persuasion. A parallel national source was Hezekiah Niles’s *Weekly Register*, founded in 1811 in Baltimore. These two newspapers sought to embody a national consensus on public discussion.

But the middle ground was never secure. Although at times national politics quieted during the two decades following Jefferson’s election, and although in many states and localities a single party dominated politics, the national public sphere turned toward permanent division. In the 1820s, with the rise of the second party system, in which Jacksonian Democrats competed against National Republicans and later Whigs, the press solidified the partisan allegiances and practices that would characterize it for the rest of the century.

Andrew Jackson’s six-year campaign for the presidency marked the maturation of partisan newspapering. Beginning with a cadre of editors including Amos Kendall and Francis Preston Blair—his famous “kitchen cabinet,” a term coined in 1832 to refer to an informal group of advisers to one in power—Jackson’s organization created a national network of party papers that would coordinate the presentation of a spectacle of public support. His media campaign did this first by producing representations of Jackson—descriptions of his principles, proposals, heroic personal history, and prodigious character—and then of the people spontaneously acclaiming Jack-

son. Just as in the Revolution, the newspaper editors actively participated in movement activities, coordinating caucuses and conventions, acting as secretaries at meetings, producing official reports, and then printing them in their newspapers, which propagated all this material through the national system of postal exchange. Niles, the *Weekly Register* editor, would later refer to this system as “manufacturing public opinion.”

Partisans in the 1820s justified their action as participating in a healthy contest for public opinion. They argued that competition in politics promoted freedom in the same way as competition in the marketplace. Unlike the first party system, Jacksonian politics did not itch to treat opposition as treason. However, the majoritarian impulse in Jacksonian democracy subsequently encouraged a deep hostility toward antislavery activism; Jacksonian publicists like Amos Kendall urged federal action to silence abolitionists.

A PLURAL PRESS

The republican impulse, federal policy, and party competition drove the development of the newspaper press and pamphleteering. This sector of the press was the most public, numerous, and ideologically wrought. But other sectors of the press developed in different ways and in a different direction. Print offices “graduated” apprentices at a higher rate than markets could support, and the political enthusiasms of new printers, enhanced by government patronage and subsidies, encouraged them to start financially shaky newspapers. Printers constantly scrambled for new projects to add revenue.

In addition to job printing, which grew steadily, printers took on more and more book and periodical publishing. Entrepreneurs often sought to publish books “by subscription,” selling copies before they were printed. Anne Royall, perhaps the nation’s first female literary celebrity, notoriously coerced famous people into subscribing to her work in progress, threatening to ridicule them in it otherwise; she then publicized the names of her subscribers to get more subscribers. Many authors and publishers made arrangements with colporteurs (peddlers) like Mason Locke Weems. From 1794 to 1825 Parson Weems, the author of a biography of George Washington that spawned such legends as the cherry-tree incident, traveled from town to town selling books, pamphlets, and periodicals. Evangelical groups were especially good at this form of publishing and marketing books. Methodist circuit riders carried material printed by the Methodist Book Concern (est.

1789). The American Bible Society (est. 1816) and the American Tract Society (est. 1825) used similar techniques to try to put religious texts, including the Scriptures, into the hands of ordinary people, giving these religious organizations a claim to have invented the idea of mass communication.

More security for printers was to be found in publishing “steady sellers.” Most reliable were practical books like schoolbooks and almanacs. Because printing remained relatively decentralized in the early Republic, profitable franchises in this kind of publication could be found in towns scattered throughout the country. John Prentiss, who founded the Keene, New Hampshire, *Sentinel* in 1799 with only seventy subscribers, secured his business by publishing a series of successful schoolbooks. Economies of scale involving expensive new technology eventually caused book printing to centralize in metropolitan areas, leading to the rise of mammoth firms like Harper and Brothers.

Religious publication and “steady sellers” opened the way for the development of reform publications and literary culture. Both were originally peripheral to the dominant republican mission of the press. Reform publications often developed out of the religious press and grew as positions were rejected by the mainstream. The most famous reform periodicals of the period appeared as the second-party system took shape. Benjamin Lundy’s pioneering abolitionist paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, established in 1821, recruited William Lloyd Garrison, later the editor of the *Liberator*, as a collaborator. Frances “Fanny” Wright, the celebrated feminist, abolitionist, and socialist, and Robert Dale Owen, founder of the New Harmony colony in Indiana, edited the *New Harmony Gazette*, then moved it to New York City and renamed it the *Free Enquirer* in 1829. The *Free Enquirer* would later become associated with the Workingman’s Party, and its staff would participate in founding the *Workingman’s Advocate*, one of the nation’s earliest important labor papers.

The rise of a literary print culture relied on the republican impulse to develop an autonomous national culture, a religious interest in elevating morals, and a commercial interest in selling fiction to expanding audiences. Ladies’ magazines, often supported by religious publishers, were an important early resource and helped to launch the sentimental novels that were best sellers by mid-century. Before 1829, however, writers of the British Isles continued to dominate American bookshelves; the popularity of Hugh Henry Brackenridge’s *Modern Chivalry* series, published beginning in 1792, was far

exceeded by the *Waverley* novels, the first of which appeared in 1814, by the Scottish Sir Walter Scott.

By the late 1820s the press had also begun to recognize the nation's ethnic and racial diversity. There had been a thriving German-language press since the colonial period but relatively little publishing by other minority groups. In 1827 Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm established *Freedom's Journal*, the nation's first African American periodical, and in 1828 the first Native American periodical, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, appeared. These and other "group" media accepted the dual task of providing a separate identity for their readers and simultaneously trying to be a voice for the group in the larger public sphere.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Book Trade; Election of 1800; Newspapers; Niles' Register; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Print Culture; Printers; Printing Technology; Women: Writers.**

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John Nerone

PRINT CULTURE The impact of printing and print culture on the emergence and consolidation of the new nation can hardly be overstated. All through the eighteenth century, printing, nation building, and forging a national identity went hand in hand in America. Few commentators on the history of the book subscribe to older notions of printing as an unequivocal agent of change; but it is now generally accepted that, to a great degree, America is a nation that printed itself into being. More than any other Western nation, the United States, in terms of culture and ideology, developed out of a dynamic process of self-definition and self-invention in which the production, dissemination, and consumption of print played a crucial part. Thus, dismissing the idea that the American Revolution had started with the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and the colonies, John Adams argued in a letter to Thomas Jefferson in 1815:

The Revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected, from 1760 to 1775, in the course of fifteen Years before a drop of blood was drawn at Lexington. The Records of thirteen Legislatures, the Pamphlets, Newspapers in all the Colonies ought [to] be consulted, during that Period, to ascertain the Steps by which the Public Opinion was enlightened and informed concerning the Authority of Parliament over the Colonies.

Although printing and the press are instrumental in nation formation generally, America's rise to nationhood was unique in the close symbiosis between print culture and the emergence of a republican ideology. Through the mediation of printing and print culture, the republican public sphere was created in which such iconographic texts as the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the *Federalist Papers* could be conceived, written, disseminated, and debated. The history of America's print culture can be divided roughly into three stages: the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s; the Revolutionary War; and the post-Revolutionary period of consolidation.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, "EPITAPH" (1728)

The Body of
 B. Franklin,
 Printer;
 Like the Cover of an old Book,
 Its Contents torn out,
 And stript of its Lettering and Gilding,
 Lies here, Food for Worms.
 But the Work shall not be wholly lost:
 For it will, as he believ'd, appear once more,
 In a new & more perfect Edition,
 Corrected and amended
 By the Author.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS: FROM DUTY TO RIGHT

Printing in eighteenth-century America was more commercially competitive than in Europe, where much of the print trade still depended on patronage from the state, church, or affluent citizens. Combining the activities of printer, bookseller, and publisher in one person, the colonial printer earned his living by printing almanacs, stationery, business forms, and, most important, newspapers: 75 percent of American printers between 1700 and 1765 printed newspapers. Yet many colonial printers regarded their trade not just as a livelihood but as a calling, seeing it as their civic duty to spread reliable information and useful knowledge to the population at large. This made freedom of the press from early on an issue of national and ideological significance, rather than of mere personal and commercial interest. Benjamin Franklin spoke for many of his colleagues when, in his "Apology for Printers" (1731), he defended himself against the censure of a controversial handbill he had printed by asserting that as a printer he was a disinterested, neutral mediator whose aim was first and foremost to promote the common good of society. Seeing that the "Business of Printing has chiefly to do with Mens Opinions" and "most things that are printed tending to promote some, or oppose others," it is the task of the printer to ensure that all sides get equal access to print. A free press being a guarantee for the democratic access to knowledge and "public opinion," the question of what should be printed and what suppressed should be decided solely by whether it was conducive of "general Utility."

This being the general mood among printers in America, it is not surprising that when the Stamp Act was introduced in November 1765 it was met with a barrage of criticism. Widely denounced as a

repressive measure aimed at curtailing the liberty of the press, American printers again based their case against the legislation on the "public good" argument. Yet this time the "common good" was redefined as the republican common good, and the freedom of the press would from now on be a republican right, not merely a utilitarian duty of a printer to society. A "free press" and a "free people" were henceforth interchangeable phrases. "Can our Liberties be secure," a correspondent in the *New Hampshire Gazette* wondered, "when that great and essential one of the PRESS is daily attacked, and PRINTERS and BOOKSELLERS are so terrified by uncommon RIGOUR, that they will neither Print nor Publish?" Although repealed in 1766, the Stamp Act had politicized the issue of the freedom of the press for good (though not for the first time) and had thus fundamentally changed relations between the American colonies and the British authorities. More important, it had given the American colonies a powerful weapon in their future struggle with Britain—a body of staunchly republican printers and writers who were no longer satisfied to enlighten and inform the reading public but sought to make it politically independent as well. During the imperial crisis America's printers thus assumed a new prominence; between 1764 and 1783 the number of printers more than doubled, and similarly the number of newspapers in those years went from twenty-eight to fifty-eight.

Before tensions arose between the colonies and Britain, colonial American newspaper printers mainly copied items from London newspapers, publishing imperial and foreign news, rather than domestic. But during the Revolutionary crisis they increasingly began to copy news items from each other, thus spreading accounts of significant events. News of the clashes at Lexington and Concord spread like wildfire across thousands of miles; citizens in South Carolina could promptly read about decisions in New England legislatures. During the War of Independence, printing developed into a technology of revolution. Skirmishes, boycotts, and incidents of law-breaking were certainly important instruments of expressing and organizing republican resentment, but the most effective Revolutionaries by far were the ones who provided the copy for the newspapers and pamphlets and the printers who printed it.

Empowered by the very medium they used to distribute their Revolutionary ideas, it was the republican writers and printers who crucially helped to mobilize an intercolonial and protonational public—which was, essentially, a public of readers. Whereas during the imperial crisis pamphleteers had tended to

write for an educated elite, the burgeoning print culture democratized the American people's involvement in the Revolution. This is borne out by the rise in the sheer numbers of American publications in this period: the number of American imprints rose from around 350 in 1765 to close to 500 in 1770 to almost 1,000 in 1775. Even more impressive is the circulation of certain key texts: the Declaration of Independence was printed in at least seventeen American editions in 1776 and 1777, and in virtually all the newspapers, while Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) sold approximately 120,000 copies in its first three months after publication, and an estimated total of 500,000 copies in 1776, to a population of around 3,000,000 (20 percent of whom were slaves and 50 percent of whom were indentured servants).

THE LIMITS OF PRINT

But the democratizing and unifying impact of print had its limits. Print culture and technologies of print are structured; they derive that structure from the dominant culture, which seeks to further its ideological agenda. That is, while printing helps to shape a culture and a society, it is also true that culture shapes print. Even before the Revolution, American printers had occasionally used the power of the printed word to "correct" certain developments they considered undesirable. Thus in the 1740s and 1750s Benjamin Franklin had fought a particularly bitter print war against the German-language print empire of Christoph Saur. Franklin feared that the independent German-language printers of Germantown might become too influential among the large German immigrant community of Pennsylvania and thereby frustrate his mission of ethnically engineering the population of the state: "While we are . . . *Scouring* our Planet, by clearing America of Woods, and so making this Side of our Globe reflect a brighter Light to the Eyes of Inhabitants in Mars and Venus, why should we in the Sight of Superior Beings, darken its People?" Franklin pondered in his essay "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind" (1751). Franklin on several occasions started German-language newspapers in order to force his German competitor out of business. During the Revolutionary War, the Whig printers that zealously defended the freedom of the press as being of paramount importance to civil society were by no means prepared to extend that freedom to Tory printers like James Rivington, printer of the *New-York Gazetteer*.

After the Revolution printing was the arena for the bitter struggle between Federalists and Republicans over the ratification of the Constitution. During

this struggle the evolving relation between print and political culture ushered in a fundamental change in the symbolic value of print. Crucially, both the emerging political language of Anglo-American republicanism and the emergence of a post-Revolutionary public sphere were grounded in a new way of perceiving printedness. Thus, in the course of this process the Constitution was understood as a printed form of legitimate government, and the free republican press as the embodiment of the *res publica* and the sovereignty of the people. In *Federalist* 84 (1788), Alexander Hamilton defended the omission from the Constitution of a bill to protect the freedom of the press by saying it would be "impractical" to implement it; the Bill of Rights of 1791 corrected this. An acrimonious print battle then erupted between Federalists and Republicans over the Republic's political alliance with the Jacobin administration in France, once more threatening to tear the nation apart. In response, President Adams signed the Sedition Act of 1798 into law, effectively limiting freedom of the press again by threatening opposition printers with heavy fines and imprisonment.

Print culture is inextricably bound up with America's rise to sovereign nationhood and its emergence into a distinct cultural domain. Yet it is important to realize that print is not *prior* to the culture of colonial America or of republican America, but was shaped and conditioned by it. This process continued into the early decades of the nineteenth century. As American printers endeavored to consolidate the prominent position in the public sphere they had gained during the Republic's formative years, they were experiencing major transformations in their trade. The introduction of new materials (notably machine-made paper), technologies (such as the steam-powered press) and dissemination channels (improved mail and transportation networks, and the invention of the telegraph), as well as sharp increases in literacy rates and overall readership numbers, forced American printers to adopt more mass-market oriented activities and strategies. While many in the print trade ventured into large-scale commercial newspaper publishing, the early nineteenth century also saw the emergence of the modern publisher. Replacing the eighteenth-century master printers and booksellers, the new publishing entrepreneurs increasingly came to dominate the entire process of the financing, production and dissemination of printed material. Levels of capital investment steadily rose, and more industrial labor practices were introduced. What once was a craft rooted in European practices and dependent on Old World materials and machines, quickly became an energetic and

innovative industry. By the 1840s, the domestic American print market had come of age.

See also **Adams, John; Alien and Sedition Acts; Americanization; Book Trade; Constitutionalism; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Papers; Federalist Party; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Magazines; Newspapers; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Press, The; Printers; Printing Technology; Rhetoric; Satire.**

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PRINTERS Printers were the intellectual elite of the early American working class. They needed to be literate, unlike most other artisans and laborers, and they often had the chance to edit and write their own publications. Many were like Benjamin Franklin, who was made a printer rather than a soap maker like his father for the greater intellectual opportunities printing seemed to afford. "From a child I was fond of Reading, and all the little money that came into my Hands was ever laid out in Books," Franklin wrote in his autobiography. "This Bookish Inclination," he continued, "at length determined my father to make me a Printer." Printing provided many a young workingman with a substitute for the college education that only a tiny minority of early Americans could obtain.

Printers also enjoyed a more visible role in their communities than most artisans. Their offices were a community's major source of reading material, sometimes including a bookstore and a newspaper that a printer not only produced but controlled. Their daily business brought them in contact with those who had writings or documents to print, meaning government officials, political leaders, and educated professionals such as clergymen and lawyers. In the colonial period they typically printed with the government's official sanction—"by authority"—and often as government officials themselves.

Greater visibility and a close relationship with the powerful did not necessarily translate into great influence or prestige for the printer himself. The literary training one could acquire in a print shop conferred neither the classical learning nor the polished manners that were the mark of an eighteenth-century gentleman. Moreover, though printing was more cerebral than most other crafts, it was still a dirty, backbreaking job, on the wrong side of the traditional sociopolitical divide between those who worked with their hands and those who did not. (American printing presses ran by human power until the steam-driven press began to be adopted during the 1830s.)

Even Benjamin Franklin, whose tremendous talents were recognized while he was still a teenager, had to make his fortune and retire from printing before he could take up his later career as a politician and scientist. Somewhat hypocritically, Franklin advised young printers, including his grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache, to stay out of politics, or at least openly avoid choosing sides in the material they printed. Freedom of the press, as colonial printers used the term, tended to mean something closer to

free access to print rather than absolute freedom of expression for journalists themselves. Needing to please as many customers as possible in a limited market, most printers tried to follow Franklin's advice, avoiding controversy and focusing on commercial endeavors as much as they could.

THE RISE OF NEWSPAPER POLITICS

Nevertheless, because they controlled access to print and because print was the only means of mass communication available, printers sometimes found themselves sucked into politics, usually in the service of their chief customers, the local elites who controlled the colonial assemblies. Going back at least as far as the famous Zenger case of 1734–1735, colonial politicians relied on the press as one of their chief weapons when conflicts arose with royal governors and the British imperial bureaucracy. This was particularly true leading up to the American Revolution, when colonial printers were forced to abandon any semblance of their traditional neutrality and choose sides. Enthusiastic patriot printers like Benjamin Edes of the *Boston Gazette* found themselves “working the political engine” together with Harvard men like Samuel and John Adams, while printers who refused to join the cause, or actively supported the British authorities, eventually found it more prudent to flee the country. After the war it was the Revolutionary officers, attorneys, and clergymen who enjoyed the resulting power and honors, not the printers.

The rise of newspaper politics—the convergence of the press and the nascent political parties during the mid-1790s—pulled many additional printers into politics on a more permanent basis. The outbreak of partisanship placed the trade under immense pressure. A small network of printer-operated urban newspapers led by the Philadelphia *Aurora* and Boston *Independent Chronicle* took over from Thomas Jefferson and James Madison's *National Gazette* as the chief critics of Hamilton and Washington's policies after 1793. Many other commercial printers and young aspirants who tried to be evenhanded in the conflict were attacked and boycotted if they allowed opposition pieces into their papers at all, even if balanced with pro-government material. The administration of John Adams tried to stamp the Democratic Republican network out with the Alien and Sedition Acts, only to have the network grow larger instead. Young printers radicalized by the Federalist repression rushed to politicize existing newspapers or start new, fiercely partisan journals. When Jefferson unseated Adams in the so-called Revolution of 1800, the “great political change in the Union,” as one Dela-

ware writer put it, was widely attributed to the “unremitting vigilance of Republican Printers.” After 1800, conventional political wisdom dictated that any serious movement or party needed to have its own network of newspapers.

Inadvertently, this development brought a certain amount of democratization to American political life by setting up printers, immigrant radicals, and similar folk as the country's chief political spokesmen. President Jefferson distanced himself from his more radical newspaper supporters and kept them out of his administration, but the political culture had changed irrevocably. Printers and other editors now set the terms on which other politicians were considered loyal to the Jeffersonian Republican cause, and they had control of weapons that could do great damage to the reputations of those gentleman statesmen who went against them. Philadelphia politics in particular became notorious for laboring under what some called the “tyranny of the printers,” especially the Irish refugee radicals William Duane and John Binns of the *Aurora* and the *Democratic Press*, respectively. For many it was a horrifying development to have accidentally set up “uneducated printers, shop-boys, and raw school-masters” as “the chief instructors in politics.” Efforts were made to gentrify the partisan press by placing printers under the editorial guidance of more refined men, especially lawyers, but these had only partial success. Hundreds of newspaper editors held public office through the 1830s, and most of them began their careers as journeymen printers. As horrifying as the rise of newspaper politics was to some, it was a godsend to others, namely to young, ambitious printers who could now become artificers of political movements and colleagues of great statesmen in addition to their work with ink, type, and paper. It was one of the great glories of the United States, William Duane wrote, that it was possible for a printer, an artisan, to become “a writer on American affairs, a politician . . . worthy of the regards of men distinguished by their talents and their virtues in an age like this.”

FROM THE PRINTING TRADE TO THE PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

Unfortunately, for most ordinary printers, particularly in the urban centers, prospects were considerably less glorious than those painted by Duane. They faced a steady decline in their status after the Revolution as their trade slowly was transformed into the lowly production arm of a commercial publishing industry. Mirroring the trends in other industrializing trades, the entrepreneurial act of selecting and ed-

iting material increasingly became separated from the physical process of printing. Journeymen printers found it more and more difficult to complete the traditional artisan's path of upward mobility through the life cycle, from apprentice to journeyman to master and shop owner. The craft became identified ever more firmly with its manual labor aspects as the intellectual activities associated with publishing were taken over by educated editors and entrepreneurs who soon gained exclusive use of the title "publisher." Some of the first successful commercial publishers were former printers, but by the 1830s or earlier, this possibility had been largely foreclosed. The vast majority of apprentices and journeymen could expect to spend their lives as wage laborers, with the jobs that were available increasingly under pressure from cost- and labor-saving technology that included better printing presses, stereotyping, and ink rollers that allowed boys to do the former adult journeyman's job of beating ink onto type. A class of underemployed, semi-nomadic "tramp printers" grew.

In response to these trends, the beginnings of a labor movement grew up among journeymen printers. Among numerous other job actions across the period, twenty-six Philadelphia journeymen staged the American trade's first strike in 1786 to get a pay cut rescinded, and New York journeymen walked out in 1799 to win their first complete wage scale. Formal "typographical societies" were established in New York in 1795 and Philadelphia in 1802, and from there they spread to many other cities. In the 1830s one organization of journeymen printers tried to convince its brethren to refuse to work for those editors, publishers, and other nonprinters who were held to be merely exploiting the labor of journeymen printers.

BETTER LIVING THROUGH POLITICS

The expansion of the country press, where older technology and traditional print shops were still the rule, became the major means of escaping the industrialization trap for printers of sufficient verbal ability. Following the old colonial pattern of Franklin and his apprentices, experienced journeymen borrowed or saved enough money for (often previously used) printing equipment and set up shop in underserved population centers, especially on the frontier. Politics greatly expanded these opportunities. Newspaper-dependent political parties required small weekly newspapers to represent them in as many places as possible. Political needs inspired the creation of many more such small papers than economics alone would

have dictated and opened sources of credit and income (from local party supporters) that would likely not have been available otherwise. A fast track to master or some equivalent status was thus opened for many journeymen printers who otherwise might not have achieved that goal at all. Young Thurlow Weed, later the architect of Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party, was an Albany journeyman and labor activist until 1818, when supporters of DeWitt Clinton loaned him money to buy a newspaper in tiny Norwich, New York. The Norwich *Republican Agriculturalist* was the beginning of a political career that would see Weed become one of the country's most powerful politicians and take him very far from the problems and values of early American artisans.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Almanacs; Aurora; Democratic Republicans; Franklin, Benjamin; Federalist Party; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Newspapers; Politics: Party Organization and Operations; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Work: Apprenticeship; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.**

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PRINTING TECHNOLOGY Some historians argue that technologies of print precede cultural transformation. That is, printing conditions and shapes the emergence of a new political and social order and the creation of a new form of collective subjectivity, as well as an enlightened public, rather than the other way around. Other historians have argued to the contrary that society, science, capitalism, and republicanism have not so much been shaped by print as they have shaped print. Navigating a path between these two views, one can more accurately describe the relationship between printing technology and culture as dynamic and reciprocal, rather than as static and sequential. The idea that printing technology had a democratizing and rationalizing impact on the new nation is therefore only one side of the coin: the politics and culture of the new nation produced and structured the practices of printing technology, turning it into a highly efficient medium for republican ideology.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the commercial character of printing in America was its key distinguishing feature. In comparison to their European colleagues, American printers faced several obstacles in their struggle to survive, causing fierce rivalry in the domestic American print market. Their main disadvantage was a chronic lack of capital, making colonial and Revolutionary American printers dependent on importing key technologies from Europe. Thus commercial printing-press building as well as type-founding did not gain a firm foothold in North America till the end of the eighteenth century.

Further, until 1800 American printers had to import most of their ink from England or Germany. Another difficulty was the production of paper. Before the technique of using wood pulp was developed in 1849, paper mills depended on a constant supply of rags, ropes, and other flax- or hemp-based materials. The quality and supply of the paper were sufficient for the production of newspapers, broadsides, pamphlets, almanacs, and other short and ephemeral works, but books intended for longer use were printed on imported Dutch or English paper. The shortage of type and the cost of paper (up to half the cost of printing) were inimical to the production of relatively long books, such as novels. Thus it took Benjamin Franklin two years (from 1742 to 1744) to print the first American edition of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*. In fact, no other unabridged English novel would be reprinted in American until the Revolution. The Peace of Paris opened up the trade with Britain again, and book production in America was restarted; but type, paper, and capital remained in short supply, hampering book production through the 1790s and into the early decades of the nineteenth century.

The first printing press to be established in the British North American colonies was founded at Harvard College in 1639. By 1760 there were forty-two printers in America, some owned by individual entrepreneurs and others by groups, such as the Puritans in New England or the Germans in Pennsylvania, who used printing as a medium to enhance group cohesion. Most American printers adhered to the universal enlightenment ideal of disseminating news and useful information to the nation. During the Revolutionary and early national periods, Americans used printing technology to shape the public political discourse of independence and republicanism. By 1820 more than two thousand newspapers and more than three hundred journals had been published.

The use of print to shape national identity was facilitated by developments in printing technology itself. Throughout the eighteenth century most printing offices in the United States owned only one or two presses. The largest printing shop was that of Isaiah Thomas, who had twelve presses in his Worcester printing office and five in a Boston subsidiary. Printers who could afford an English press imported it; others bought their presses secondhand (most of which had been imported before). Even as late as the 1790s there were only one or two American press makers, but this number increased rapidly during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when new technological and scientific knowledge

enabled many advances: the wooden press became an iron press, rollers instead of balls inked the type, horsepower and steam power replaced manpower, stereotyping became a normal procedure, and lithography began to be used for illustrations.

The transition to power presses evolved in fits and starts. The first experiment with a steam-power press in 1819 was a failure, but in 1822 Jonas Booth of New York built the first successful one in the United States; Booth's abridgment of Murray's English grammar is said to be the first book to be printed by such a press. One of the most successful early power presses, relying on horsepower as steam engines were still hard to come by, was the one designed by David Treadwell of Boston in 1829; about fifty Treadwell presses were built before 1830. Rapid developments in type founding, font designing, paper production, stereotyping, and lithography led to an industrial revolution in print technology in the early national period.

See also **Industrial Revolution; Newspapers; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Press, The; Print Culture; Printers; Steam Power; Technology.**

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PROCLAMATION OF 1763 The conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763 brought vast new territories and complex problems to the British Empire. To establish governments for the new territories and to address the complex state of the trans-Appalachian west, King George III issued a royal proclamation on 7 October 1763. The proclamation placed the territories won from France and Spain under four distinct governments: much of French Canada was placed within the province of Quebec, the former Spanish colony of Florida was divided into East and West Florida, and the Caribbean conquests were combined into the province of Grenada.

Because the Crown was unprepared to extend representative government to populations that had been hostile to British power for over a century, the proclamation provided only for the appointment of governors and councils, with the promise of assemblies at a later date.

More controversial were the provisions governing Indian policy and western expansion. The expulsion of the French from the Ohio Valley left the British government solely responsible for organizing a region that was already the object of bitter dispute among colonial governments, high-powered speculators, unscrupulous Indian traders, and a host of prospective settlers. Yet much of this land remained, by treaty, under the control of Native American tribes. Angry over the penetration of their lands and the shady activities of some of the traders, tribes allied under Pontiac began a series of attacks leading to Pontiac's War. These attacks made the Crown see the need for a conciliatory approach toward Native Americans, an approach manifested in the Indian policy of the proclamation.

While no definitive line was drawn, the proclamation prohibited all settlement on trans-Appalachian Native American lands, to the extent of ordering that all present settlement be abandoned. To protect the Native Americans from future fraud, the proclamation authorized only the colonial governors and the commander-in-chief to purchase Native American lands. Finally, the Indian trade was to be regulated and conducted under licenses assigned by the governors.

The proclamation was a temporary expedient designed to give the Crown time to pacify the Native Americans and obtain the fair and orderly transfer of their lands. Meanwhile, the conflicting claims of colonial governments and private speculators could be investigated and adjudicated. Americans, however, viewed the proclamation in a different light. Unconcerned with Indians' rights, the American assemblies, speculators, and settlers joined in protesting the closure of the lands that had been the objective and, in their minds, the just prize of the late war. A growing number of Americans resented the closure of the trans-Appalachian west as evidence that London officials were determined to expand their power and authority at the expense of colonists' rights. That parliamentary taxes were imposed to support the implementation of the proclamation solidified this view in the minds of many Americans.

The Proclamation of 1763 achieved mixed results. The policies concerning Canada and the Florida proved successful, as these populations remained

peaceful during the revolution developing in the seaboard colonies. The provisions concerning the trans-Appalachian west failed, however, as the British were unable to enforce them and the British western policy served largely to provoke and sustain resistance to British rule.

See also **French and Indian War, Consequences of; Fur and Pelt Trade; Land Policies; Land Speculation; Pontiac's War; West.**

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Daniel McDonough

PROFESSIONS

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Clergy*, *Lawyers*, and *Physicians*.

Clergy

Like every other American profession, the clergy confronted massive political, social, and cultural upheavals in the years between the late colonial and Jacksonian periods. To adapt to these changes, denominations had to innovate in the recruitment and training of young men for the ministry. While ministerial roles evolved, the clergy's overall cultural importance suffered no diminution. Indeed, the American churches rose to the challenges of the times. To take just one measure, the per capita supply of clergymen outpaced the rapid growth of the American population during the early Republic by more than three times.

THE LATE COLONIAL BACKGROUND

Regional variations differentiated the place of the clergy in colonial America. Congregationalism was established throughout New England outside of Rhode Island, although Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers were tolerated. The region was the best supplied with ministers, because they could receive the requisite liberal arts education at Harvard or Yale. Local pastors encouraged promising young men to study for the ministry, as did families who viewed it as an appropriate station for their sons. After grad-

uation, aspiring ministers lived with a clergyman for several months, in order both to study theology and to observe day-to-day pastoral work. Following this training, a young ministerial candidate would begin preaching with the hope of receiving a call from a local church that, if accepted, would lead to his ordination. It was the expectation of minister and townspeople alike that his settlement over that church would be for life. In the eighteenth century, the local Congregational minister played a central role in town life, was accorded the status of other social leaders, and typically enjoyed the deference of his flock.

In the colonies from Maryland southward, the established Anglican minister likewise enjoyed status among the gentry. Anglican clergymen were educated at both American colleges and British universities, but they all had to be ordained overseas, since there was no American bishop. In part because of this requirement, the Church of England suffered from a chronic undersupply of clergymen in the colonies, which prevented it from expanding with the frontier. The social pretensions of the Anglican leadership also inhibited evangelization of the large slave population.

Diversity of religions characterized the middle colonies, where there was no single dominant denomination or established church. Quakers did not require formal education for the ministry, relying instead on the Spirit to equip believers. They competed for adherents with Anglicans and a host of immigrant denominations, such as Dutch Reformed, German Lutheran, and Scottish Presbyterian, which often still had significant ties to European ecclesiastical bodies. Newly arrived clergymen sometimes complained about their ambivalent status amid middle colony diversity, but they were nevertheless critical anchors for their communities.

The Great Awakening that struck various locales throughout the colonies from the 1740s through the 1770s often divided the clergy as factions disputed the theological meaning of the revivals and the propriety of itinerant preaching. Such infighting may have lessened the clergy's social standing. Baptists, relying on a part-time ministry, recorded substantial gains in both New England and Virginia. The Awakening inspired a number of enslaved men and women to take up preaching, and their efforts led to the first large-scale conversions of African Americans to Christianity. The Awakening also led to the founding of several new colleges for the training of ministers, including the College of New Jersey (founded by Presbyterians in 1746 and now known as Princeton

University), Rhode Island College (Baptists, 1764, now Brown University), Queens College (Dutch Reformed, 1766, now Rutgers University), and Dartmouth College (Congregationalists, 1769).

REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATIONS

The loyalism of many Anglican clergymen forced them to flee during the Revolutionary War. This, combined with the libertarian logic of the Revolution, led to the Church of England's disestablishment after independence. Patriot ministers, meanwhile, often served as military chaplains, and their preaching provided important ideological sanction for the rebellion.

During the early national period, New England Congregationalists sided with the Federalist Party, which eventually undermined their position in a closely divided region. As a result of this political contention and the surging number of dissenters, they too were disestablished during the first third of the nineteenth century. Moreover, lifetime pastorates declined, and clergymen found new career paths in the early Republic's proliferating voluntary organizations, missionary societies, and educational institutions. Education for the ministry took a giant step forward with the founding of theological seminaries, starting with Andover in 1808. Congregationalists, the Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterians jointly supported the American Education Society, founded in 1815, to fund the training of aspiring ministers of modest means. Still, these denominations struggled to train enough educated ministers to keep pace with the nation's demographic and geographic expansion.

The new nation's small Jewish community faced an even more drastic problem of a total lack of any traditionally trained rabbis prior to the 1840s. Into this vacuum, a synagogue's *hazan*, or "salaried reader" (Faber, p. 19), often stepped forward as not only its liturgical leader but also its publicly recognized spokesman to the community at large.

INSURGENTS OF THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

The shortage of Protestant clergymen would be more than filled by the Baptists and Methodists. These denominations did not require a college education for the ministry and instead emphasized spiritual experience and preaching ability. The young, single men who were usually recruited into the ministerial ranks could relate to the early Republic's ordinary folk. Their preaching largely fueled the revivals of the Second Great Awakening during the first third of the

nineteenth century. Among the Methodists, ministers worked their way up the hierarchy from class leader to exhorter, local preacher, and itinerant. Bishop Francis Asbury (1745–1816) modeled the life he expected from his circuit riders by crisscrossing the nation repeatedly. By the 1820s, however, both of these denominations were placing greater emphasis on respectability and education and accordingly founded colleges.

By not requiring a college degree in their early phase, the insurgent denominations of the Second Great Awakening for a time opened a door to the participation of women and African Americans. More than one hundred women used their spiritual authority to become exhorters among the Christian Connection, Freewill Baptists, and Methodists, although they did not press for ordination. Black preachers too played a critical role in the evangelization of African Americans, both free and enslaved. However, African Americans often found themselves relegated to subordinate roles; among Methodists, for instance, they could exhort but not become licensed itinerants. As a result, the early nineteenth century saw the founding of numerous independent "African" churches and the organization in of the African Methodist Episcopal denomination with Richard Allen (1760–1831) elected as its first bishop in 1816.

See also **Education: Colleges and Universities; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

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Jonathan D. Sassi

Lawyers

The making of the legal profession in the new American nation took place largely in the law courts. Law-

yers established bar associations comparable to the contemporary medical societies and ministerial associations, and they set up a variety of educational enterprises to train students for the profession. However, these institutions proved to be short-lived and were clearly outweighed by the courts in forming the bar. Unlike the work of doctors and ministers, lawyers' day-to-day work brought them together in a spectacular forum where they could contend, collaborate, fraternize, and develop the cohesiveness of common customs of the law. It was particularly in the circuit courts, formed during the eighteenth century in the colonies in rough imitation of the English *nisi prius* system, that such professional bonds were formed. Through such courts some of what was then called the king's justice was brought to the provinces. In both England and America, the judges and lawyers of these superior courts on circuit usually traveled, ate, lodged, and caroused together, and the agreeable good fellowship of this experience was acclaimed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Much of the impetus for setting up the higher courts in the American colonies came from British policy. The attempt to assert control over the colonies and bind them more closely to the mother country predisposed British officials toward measures of centralization. This was particularly true of the superior courts, where judges were usually appointed on the approval of the king. The higher courts quickly adopted some of the pageantry, technicality, and doctrine of the courts of Westminster. Chief Justice Hutchinson of Massachusetts introduced the distinction between barrister and attorney, permitting only barristers to plead before the superior court. Such barristers were chosen from among the most learned and respected attorneys in the province. Where ranks were adopted in the other colonies (New Jersey went farther than most in setting up the grade of sergeants as well), the upper ranks were also usually distinguished homegrown lawyers. Only in South Carolina did most of the barristers who prevailed in the higher courts actually attend the Inns of Court in London. Where distinguishing titles were not adopted, as in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the gap between the attorneys who gained a hold on practice in the higher courts and those who worked amid the simpler, less polished justice of the country courts widened sharply. When Massachusetts higher courts took up wearing legal gowns and wigs, the New York Supreme Court quickly adopted the costume, and the practice spread throughout the colonies. Even Patrick Henry, scorned by Jefferson for his triumphs before amateur judges and rural juries of local courts, knew enough to discard his buckskin

for dignified black dress and a freshly powdered wig when he came before the General Court of Virginia.

Moreover, these higher courts brought with them not only rank, pageantry, and a new observance of technical matters, they also provided a forum for the consideration of principles of social order usually designated under the heading "fundamental law." Initially, this legal concept dealt primarily with persons and their property. However, during the upheavals of seventeenth-century England, it was given broad political meanings. This was the legacy of Sir Edward Coke, a lawyer skilled in the crabbed scholarship of feudal holdings and at the same time a man of affairs active in the great political contests of the day. His *Institutes* enjoyed an extraordinary reputation among the learned and ambitious American lawyers. In arguing that the common law, which embodied fundamental law, placed limits on royal prerogative and seemingly on the powers of Parliament, Coke identified the services of the common law with the blessing of liberty. Fundamental law consequently moved closer to that homologous notion of the era, "the constitution." This did not refer to any particular document but rather to a body of fundamental principles revealed in a long series of accepted customs, statutes, and judicial decisions. It was what Jefferson meant when, in 1776, he charged that the king subjected the colonists to a "jurisdiction foreign to our constitution." Both the constitution and fundamental law were held to be invaluable defenders of liberty. Furthermore, for many eighteenth-century American lawyers, liberty became, in Daniel Dulany's overcharged words, "salvation in politics."

Liberty, famously, was one of the watchwords of the American Revolution. During that conflict and its aftermath, delegates in the various colonies set up new rules of governance, fusing the concepts of constitution and fundamental law in written documents set out in statutelike form. The framers of the federal Constitution of 1787, most of whom were lawyers, went even farther in describing their work, within the text itself, as "the Supreme Law of the Land." In construing this Constitution as law, the framers provided the momentous option of interpreting and enforcing the fundamental principles of national government through routine judicial processes. The legal profession, therefore, could become an ex officio interpreter of the national credo. Yet such lofty interests were mixed with the most matter-of-fact enterprise in the workaday world of American lawyers in the post-Revolutionary era.

Both the conservative and transformative lineaments of the Revolution became apparent in the workings of the legal profession. The rankings in the profession, reflecting the aristocratic conceits of English traditions, quickly collapsed. The usages of attorneys, with their apprenticeship training, fee-bills to set the standard of payment, and direct dealings with clients (but, in America, with the right of audience in all courts), became the general characteristics of American lawyers. The English common law, somewhat simplified and adapted to local conditions, remained the basis for legal practice in the courts. The most transformative effect of the Revolution was indirect. As the French Revolution provided the basis of a new social order by the confiscation and sale of the lands of the church and the émigrés, so in a somewhat analogous manner the American Revolution provided the basis of a society of medium-size property owners through the confiscation and sale of the lands of the Native Americans. The social transformation was less apparent in America than France because the church and the aristocrats were preminent in France whereas the Native Americans were on the margins of American society. Nonetheless, after the War of 1812, when the Indian "barrier" was largely removed, the wide-ranging characteristics of a society based on medium-size landownership became apparent. This was clearly visible in the North, though obscured in the South by the relatively small class of splendid plantation owners at the top of society and the large class of black slaves at the bottom. American lawyers were prime agents in setting up and maintaining the rules for this new social order.

Land law became a principal part of the lawyer's day-to-day business. Know-how about the trial of title to land, ejectment, trespass, writs of entry, and remedies for the recovery of real property became essential skills. Men with land to sell came to county courthouses during trial days, and litigation over estates and inheritance brought marketable land into lawyers' hands at other times as well. Lawyers were not only agents but sometimes venturers themselves. The papers of eighteenth-century and early-nineteenth-century lawyers often hold as many documents relating to their own real estate activities as to their legal cases. For some lawyers bold speculation on the fundamental principles of government was accompanied by bold speculation in land. James Wilson, for example, pursued an illustrious career in law and politics that took him from the Revolutionary struggle against Britain to the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention and to a position on the new Supreme Court. Perhaps the acme of that ca-

reer was his public lectures delivered on American government and fundamental law before an audience that included President Washington, Vice President Adams, and leading members of Congress. Yet shortly after he was at the nadir, dying ignominiously in the Carolina backwoods, hiding from the creditors of his land speculations.

Aside from the land market and the legal practice that accompanied it, the other growth industry that created opportunities for lawyers was the development of democratic politics. With the spread of republican institutions, producing many new elective offices, the lawyers who found that they were adept at swaying juries seemed equally adept at swaying electorates. Men of legal training soon came to predominate in American government. Entry into law and politics became increasingly open to men of native wit and cunning though they might have little formal education and meager income. Yet the legal profession seemed to provide something akin to a homespun elite. William Wirt, son of a tavern keeper who rose to the position of the attorney general of the United States, claimed that men of talents in this country were generally bred to the profession of the law: "I have met with few persons of exalted intellect whose powers have been directed to any other pursuit." In the more egalitarian age that was to come, Alexis de Tocqueville, one of the most perceptive of the many foreign visitors who flocked to this country, commented with some amazement that the American lawyer seemed to be a peculiar kind of aristocrat particularly congenial to democracy.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Constitutionalism; Constitutional Law; Education: Professional Education; Founding Fathers; Law: Federal Law; Law: State Law and Common Law; Legal Culture; Liberty; Property; Supreme Court; Supreme Court Justices.**

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Samuel Haber

Physicians

From the colonial period to the 1820s, a profession of medicine existed only in a fragile and nebulous way. As late as 1776 there were perhaps 3,500 more-or-less recognizable “doctors” in the thirteen colonies, but only a tenth held a medical degree. Most of the many practitioners were highly individualistic healers. Those few who tried to distinguish themselves by education and qualification, however, turned to others of the same kind to try to establish a working identity. They always hoped for social recognition. But in a time when a physician functioned largely on the basis of personal authority, a social identity as a professional was usually a secondary consideration for him and his patients.

BECOMING A PRACTITIONER

Many women practiced healing, but none would have been accepted as a professional at that time. Moreover, men claiming professional competence relentlessly displaced women from the mid-eighteenth century to 1830. In the cities, even midwives were losing out to male physicians.

The colonists brought with them the customs of rural practice in England. In London and other cities there were, from medieval times, formal guilds of physicians (learned people), surgeons (especially trained in manual procedures), and apothecaries (specialists in the chemistry and dispensing of medicines). But in the countryside and the colonies, all practitioners, no matter how trained, had to serve as general practitioners and acquired the identity, earned or not, of “doctor.”

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the training of doctors by an apprentice system was well established. Recognized physicians (most famously Dr. John Redman of Philadelphia) took numerous students whom they exploited and instructed in a family setting. Young men who later became leading figures typically after apprenticeship went to Europe, especially to Edinburgh, for further training and a formal degree. More than a hundred physicians had returned from Edinburgh by 1800.

In 1765 John Morgan and other young physicians with Edinburgh degrees persuaded the trustees of the College of Philadelphia to open the first medical school in North America. Others followed in New

York and Boston. After the War of 1812, proprietary schools began to appear.

ESTABLISHING A PROFESSION

Meantime, local groups of medical men had already begun to organize before 1763. Like other professionals, they wished to gain special social recognition for their roles and to exclude others and control competition. They issued “fee bills,” trying to set charges for standard medical procedures. Usually, local groups had only temporary successes. A medical society for a whole colony, New Jersey, was formed in 1766. It was the only colonywide society to survive the American Revolution. The attempt of John Morgan to found an intercolonial medical society in the late 1760s was unsuccessful; the group became simply another local organization in Philadelphia.

Formal licensing by government entities was first simply an endorsement of some person or another as someone with recognized qualifications as a healer. Only in the 1760s and 1770s did colonies respond to consumer concern as well as pressure from leading practitioners to use a license as a requirement rather than just an endorsement. New York passed a law for New York City in 1760. In New Jersey beginning in 1772, practitioners had to be examined by two judges to be permitted to practice.

As the decades passed, in the developed states it became customary to let the state medical society examine candidates and issue licenses (for a fee). And as medical schools were chartered, graduation often automatically entitled the graduate to a license without examination. As yet, enforcement was very weak—except that unlicensed practitioners found it difficult to collect fees in court.

As states that once belonged to France or Spain came into the Union, the highly regulated systems of licensing that had existed did not carry over very well. Furthermore, these states, and Louisiana particularly, suffered from often unseemly competition between the French and Anglo-American practitioners, so that a unified medical community did not exist.

PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Insofar as there was a medical profession, then, the formal institutions of medical organizations and medical schools, both utilized for licensing, were fundamental. By 1800 nine states had state medical societies. Six more appeared before 1820, and after that, midwestern and southern state societies formed. The Revolutionary War had interrupted the functioning of the medical schools, and in 1800 there

were schools only at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, Columbia in New York City, Harvard in Massachusetts, and Dartmouth in New Hampshire. Over the years, only about 250 students had graduated from those schools. By 1829, over 4,000 students had graduated from American medical schools. Since a cheap and easy medical education, including a formal degree, was available by the 1820s, the institution of apprenticeship began slowly to diminish as a source of trained medical practitioners. Daniel Drake of Cincinnati in 1832 asserted, only partially inaccurately, that a license without a degree was a "certificate of inferiority."

A number of physicians in Revolutionary America and the new nation were members of the intellectual elite of the North American colonies and the new nation, contributing—like Alexander Garden of South Carolina, after whom the gardenia was named—to natural history. But their medicine remained practice oriented. Virtually all innovation came from Europe. The first medical journal, the *Medical Repository*, was not founded until 1797, and it included many matters that were not strictly medical, including perhaps the last major defense of the phlogiston theory, by Joseph Priestley, a refugee then living in Pennsylvania. By 1822, twenty-two more medical journals had been established. Most were short-lived, but they helped establish a community within which there was a growing consensus on what a medical practitioner should do, however much their actions varied in detail and application.

By the nineteenth century, there was a sufficient professional community that it could become the object of dissent and even competition. As early as 1811, Samuel Thomson of New Hampshire began to establish a botanic medicine movement as an alternative to "regular" medicine. He was able to patent his system in 1813, and he published his *New Guide to Health* in book form in 1822. Thomson also sold rights to purchasers to practice according to his system and join in "Friendly Societies" with other purchasers. After 1830 other sects, particularly the hydropaths, with their water cure, and homeopaths also began to compete with the regulars in the United States. Insofar as the botanics and the later sectarians criticized the heroic practice of the regulars who bled and purged their patients, they helped draw lines of contestation that stimulated profession formation even more than the usual empirics and quacks who abounded.

See also **Medicine; Patent Medicines; Work; Midwifery.**

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John C. Burnham

PROPERTY According to James Madison, property has two meanings. Sir William Blackstone (1723–1780) defined it as "that dominion which one man claims and exercises over the external things of the world, in exclusion of every other individual." Land, merchandise, or money might thus be called one's "property." But Madison rejected that narrow concept for the Republic and preferred "a larger and juster meaning" that "embraces every thing to which a man may attach a value and have a right; and which leaves to every one else a like advantage." Madison was referring to what we might classify as rights, such as the right to one's religious opinions and their exercise or to "the safety and liberty of his person." For that reason, the American Revolution had begun with calls to protect "Liberty and Property," and after more than a decade and a half of political experiment with republican government, Madison in 1792 was reiterating the guiding principle that "Government is instituted to protect property of every sort; as well that which lies in the various rights of individuals, as that which the term particularly expresses." Liberty and property were inextricably connected, each necessary to the other, each an aspect of the other. Looking forward to the federal Republic newly established under the Constitution, he set the standard for evaluating the fulfillment of the Revolution: "If the United States mean to obtain or deserve the full praise due to wise and just governments, they will equally respect the rights of property, and the property in rights."

THE FOUNDERS AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

The founders of the Republic were drawing on a long tradition in which property guaranteed personal independence and enabled an engaged citizenry to resist the encroachment of arbitrary government power.

John Adams and others were fond of quoting Englishman James Harrington (1611–1677), who in the preceding century had written “Power always follows Property, and if the Republic was to survive, private property must be secured as a counterweight to the power of the state.” Events in the newly independent states under the Articles of Confederation, however, had called that capacity into question, despite efforts to guarantee property rights. Several state constitutions had declared property a natural right or had declared that no one could be “deprived of his life, liberty, or property but by the law of the land.” The new state courts largely continued to follow the common law, accepting the orthodox principle as delineated by Blackstone: “So great . . . is the regard of the law for private property, that it will not authorize the least violation of it.” Nevertheless, legislative responses to military necessity and postwar economic difficulties forced legislatures to confiscate estates and to adopt policies that had the practical effect of taking property. They issued unsecured paper money and made it legal tender for the payment of debts regardless of its depreciated value, or stayed judicial execution of debt judgments. In the minds of many, such acts were tantamount to confiscation of property contrary to the purposes of government and threatening to the cause of liberty. “Property must be secured,” warned John Adams (1735–1826), “or liberty cannot exist.”

The Federal Constitution. The framers of the Constitution, therefore, had property rights in mind among their many concerns when they met in Philadelphia in 1787. In urging its ratification, the authors of *The Federalist* (1787–1788) referred to “property” no less than sixty-four times, concluding with Alexander Hamilton’s praise in *Federalist* No. 85 of proposed constitutional “precautions against the repetition of those practices on the part of the State governments, which have undermined the foundations of property and credit.” Although the Constitution itself did not use the word “property” except in reference to federal property, it contained numerous indirect protections for private property. It barred the federal government from ending the slave trade for twenty years, gave federal protection to the recapture of fugitive slaves, and denied it the power to enact export duties or bills of attainder. More extensive were its limitations on the states: addressing two of the most worrisome threats to property by the states under the Articles, the Constitution denied states the authority to issue bills of credit or impair the obligations of contract.

Even so, reluctant ratifiers demanded a written bill of rights to make explicit protections of liberty and property. Madison responded to the suggestions of the state ratifying conventions with a list of prefatory statements, including the declaration “that government is instituted, and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.” Congress rejected such statements, but in what became the Fifth Amendment, it declared, “No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.”

Property’s social utility. No state convention had requested a “just compensation” clause, though many states had such provisions of their own or followed the lead of the federal Constitution by enacting them in a second wave of state constitution writing. A long common law tradition, as well as the lessons of colonial experience, had demonstrated the importance of private property as the guarantor of individual freedom and the foundation of society. The sanctity of private property, that is, rested as much on its social, or public, utility as on its personal nature. Legal guarantees of the security of private property, according to the standard formulation of the time, were a socially granted right resting on a compact of the people with each other for their collective good. Throughout the colonial period, therefore, assemblies had acted in the public interest by placing limits on land speculation, on interest rates, and on the price of necessities, just as they had granted incentives to encourage the development of necessary public services. They had exercised the common law power of eminent domain for public needs, though always confined by the obligation to provide just compensation to affected owners. Vermont expressed this doctrine in 1786 when it included in its Declaration of Rights the inarguable statement “that private property ought to be subservient to public uses, when necessity requires it; nevertheless, whenever any particular man’s property is taken for the use of the public, the owner ought to receive an equivalent in money.”

REDEFINING PROPERTY RIGHTS

The Revolution placed new and ultimately unbearable demands on traditional concepts such as the “public good” and on the balance between public purpose and private gain. James Wilson, lecturing on property at the new College of Philadelphia while

serving as associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, expressed traditional doctrine when he explained, "Property, highly deserving security, is, however, not an end, but a means. How miserable, and how contemptible is that man, who inverts the order of nature and makes his property, not a means, but an end!" Post-Revolutionary economic and jurisprudential thought, however, was calling into question the ability—or authority—of the state to decide whether gain from a particular use of property was an end in itself or a means to social progress. The founders had drawn their ideas of private property rights from political theory, religion, and morals, but these ideas were gradually replaced by looking at their historical origins and their general social utility.

The impulse to growth and development thus challenged ideas of property rights. Though not as complete a break as the abandonment of state involvement in religion, the state abandonment of mercantilism meant a retreat from government's former level of involvement in economic matters ranging from freedom of contract to concepts of liability. And just as religious activity exploded, so, too, did economic enterprise. The progress of the new republican society remained the goal and purpose of government and law, but its pursuit was increasingly devolving on individuals and the private sector. In the interests of national progress and the public interest, a new instrumental conception of property would change traditional notions of property rights, ranging from concepts of quiet title, vested rights, and even just compensation.

"Public interest": A broadening concept. What was "in the public interest," however? What was a "public use" and what test might apply to determine the proper instrumental achievement of that goal? Popular sovereignty broadened the concept of "public use" to embrace economic "improvement" and granted to private individuals authority once jealously guarded by the state. Eminent domain had once been the exclusive power of the sovereign state, but the sovereign people, acting through their elected representatives, began to grant such power to private individuals acting, presumably, in the public interest. Legislatures did not bow to all demands, and patterns of favoritism toward special interests are difficult to demonstrate. Nevertheless, in the transition from an agricultural economy to one with a vigorous commercial and manufacturing sector, development through eminent domain necessarily took place at the expense of farmers and established economic interests. If, therefore, a private enterprise increased national wealth, it arguably served the public

interest and legislatures allowed private takers to do what only the state had had the authority to do—that is, to take private property, allowing for just compensation. But what was "just compensation"? This, too, was difficult of solution, and many owners of farms felt aggrieved by the methods and principles used to calculate such value by private takers.

The impact of eminent domain on quiet title to property thus epitomized the emerging principle that private gain served the public welfare, but it was only one of many legal changes that challenged traditional ideas about property rights. The creation of the modern business corporation paralleled that development. Once a feature of municipal governance or mercantilist statism by virtue of performing a service for the state, the corporation quickly evolved in the early national period. Constitutional guarantees of the sanctity of contract, initially conceived as protecting contractual obligations between private parties, were extended to corporate grants by states to private individuals or groups. This principle was articulated most famously in the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), which protected legislative grants of incorporation against revocation by a subsequent legislature unless express provision for rescinding them had been made. No such single case advanced the next vital principle, that of limited liability, but by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, courts were protecting the property rights of investors by shielding them from the traditional remedies of creditors against their personal assets. Investors also benefited from the enactment of state bankruptcy laws. Though two attempts at a federal bankruptcy law failed in this period (statutes of 1800 and 1841 were quickly repealed), the Supreme Court helped define the scope of state laws that overcame traditional suspicions and moral disapproval of business failure. Though bitterly contested, such laws obtained the necessary sanction of public approval as conducive to the general progress of society.

One person's enjoyment of greater choice and security of property, of course, might mean another's diminished enjoyment. Although Supreme Court decisions upholding the sanctity of contract supported the principle of vested property rights, the interests of economic advancement worked against them. In the case of *Charles River Bridge v. Warren Bridge* (1837), vested rights were forced to yield to expansion and "improvement." According to the majority opinion of Chief Justice Roger Taney, some property rights had to be sacrificed to others if the new nation was to join the ranks of world powers. The law, he

wrote, must sometimes intervene on the side of progress and enable states “to partake of the benefit of those improvements which are now adding to the wealth and prosperity, and the convenience and comfort of every other part of the civilized world.” Dissenters might assail such decisions as infringements of existing property rights and principles of moral obligation, but the meaning of property itself had changed and its purpose would be subject to the play of politics.

See also **Anti-Federalists; Bankruptcy Law; Bill of Rights; Constitutional Convention; Corporations; Dartmouth College v. Woodward; Debt and Bankruptcy; Founding Fathers; Politics: Political Thought.**

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market economy, unprecedented social and geographical mobility—seemed far more pressing than spiritual ones.

Yet judging by the popular interest in millennialism evident in publications, journals, and newspapers of the period, the revealed word continued to provide the yardstick by which Americans judged themselves and their new society. The United States was in the midst of a new “age of prophecy” in the 1790s and early 1800s, one which had its roots in the fears and hopes of the Revolutionary generation but which would outlast the crisis of war to become a fixed feature of public life in the new Republic. Millennialism was a legacy of the Puritan conquest of the New World, of course, but the Revolution brought long-standing millennial aspirations to a boil. Millennialism added the critical element of eschatological urgency to the Patriot cause and turned a war for national independence into a holy war against the British Antichrist. While a stream of publications prophesied doom for America’s cities and the corrupt imperial establishment in the 1760s and 1770s, feeding Revolutionary demands for a greater popular voice and an end to aristocratic tyranny, a class-inflected millenarianism fueled the agrarian rebellions endemic in the backcountry until the 1820s.

Prophetic visions continued to thrive even after the heat of battle had passed. Though it is difficult to make a precise count, more than 120 men and women considered themselves, or were considered by others, to be prophets in the period from 1780 to 1815. Republican prophets tended to come in two varieties: the genteel and the vulgar. Primarily the preserve of ministers, genteel prophecy was the art of translating biblical metaphors of cataclysm and rebirth into republican analogues. Just as the American Republic promised to usher in a new age of expanded knowledge and enlightened citizenship, so too would the Second Coming of Christ inaugurate an era of universal religious enlightenment. As Samuel Hopkins described it in his *Treatise on the Millennium* (1793), the “conversation of friends and neighbors” will reform monarchical habits and create a universal brotherhood out of newly constituted citizens. This brotherhood will eventually transcend national and linguistic barriers, aided by the creation of a single universal language. “In the Millennium,” he enthused, “all will probably speak *one language*.” And in time, this “universality of language will tend to cement the world of mankind so as to make them *one* in a higher degree” (Juster, *Doomsayers*, p. 159). Hopkins and his fellow republicans were cosmic optimists, preferring to spin utopian visions of global fel-

PROPHECY The early Republic is something of an anomaly in American religious history. Until the Second Great Awakening arrived to revive America’s flagging piety, the citizens of the early nation did not seem especially interested in religion: church attendance was at an all-time low; Anglican ministers had fled the colonies in large numbers during the Revolutionary War, and secular concerns—the formation of new governments, the explosive expansion of the

lowship rather than apocalyptic scenarios of universal destruction.

More common, perhaps, than these gentlemen scholars were the plebian prophets who combined traditional apocalyptic warnings with the language of social grievance. A typical plebian prophet is Nimrod Hughes, the scrappy ex-felon whose one publication, *A Solemn Warning to all the Dwellers Upon Earth*, published in 1811, was an instant best-seller. Federalist newspapers hailed what one called this “extraordinary prophet” who uncannily predicted the War of 1812 (even while denigrating the democratic tendency to trust the visions of ordinary men over the counsel of learned gentlemen), while republican newspapers dismissed Hughes as a “miserably dirty looking creature.” Hughes’s pamphlet is a fair representation of the social and economic woes of the underclasses in the early Republic. The violence, poverty, and oppression he saw all around him was caused by the machinations of “great men” (lawyers, legislators, judges, merchants, shopkeepers) who exploited the economic and political opportunities available in America’s new democratic society. Christ will return in a blaze of glory (on 4 June 1812) to restore the common man to his rightful place, and when he does, the wicked will be destroyed along with the arbitrary and oppressive instruments of man’s justice: “the laws shall be few, and those who compose them shall be few, and those who administer them shall be few.” The voice of outraged populism that narrates *A Solemn Warning* would be heard even more loudly in the 1830s as prophets like Joseph Smith and Robert Mathews made this critique of America’s new commercial and social order the cornerstone of their millenarian movements.

Disaffected Anglo-Americans were not the only ones envisioning a fiery end to the world in the early Republic. The flowering of Native America’s “age of prophecy” in the 1790s and early 1800s also coincided with acute economic distress and political uncertainty in Indian country. Unlike Anglo-American millenarians, however, Indian prophets such as Handsome Lake and Tenskwatawa attached their visions to concrete political and social programs of reform; they told their followers not only to await the avenging Spirit, but to stop drinking, stop trading and intermarrying with whites, avoid intertribal violence, return to a subsistence economy, and shun all white ways. And their followers listened, creating pan-Indian alliances with other tribes in pursuit of these goals, even taking up arms in response to the prophets’ calls for renewal. The fusion of visionary and military aims made the Indian age of prophecy

a far more potent political force than any movement headed by a white American in these years.

However congruent their visions, there is little evidence that these various prophetic worlds overlapped in any meaningful way in the early Republic. Each spun in its own orbit around the sun of the new federal union, generating more heat than light in the wider public culture. But if men like Nimrod Hughes and Handsome Lake do not fit comfortably with our image of the early Republic as an aggressively modernizing era, prophets from a wide variety of social and racial positions did contribute to debates over how Americans should constitute themselves as a nation and what their role should be in the new democratic world taking shape around them—debates at the very heart of public life at the dawn of the new century.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Religions; Millennialism; Mormonism, Origins of.**

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PROSLAVERY THOUGHT The new American nation began with an assertion that “all men are created equal” and that they were all entitled to “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” These philosophical underpinnings of the nation challenged the legitimacy of slavery. As threatening as the philosophical challenge was the practical challenge. Slavery existed in all of the thirteen new states, but it was clearly weaker in some than in others. Many northerners found slavery immoral and in conflict with the ideology of the Revolution. The Revolution threatened slavery in other practical ways. The Continental Congress expected the states to contribute soldiers and money to the cause and wanted to assess each state’s contribution according to its population.

The critical question, for southerners, was whether that population would include slaves or just free people. This issue reemerged at the Constitutional Convention of 1787. By the end of the early national period, southerners would have begun to develop a clear defense of slavery.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

In 1775 the Continental Congress began to discuss how to pay for the ongoing Revolution. John Dickinson, a Delaware Quaker, offered a draft proposal to assess a tax on each state according to its population. Southerners objected, asserting that the population count should not include slaves. Samuel Chase of Maryland, for example, argued that slaves should not be taxed any more than should the cattle of New England. John Adams answered that laborers, free or slave, all produced wealth for the state. When southerners objected, saying that slaves were not as productive as free people, James Wilson of Pennsylvania suggested, perhaps sarcastically, that perhaps, then, the slaves should all be emancipated. This led Thomas Lynch of South Carolina to assert that if the delegates were to question whether slaves were property, the entire idea of a national government would be ended.

This debate illustrated one aspect of early proslavery thought: that slaves were property and could only be considered as property, and that if anyone suggested otherwise, southerners would walk out of the nation and form their own country. Rather than defend their right to own slaves, Lynch, Chase, and other slaveholding southerners simply took the issue off the table. No one had the right, they asserted, to even question the legitimacy of slavery.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Such tactics may have worked in the rough-and-tumble of the Continental Congress, but at the Constitutional Convention of 1787, more articulate arguments had to be made. Behind the closed doors of the Philadelphia Convention, where posturing was pointless, southern delegates demanded protection for their slave property and indicated they would not support a new government without specific constitutional provisions supporting slavery. They also offered two new defenses of their institution. The first was economic. South Carolinians asserted that they could not survive without their slaves, that slavery was essential to their economy. In a debate over the African slave trade, General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina asserted that a prohibition of the trade would force South Carolina and

Georgia “to confederate” on “unequal terms” and would in effect be “an exclusion of S. Carola [sic] from the Union.” He declared “S. Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves.” Edward Rutledge and Pierce Butler, also of South Carolina, as well as Abraham Baldwin of Georgia and Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, made similar arguments. Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, who would serve as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court after the Constitution was ratified, accepted this economic argument, refusing to debate the “morality or wisdom of slavery” and simply asserting that “what enriches a part enriches the whole.” The second argument was historical. Charles Pinckney, a cousin of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, explained to the convention that the great civilizations of the ancient world, Rome and Greece, had been slave societies and that slavery was “justified by the example of all the world.”

A THREE-PRONGED DEFENSE

The new nation thus began with a three-pronged defense of slavery that would serve southerners for more than six decades. First was a political defense of the institution, which began with an implicit bargain at the Constitutional Convention. The Constitution in the end did protect slavery in many ways. The three-fifths clause, the fugitive slave clause, and the protection of the African slave trade for at least twenty years all strengthened slavery. Southerners could legitimately claim that they supported the Constitution because it acknowledged the importance of slavery. Tied to this was the claim, which held up through most of the early national period, that an attack on slavery would undermine the Union itself. Second was the emerging economic argument: the South could not survive without slavery, and so slavery was vital to the success of the nation. Southerners were quick to point out that the nation’s most important exports were tobacco and rice and, after 1800, cotton—all produced by slave labor. Finally, there was the historical argument that slavery had been part of the great classical societies and so must be legitimate. The importance of so many slaveholders in the Revolution, starting with Washington and Jefferson, seemed to confirm that slavery made the American Republic possible. The argument that slavery was a “positive good,” however, was not widely employed in its full-fledged version until the 1820s.

ARGUMENTS FROM SCRIPTURE

Opponents of slavery turned to the Bible to attack the institution, but as early as the 1770s, ministers in

the colonies and in England were using the Bible to defend bondage. Biblical arguments would become more fully developed in the antebellum period, but at the time of the Revolution, slave owners could draw spiritual comfort from ministers and scholars who pointed out that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible. Richard Nisbet's *Slavery Not Forbidden by Scripture*, published in Philadelphia in 1773, was just one of a number of tracts and essays defending slavery on biblical grounds. Similarly, *Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade*, published in London in 1788, provided ammunition for slaveholders in the United States and the Caribbean, as well as slave traders in England.

PROSLAVERY AND RACE

Ultimately, slavery, especially in the United States, was about race. In the early national period scholars on both sides of the Atlantic began to consider why Africans were different from Europeans, and if that justified slavery. Well before the Revolution, David Hume argued that mankind stemmed from separate creations. Hume was not a defender of slavery, but his theory was attractive to those who were. Scientists in the antebellum period would elaborate on this theory and conclude that blacks were innately inferior to whites. This theory was in opposition to the single Creation described in the Bible. Religious defenders of slavery rejected the idea of a separate creation. They used the story of Noah to explain the existence of Africans. They argued that blacks were the descendants of Noah's cursed grandson, Canaan. The curse of Canaan was blackness, which led to a new proslavery argument, because the curse implied that Canaan would be the servant of his brothers—in other words, a slave. Thus, by the end of the early national period proslavery theorists were arguing that the Bible not only sanctioned slavery, but that blacks were created by God after the Flood to become slaves.

Perhaps the most important proslavery argument to emerge from the new nation came from Thomas Jefferson, the man who had drafted the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration may have asserted that "all men are created equal," but in his own writings Jefferson argued otherwise. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), Jefferson asserted that "in general, their existence appears to participate more of sensation than reflection. To this must be ascribed their disposition to sleep when abstracted from their diversions, and unemployed in labour. An animal whose body is at rest, and who does not reflect, must be disposed to sleep of course." Absurdly,

he suggested blackness might come "from the colour of the blood." He even suggested that blacks might inbreed with the "Oran-ootan." He argued that bondage did not prevent Roman slaves from achieving distinction in science, art, or literature because "they were of the race of whites"; American slaves could never achieve such distinction because they were not white. Jefferson argued that American Indians had "a germ in their minds which only wants [lacks] cultivation"; they were capable of "the most sublime oratory." But he had never found a black who "had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never saw an elementary trait of painting or sculpture." Jefferson found "no poetry" among blacks. He wrote that

comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me, that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid; and that in imagination they are dull, tasteless, and anomalous.

Jefferson conceded blacks were brave, but this, he believed, was due to "a want of forethought, which prevents their seeing a danger till it be present."

Jefferson's Declaration may have undermined slavery and provided a philosophical basis for anti-slavery in the generation after the nation's founding. But his *Notes on the State of Virginia* helped create a scientific and racial defense of slavery that would serve masters until the Civil War and segregationists for a century after that.

See also Antislavery; Constitutional Convention; Jefferson, Thomas; Racial Theory; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation.

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PROSTITUTES AND PROSTITUTION Prostitution—here defined as commercial sexual relations between male buyers and female sellers—developed slowly in the colonial era, but by the mid-eighteenth century it had become quite noticeable in colonial cities. Boston, Newport, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston had prostitutes by the 1750s who worked out of taverns and brothels, catering primarily to sailors and other transients. All port cities had brothels near the waterfronts, and additional establishments were scattered elsewhere in the communities. New York, for instance, had near the future location of City Hall a brothel section called the Holy Ground (because of its proximity to St. Paul’s Chapel). Rural prostitution no doubt existed in a limited way, especially with a barter arrangement between male and female, but records yield very little information about such activities. Homosexual prostitution, if it existed at all, is missing from historical accounts.

FORMS OF PROSTITUTION

The presence of British soldiers in the colonies in the 1760s and 1770s increased the demand for prostitutes, as did the stationing in the cities of soldiers during the Revolutionary War. Commercial developments that led to a growing market economy in the early years of the nineteenth century and further economic stimulation by the War of 1812 brought thousands of unmarried men and women to port cities and industrializing towns and villages. Not only did greater numbers of women enter this line of work, but it became more diverse and specialized. By the 1820s in New York, for instance, hundreds of women prostituted themselves in dockside brothels in lower Manhattan. Above them in the prostitutes’ own rankings were the streetwalkers who offered their favors to men along Broadway and other fashionable streets. They also frequented theaters, taverns, and similar businesses, finding customers to take to nearby assignation houses. Still higher in the prostitute’s world were the young women with more education and refinement who lodged in the so-called fancy brothels, often located in respectable neighborhoods. These women catered to the city’s elite, who came to the brothels not only for the

women, but also to enjoy the lifestyle of rich furnishings and champagne. Boston and Philadelphia had similar prostitute communities.

Southern Americans boasted in the early nineteenth century that prostitution was not a problem in their region, mainly because the slave system gave white men all the sexual outlets that they needed. In New Orleans and Charleston, however, prostitutes not only operated in the usual manner, but slave and free quadroons (women who were at least three-quarters white with some African ancestry) created another occupational variation. Annual balls brought these women of color into contact with wealthy planters and businessmen, who then took the women as their mistresses, offering them homes, clothing, and other refinements and often sealing the bargain with signed contracts.

MONEY AS THE LEADING MOTIVE

Whether a waterfront prostitute or an elegant mistress, these women chose their occupation primarily for the money. By the early nineteenth century, a new prudery concerning female sexuality put a greater value on chastity, which in turn led to “fallen” women being scorned by family and community and ending up as prostitutes, but the money factor outranked even this as a cause of prostitution. As late as the 1820s, women’s jobs outside the home were few and usually offered very poor compensation. Seamstresses in American cities seldom earned more than a dollar per week, and factory workers rarely earned more than two dollars. Even educated women working as schoolteachers earned about a dollar per week. Prostitutes in waterfront dives, in contrast, made as much as twenty dollars per week, streetwalkers as much as fifty dollars, and those in elegant brothels as much as one hundred dollars. The lack of well-paying jobs for women of all classes would continue to add to the prostitutes’ ranks for the remainder of the nineteenth century.

CONTROLLING PROSTITUTION

Unless they became public nuisances, prostitutes seldom drew the attention of colonial authorities. Boston banned brothel keeping as early as 1672, not just because of the sinful behavior of prostitutes and their customers but because they were disturbing the peace. From time to time, city governments had night watchmen and marshals close the most flagrant of prostitute resorts, and mobs from the neighborhood sometimes attacked brothels as well. By the 1800s, though, as the cities began rapid expansion and population growth, prostitution drew

more opposition. In 1823 in Boston, Mayor Josiah Quincy himself led raids on the Hill, a section of the city also called Mount Whoredom. Over a hundred cases were brought to court, many involving charges of keeping a disorderly house or being a public nuisance. Occasional raids in the other cities brought arrests on similar charges.

Another approach to the problem came from the Protestant religious groups influenced by the Second Great Awakening, a sustained revival during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Attacking the sin by reforming the sinner, male and female Evangelicals supported the founding of asylums for penitent prostitutes, places where the women could be instructed in religion and trained in a respectable occupation. Based on a British institution founded in 1758, the Philadelphia asylum opened in 1800, and one in New York began operations in 1812. Although neither asylum lasted more than a few years and they redeemed no more than a few prostitutes, a major shift in dealing with prostitution was under way. Prostitutes over the next few decades would increasingly be seen not as public nuisances but as victims of poor economic conditions and male lust. Better opportunities for women seeking employment would be one goal of the men and women trying to eradicate prostitution. The other goal would be to eliminate the sexual predation of men, whether as seducers of women or as the prostitutes' customers. Also of great importance would be the growing control of the antiprostitution drive by women, who by the 1830s would see both the reclamation of prostitutes and the prevention of prostitution as reforms belonging distinctly to females.

See also **Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Work: Women's Work.**

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PROVIDENCE, R.I. In 1730 the population of Providence was 3,916, and the town included all of present-day Providence County west of the Blackstone River. However, so many farmers had moved into the “outlands” of Providence that three large towns (Scituate, Glocester, and Smithfield) were set off from the parent community in 1731. Before the colonial period came to a close, an inner ring of three more farm towns (Cranston, 1754; Johnston, 1759; and North Providence, 1765) were carved from Providence's territory. What remained (less than six square miles) at the head of Narragansett Bay was predominantly commercial and increasingly cosmopolitan in character.

By the 1760s Providence had a population of four thousand, a flourishing maritime trade, a merchant aristocracy, a few important industries, a body of skilled artisans, a newspaper and printing press, a stagecoach line, and several impressive public buildings. Great Britain's passage of the Sugar Act in 1764, levying a duty on sugar and molasses imports so essential to Providence distilleries and to the “triangular trade” in rum and slaves, set in motion a wave of local protest that crested in 1776. As the colonies edged toward the brink of separation with England, the town of Providence, urged on by local pamphleteers calling for autonomy, became a leader of the resistance movement.

In June 1772 Providence merchants and sailors burned the customs sloop *Gaspée*, and in June 1775 they burned tea in Market Square. Providence citizens led the way in calling for the Continental Congress and in founding a Continental navy. Providence escaped enemy occupation, a fate that arrested growth in Newport, the colony's largest town. French troops moved in and out of Providence from July 1780 to May 1782, and it was from this point, in June 1781, that Rochambeau's army began its fateful march southward to Yorktown. After the war ended, Providence resumed its pattern of growth. When American ships were barred from the British West Indies in 1784, local merchants replaced this important colonial trading partner with ports in Latin America and Asia.

Providence moved into the front rank of the new nation's municipalities, first as a bustling port and then as an industrial and financial center. Providence merchants, especially the Brown family, accumulated the investment capital to sponsor experiments in manufacturing. In 1790 Samuel Slater, the Browns' protégé, initiated the transition, completed by the 1830s, from maritime to manufacturing activity as

the heart of Providence's economy. Providence's four major areas of manufacturing endeavor—base metals and machinery, cotton textiles, woolen textiles, and jewelry and silverware—were established by 1830, and for the next century they dominated the city's economy, making Providence the industrial leader of the nation's most industrialized state. Providence owed this primacy to its superior financial resources and banking facilities, its position as the hub of southeastern New England's transportation network, and especially to its skilled workforce and enterprising business leaders.

In January 1801 the city suffered a disastrous fire that destroyed thirty-seven buildings on South Main Street. The Great Gale of September 1815 left the entire waterfront in shambles. The War of 1812 brought hardship to commerce, and the Panic of 1819 interrupted economic recovery. Most serious, however, were the town's internal growing pains. In 1820 the population of Providence reached 11,745. By 1830 the number of inhabitants had jumped to 16,832, of whom 1,213 (7.2 percent) were black. During the 1820s, tensions increased between the white working class and the black community. The fact that blacks were stripped of the right to vote in 1822 and were segregated by the Providence School Law of 1828 intensified their resentment.

In September 1831 a race riot erupted, beginning with a clash between some rowdy white sailors and blacks living in Olney's Lane. This four-day episode, in which five men died, was the final catalyst for municipal change. A town meeting on 5 October 1831 decided to adopt a city form of government, and the General Assembly agreed. In November the charter was issued and ratified by the town's electorate. In 1832 Providence became a city with a mayor-council form of government that replaced the traditional town meeting.

See also **Manufacturing; New England; Rhode Island.**

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Patrick T. Conley

PUBLIC OPINION On 16 April 1816 the *Washington National Register* carried a bitter comment by Napoleon Bonaparte, as he was departing for exile: "A new power has started up in every country, which is called public opinion, from the empire of which no person can withdraw himself, and to whose tribunal governments themselves instantly appeal." The rise of this new power of public opinion was a central part of the history of the United States from the 1750s to the 1820s. As in Europe, the ideas and practices of public opinion in America emerged with the rise of the newspaper press and the civil associations of what is now called the public sphere. But in the early United States the concept of public opinion had both a longer history and a more complicated relationship with revolution and nation building. And by 1829 the question of who exactly the American public was, and what sorts of opinions it might have, was about to explode in complexity.

AN EMERGING COLONIAL PUBLIC AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The idea that a "public" existed and might have an "opinion" had begun to develop by the mid-eighteenth century. The basis of government in colonial America lay in charters guaranteeing rights to representation in assemblies, confirmed to the colonies at large in the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689. But such rights were limited to men of property, and even they did not necessarily have the information that would allow them to form opinions that would mark them as "public men." Opinions abounded, but they were effectively the privileges of officially recognized bodies: judges, juries, assemblies, governors, churches. Public authorities deferred to what they called the "sense of the people" or the "minds of the people," but not to "public opinion." But by the early eighteenth century, as in English provincial towns, a specific but unrecognized public began to appear within the ranks of the "people." By 1760 there was a total of eighteen newspapers being printed in the colonies. Distinct public spheres comprised of these newspapers and small clubs and societies began to emerge in the leading colonial seaport towns, providing a field of information, commentary, and debate to an emerging "informed public." In the highly literate northern seaports this public spread beyond the bourgeois respectability of the merchant and master artisan to include women and laboring men. But in the vast stretches of the early American farming towns and counties the emergence of such a public was far more limited, both by the lack of print and a variable litera-

cy: stronger in rural New England, it was weakest in the plantation South and the arc of the frontier back-country.

These colonial patterns shaped American politics during the imperial crisis and the opening of the Revolution. The emergence of an American public was just strong enough to fool the British, but just weak enough to permit divisions among the colonials. The British government, under the ministry of George Grenville, assumed that Americans were divided by colonial boundaries and unable to generate a unified resistance to the Stamp Act in 1765. These assumptions were foiled by the network of newspapers, themselves targeted by the act with a wide array of other paper documents, which worked to shape a common resistance in the seaport towns and circles of planter gentry. On the other hand, people in more remote regions poorly supplied with news often had only the vaguest notions of the issues at stake. During the ensuing era of the Townshend Act resistance beginning in 1767, and then under the Articles of Association in the fall of 1774, opinion certainly was shaped by the growing number of newspapers, thirty-seven in 1775, but also by the threat of force. Individuals throughout the colonies were confronted with the demands of committees that they sign articles of nonconsumption or Continental Association, while printers not supporting the American cause were driven out of business. Once the war broke out state legislatures imposed a level of censorship on print to maintain the cause. Although Thomas Paine appealed to the “Common Sense” of the American people, that sense was shaped by the imperatives of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary force. During eight years of war that “sense of the people” was sharply divided: historians still accept the basic thrust of John Adams’s sober assessment that during the Revolution a third of Americans had been Patriots, a third Tories, and a third disaffected.

CONFEDERATION AND CONSTITUTION: COMPETING UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE PUBLIC

During the Confederation that followed the war, American opinion was fragmented, volatile, and controversial. Within the federated states the ranks of the public had been widened as much by Revolutionary mobilization as the growing number of newspapers. It manifested a spirit of populist democracy, and in state after state majorities of voters elected legislatures that protected the assets of poor households against the pressure of private and public debt. This Confederation-era state politics, unfolding in small, face-to-face legislative districts, derived more from the militia field than the newspaper.

The campaign to write and ratify a national constitution in 1787–1788 tipped the balance toward the beginnings of a recognizably modern understanding of public opinion. The Federalist proponents of the Constitution won ratification in critical states, most importantly New York, by the narrowest of margins, and after a full-scale effort in the press, where the printers almost uniformly supported the Federalist cause. This advantage contributed to their sweeping victory in the first federal elections, and in the first years of the 1790s the printers of what were now roughly ninety newspapers worked to shape a remarkable consensus of support for the new federal Republic.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

The federal constitution had established not just a national government but a national context of publicity, shaped by a new national system of mail. As a national politics emerged, the old corporate language of the “people” began to give way rapidly to a new language of the “public”: the terms “public opinion” and “public mind” appeared in American newspapers and magazines with accelerating frequency, surging with each presidential election. The Federalists in power attempted to manage this opinion with the founding of the *Gazette of the United States*: they hoped to build a political order in which voters chose lawmakers but articulated no opinions regarding the policies of government. Opposition soon emerged: as soon as Alexander Hamilton presented his plan for a national bank, Jefferson and his Democratic Republican followers demanded that voters think for themselves and form their own independent opinions, the central goal of the Democratic societies of 1793–1794. Although the Federalists decried the Republican efforts as factional—raising “passion” and “party” against “reason” and good government, and “inflaming” and “corrupting” public opinion—they themselves mobilized public opinion in organizing a wave of petitioning to ensure the funding of Jay’s Treaty in 1796.

Jeffersonian appeals to opinion—and the possibility of war with France—precipitated the Federalist effort at suppression, the Sedition Act of 1798, which made the writing or publishing of criticism of the government punishable by fines and imprisonment. The Jeffersonians were not cowed. The historian Jeffrey Pasley has demonstrated that Republican newspapers spread even more rapidly after the Sedition Act than before it, and the arrest and conviction of twenty-five editors merely provided a wider sense of outrage. A host of young men taking up political

printing in the months before the election of 1800—publishing many of the roughly 230 newspapers in circulation—narrowly swung the popular vote to Jefferson’s Republicans. This generational experience launched the career of many a political editor, as this cohort became the foundation of political opinion making for both Democratic and the National-Republican/Whig Parties.

The seesaw of repression and mobilization of 1798–1800 crystallized the emerging role that the scholar David Waldstreicher has ascribed to the early political parties: Federalist and Republican visions became the vehicles for competing understandings of the nation and the purposes of its government. But the concept of public opinion retained an ambiguity that it may not have shed to this day. Although made up of millions of individual opinions, “public opinion” was still conceived in monolithic terms. Even after Jefferson’s election, political parties were seen as illegitimate factions of interested men that in some way violated the reason of the true public. The press labored under the threat of libel suits brought by both Republicans and Federalists for partisan purposes. Exactly when Americans began to be truly comfortable with the legitimacy of opposing opinion is a matter of some debate among historians. Whereas the historian Richard Hofstadter has argued that partisan opinion was accepted in the United States by the 1820s, a number of other historians have dissented, arguing that many Americans into the 1830s were uncomfortable with party and organized political opinion, and saw it as undermining a broader, more legitimate public opinion.

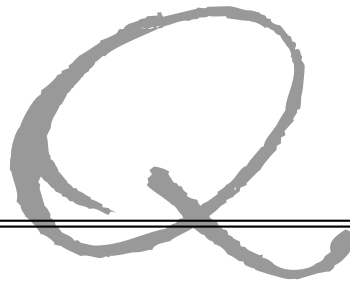
Throughout this era, stretching back into the mid-eighteenth century, the emerging idea of public opinion had had other limits and boundaries. It was still assumed to be the domain of propertied, literate respectability. But in the 1820s the boundaries around public opinion were beginning to be challenged by “counter-publics,” as women, free blacks, and unpropertied labor were beginning to be heard and read in public. These first tentative developments in the 1820s anticipated an explosive transformation of public discourse in the 1830s, and the emergence of a truly modern configuration of public opinion.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; American Character and Identity; Articles of Confederation; Constitutionalism; American Colonies; Democratic Republicans; Election of 1800; Federalism; Federalist Party; Federalists; Hamilton, Alexander; Jay’s Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Newspapers; Paine, Thomas; Politics: Political Culture; Politics: Political Parties and the Press; Popular Sovereignty; Press, The; Print Culture; Revolution: Social History; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Townshend Act.**

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John L. Brooke



QUAKERS Quakers, also known as the Society of Friends, began as a religious movement in 1652 in northern England. Religious persecution, harassment, arrest, and execution led the followers of George Fox, the pioneer of the faith, to the colonies in search of religious freedom. Seeds of the faith were first planted in the mid-Atlantic in the late seventeenth century, when the Quaker colony of West Jersey was founded. This colony was managed by William Penn (1644–1718), who in 1681 established Pennsylvania on land granted to him by King Charles II. In spite of continued persecution, the Friends moved southward to Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The popularity of the faith reached its peak during the Revolutionary era. At that time, Quakers numbered 50,000 among the total colonial population of 1,580,000.

On the question of independence, the Quakers faced trouble from both sides. The British questioned the Quakers' loyalty to the crown. The new American Patriots assumed all Friends were Tories because, as pacifists, members refused to take a stand on independence and Quaker men refused to enlist in the Continental Army. Quakers also refused to pay war taxes. Large numbers of Quakers throughout the colonies did in fact side with the Patriots. Those few

Quakers who fought in the war were no longer allowed to attend meetings.

Quakerism in America did not catch on quickly or develop easily. "Missionaries" and their converts were routinely ostracized. Because of the perseverance of such Quakers as martyr Mary Dyer, hung in Boston for her beliefs in 1660, William Penn, and John Woolman, who advocated an end to slavery among fellow Quakers, the Friends made a significant impact on the development of the new nation.

ASPECTS OF QUAKERISM

Throughout the religion's history, differences in beliefs have resulted in splits within the faith. However, the basic tenet of the faith is the concept of inner light, which holds that anyone is capable of a direct experience with God through quiet seeking and diligent searching. Quakers view men and women as equals, and both sexes participate in leading services, called meetings, whenever they are moved to speak. They do not use trained clergy. Quakers do not observe traditional sacraments like communion. They sing hymns at some pastoral meetings, but otherwise services are unusually quiet, with members searching through solitary introspection to connect with God.

Quakers in early America wore stark dress and shunned material goods such as lavish furnishings,

jewelry, and colorful clothing. Many members, through thrift and successful business practices, became wealthy and were known for purchasing goods of the finest quality but the plainest nature. Some members of the Society of Friends took strong stances on social issues: they opposed slavery, espoused pacifism, expressed concern over the treatment of Native Americans, and supported education and care of the impoverished.

QUAKER ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

Before and after the Revolution, Quakers spoke out loudly against slavery. Members first denounced the idea of owning slaves, then encouraged members to emancipate their slaves and eventually ousted members who refused to do so. The politician John Dickinson (1732–1808), called the “penman of the revolution,” succumbed to the pressures of his local meeting in Delaware and the desires of his Quaker wife and provided gradual emancipation of the slaves on his Delaware plantation.

Two leading Quaker antislavery advocates in the late eighteenth century were John Woolman, the author of *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* (1754), and Anthony Benezet. Their influence extended throughout the mid-Atlantic region. After the Revolution, Quakers increased their abolitionist work. Lucretia Mott (1793–1880), an early advocate for women’s rights, spoke out against slavery and the consumption of goods produced by slave labor. The journalist William Lloyd Garrison (1805–1879) was imprisoned for his outspoken attacks against slavery while writing for *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, edited by the abolitionist Benjamin Lundy (1789–1839).

Quaker efforts resulted in organizations dedicated to abolishing slavery: the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, Unlawfully Held in Bondage (1775); and the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (1787). By 1784 Yearly Meetings of the Society of Friends had followed the lead of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to ban the ownership of slaves among their members. In 1790 Friends presented a petition to Congress calling for the abolition of the slave trade and mounted a concerted antislavery effort to pressure the federal government in Philadelphia.

This activism caused many Quakers to be forced out of their communities in the southern colonies. As southern Quakers emancipated their slaves, they faced harsh criticism from the proslavery communi-

ty. Yet the antislavery urgings of such early leaders as Woolman and Benezet kept Friends focused on ending human bondage. In many instances, the decision to free their slaves left southern Quakers destitute, while others spent small fortunes to bring lawsuits against neighbors who simply bought the slaves as quickly as the Friends freed them.

The opening of the Northwest Territory appealed to many Quakers, and a large migration began toward Ohio and Indiana. Once established in these locales, some Friends became involved in the Underground Railroad, putting Quakers in the forefront as the group most friendly to slaves. A network of safe houses and routes to freedom and Canada were established in the Midwest, out of the South, and along the mid-Atlantic coast. Quakers, non-Quakers, blacks, and whites risked their safety for the antislavery cause. One of the best-known Quakers associated with the Underground Railroad is Thomas Garrett of Delaware, who helped hundreds of runaway slaves to freedom.

QUAKERS AND NATIVE AMERICANS

Whereas most Euro-Americans viewed Native Americans as savages, Quakers, according to their belief that all people are precious in the eyes of God, approached Native American relations with the same level of respect they offered to their fellow Society members. During the period of Western expansion, Quakers lived in harmony with Native Americans and established trade and business relations with them. Non-Quakers’ disdain for Native Americans sometimes resulted in violent conflicts, but Quakers had no such problems on the frontier.

FACTIONALISM

As some Quakers started to place emphasis on evangelical matters and called for meetings to develop more fundamental interpretations of the Bible, rumblings of discontent spread through the Quaker community. Historically, Quakers shunned the idea of forced doctrine. A relatively uneducated but pious farmer, Elias Hicks, vehemently opposed the changes being forced upon the faith. In 1827, when a resolution could not be reached and the more powerful elders of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting blasted Hicks, the Quaker church split into two factions: the Hicksite Movement and the Orthodox. Further divisions took place during the years to follow.

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Shaun-Marie Newcomer

QUARTERING ACT The Quartering Acts of 1765, 1766, and 1774 were among the measures implemented by Parliament to reorganize the empire after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). In 1764, the commander in chief of the British Army in America, Thomas Gage, asked Parliament to extend the Mutiny Act—the constantly renewed law that allowed Britain to retain a peacetime standing army inside the realm—to the colonies. Gage hoped that the law would clear up any uncertainty as to how the army would be housed in peacetime, since Americans had never before had to consider the infrastructure problems caused by the presence of a standing army. During war, local officials had quartered and supplied troops according to necessity, an informal arrangement that traditionally had included the practice of quartering troops in private homes. Gage sought to formalize this ad hoc system.

Parliament passed the first Quartering Act in March 1765 for a two-year term. It required the American colonies to provide housing and supplies for the army. The following year, a second, more extensive act instructed officials in America to purchase any available vacant buildings for troop quarters—at provincial expense. Despite popular misunderstanding, the act actually banned the policy of using private homes as a cheaper alternative to quarter soldiers. In the charged atmosphere of 1766–1767, many Americans interpreted the Quartering Act simply as another form of unjust taxation.

Because the Quartering Act left the details up to the colonial assemblies, it proved easy to evade: legislatures simply did not have to grant the needed funds. This is exactly what the New York assembly did in December 1766. Even though several colonies had resisted the act, Parliament decided to make an example of New York, passing the Restraining Act of 1767, which suspended the New York assembly until it complied with the Quartering Act. While compromise prevented the actual dissolution of New York's legislature, Americans understood the dangerous implications of the Restraining Act.

Parliament passed a third Quartering Act on 2 June 1774 as one of the Intolerable Acts to punish

Boston for its Tea Party. Because Boston had no barracks, British troops since their arrival in 1768 had been quartered in Castle William, a fort on an island in the harbor, rather than in the city itself. The Quartering Act of 1774 sought to amend this situation, stipulating that colonial authorities provide quarters on the spot of their assignment. Officers were also given the right to refuse unsuitable housing and permission to possess vacant locations if requests were not granted within twenty-four hours.

Although Americans generally condemned the Intolerable Acts, reaction to the Quartering Act was mild compared to the other measures. Still, the act and the threat of a standing army that it represented constituted part of the revolutionaries' justification for resistance. The Declaration of Independence included both the Quartering and Restraining Acts in its list of grievances against the king. The Bill of Rights, moreover, reassured Americans that they would not have to face a similar threat. The Third Amendment states that “no Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.”

See also **Bill of Rights; Intolerable Acts**.

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Robert G. Parkinson

QUASI-WAR WITH FRANCE The first foreign war fought by the United States under the Constitution was an undeclared naval conflict with France known as the Quasi-War (1798–1801). The young Republic was nominally allied to France under a 1778 treaty negotiated during the American Revolution. Although French leaders did not expect the United States to enter the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1801), they did expect the new nation to pursue a pro-French foreign policy. When the

United States in 1794 signed the Jay Treaty, a commercial agreement with Great Britain, France felt betrayed. When the young Republic ratified the treaty the following year, France severed diplomatic (although not consular) relations and unleashed its warships and privateers on American commerce around the globe. France's aims were to bully the United States into repudiating the Jay Treaty and to loot American commerce.

In 1797 President John Adams sought to negotiate an end to the depredations by dispatching a diplomatic mission to Paris. But as a price for talking to the American delegation, the French government demanded an apology, a \$220,000 bribe, and a \$12 million loan. The American envoys rejected these demands. Because the secret agents who delivered the French demands were designated X, Y, and Z in the diplomatic report sent back to the United States, this matter was ever thereafter known as the XYZ affair. Many Americans responded with the defiant slogan "millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

Outraged by the French shakedown attempt as well as the continued depredations at sea, Congress in 1798 authorized limited hostilities. American warships were authorized to attack armed French vessels, and American merchant vessels were permitted to arm for defense. This response proved remarkably effective. Under the direction of the newly created Navy Department, American warships, operating mainly in the Caribbean (where most of the French depredations had occurred), captured or defeated eighty-six armed French ships and recaptured seventy American merchantmen while losing only one warship. Armed merchantmen took eight additional armed French vessels and recaptured six prizes. More important, they fought off or scared off countless French cruisers that threatened them.

France had no interest in waging a war that might undermine its war effort against Great Britain. Hence, in 1799 France's new leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, indicated an interest in peace. Against the

wishes of many fellow Federalists, Adams responded by sending a diplomatic mission to Paris. The result was the Convention of 1800, which called for the United States to waive millions of dollars in claims for the French depredations that had occurred since 1795. In exchange for this concession, France agreed to suspend the treaty of alliance (as well as a companion treaty of commerce) that had bound the two nations together since 1778. The ratification of the Convention of 1800 the following year brought the Quasi-War to an end.

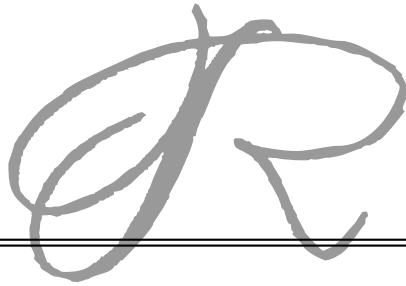
This limited war was soon forgotten, although it demonstrated how, given just the right circumstances, a second-rate power might work its will on a great power. Not only was France preoccupied with its British war, but the Royal Navy kept the French navy in check. This allowed the U.S. Navy to conduct a successful campaign in the Caribbean, shutting down the French war on American commerce there and driving down marine insurance rates. The navy also showed the flag in European waters as well as the Pacific and Indian Oceans. In addition, American merchantmen demonstrated that with a few naval guns and the will to use them, it was possible to scare off the small French privateers that were looking for easy prey. All in all, the war was a remarkable vindication of sea power for the fledgling Republic and served notice on Europe of a rising naval power in the West.

See also **Adams, John.**

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Donald R. Hickey



RACIAL THEORY European prejudices against Africans are ancient. But systematic, socially significant explanations of racial difference—racial theory—began in the late eighteenth century. Such rationalizations of race played an increasingly important role in the escalating race and slavery debates that ran from the Revolution to the Civil War.

In the eighteenth century, as long before, most Europeans and European Americans believed that Africans descended from Adam and Eve and were thus fully human. Departures from the supposed white human norm were seen as functions of environment. In keeping with the idea that acquired characteristics are inherited, the hot African sun and African “savagery” had made “blacks” biologically distinct, ugly, and stupid. Only in the era of “all men are created equal” and the American Revolution was antiblack prejudice first seriously challenged, and only then did Anglo-Americans countenance the idea of universal emancipation. Intellectually, the challenge to prejudice came in terms of instances of accomplished blacks. According to the Enlightenment philosopher John Locke, humanity was defined by the possession of reason and imagination. Hence African Americans of high achievement—such as the Boston slave poet Phillis Wheatley and the Maryland mathematician Benjamin Banneker, who helped sur-

vey the site of the District of Columbia and published a noted almanac—seemed to prove that blacks were fully human, created equal. So did the tens of thousands of African Americans who fled to British lines and were promised freedom during the Revolution itself.

The initial white response was not to deny human unity and descent outright. Instead, prominent European Americans like Thomas Jefferson argued that, whatever explained black inferiority, blacks were now too distinctly marked ever to become American citizens with full political rights. Either they had to remain in bonds or they had to be sent away through some sort of program of gradual emancipation and forced emigration. Otherwise, as Jefferson proclaimed in his intensely prejudiced 1785 book, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (which came close to denying human unity), race war would ensue:

Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just: that his justice cannot sleep for ever: that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.

One of Jefferson’s harshest white critics, the College of New Jersey (later Princeton) president Samuel Stanhope Smith also feared slave insurrection and

race war, and championed an all-white America. Smith's *Essay on the Causes of Variety of Complexion* (1810) was the most important early American scientific statement on race; according to Smith, blacks could become true Americans only if they whitened up or intermarried with whites.

Thus, as American racial lines hardened into a stark black-versus-white divide, people of African descent became a fundamental challenge to the existing social order. Among Africans in the New World, a consciousness of "blackness" across the Atlantic world grew in response to the horrors of the Middle Passage and New World slavery as well as to the unfulfilled promise of "all men are created equal." Soon blackness combined with egalitarianism to yield a new "black" nation. The first great successful slave rebellion in world history, the Haitian Revolution, destroyed the French sugar colony of Saint Domingue and established the "black republic" of Haiti in 1804. American slave rebels like Gabriel Prosser wanted to follow suit in the United States. Slaveholders made the "horrors of Saint Domingue" into a bogey; American white abolitionists and early African American protest writers like the Freemason Prince Hall and, later, the contributors to the first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, published from 1827 to 1829, championed the Haitian rebels as black George Washingtons. All the while, the complex multiracial—black, mulatto, white—dynamics of Haitian events were ignored. By the 1820s African Americans like the *Journal* writers were drawing on the same French Enlightenment sources cited by Haitians to argue that the founders of civilization themselves, in Ancient Egypt, had been black. In this view, black people were fully equal and deserved a place in the new nation without having to whiten up. If anything, Bostonian David Walker proclaimed in his incendiary 1829 *Appeal*, a call for messianic slave rebellion in the United States, blacks might claim racial superiority over whites, who had always been "an unjust, jealous, unmerciful, avaricious and bloodthirsty set of beings, always seeking after power and authority." Walker, however, also held the door open to racial reconciliation in the United States.

It is hard to know to what degree Walker's brand of African American black racialism was deeply felt or whether he was being provocative. It is, however, indisputable that such blackness shaped white racial thought. Walker and the *Journal* writers were instrumental in convincing William Lloyd Garrison and other white reformers to abandon gradualism and emigration and champion immediate emancipation and black citizenship. Hence the radical aboli-

tionist movement was multiracial from the start. The path of racial theory was one of constant intensification. The ambiguity and hypocrisy of the Jeffersonian era gave way to increasingly sharp and explicit expressions of "hard" racism, antislavery, and proslavery, leading to the Civil War and Emancipation.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Abolition Societies; African Americans; African American Responses to Slavery and Race; Antislavery; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Jefferson, Thomas; Proslavery Thought; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Women: Writers.**

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Bruce Dain

RADICALISM IN THE REVOLUTION "Radical" stems from the Latin *radix*, root. Politically it means addressing matters from their roots. Within the American Revolution there was no single radical position from beginning to end. The word radical can apply equally well to deep criticism of both the British-American social order and British policies during the pre-Revolutionary crisis. It also can describe the various visions people formed of the new America that the Revolution made possible.

COLONIAL TENSIONS

Broadly speaking, pre-independence radicalism was "conservative," seeking to turn back changes that Britain sought to impose. But colonial radicalism also drew on presumptions that a great deal was wrong with the world as it was. One source, especially among New England intellectuals, was the heritage of Puritanism, which had overturned the mon-

archy, beheaded King Charles I, and abolished the House of Lords. "Commonwealth" or "real Whig" English writers were profoundly suspicious of all political power and the people who wielded it. Provincial American readers devoured their caustic criticism of "Old Corruption," as they described the political settlement in Georgian Britain.

Underpinning these (and other) intellectual traditions was a generalized belief that good communities were small, cohesive places where local customs governed relations among neighbors and kin. White colonials believed in private property and took part in long-distance markets; but they had not become fully capitalist. Colonial plebeian culture drew on Britons' deep popular suspicion of country lords, city financiers, and others who lived on poor people's labor. Just as British pamphleteers helped fuel elite colonial suspicions, migrants and seafarers helped keep popular traditions alive. Pre-Revolutionary English "liberties" were privileges that went with a given situation. White colonial males could tell themselves that the "liberty" of having their own political institutions gave them British freedom under the crown equivalent to the freedom their fellows "at home" enjoyed under Parliament. Their "liberty" of owning slaves was denied to Britons within "the realm" of England, Scotland, and Wales. Native people dealing with the invasion of their land had no love for the colonial order. Nor did Africans and their American-born children, who were enslaved to make that land productive. Given any chance, they said so. Kingship did offer a way to comprehend the whole situation: society was unequal, and liberties were uneven, but a benevolent British monarch, limited by Parliament, did protect his people. Or so official ideology maintained.

REVOLUTIONARY PROTESTS

During the imperial crisis elite protest writing was distinctly provincial, responding to problems of taxation, legislation, and power that the British authorities posed. Consider the Boston politician and pamphleteer James Otis. Although his fundamental attitude toward British power was outrage, he remained trapped within the notion that Parliament, the source of English liberty, remained the ultimate voice in determining the colonials' version of British freedom. The contradiction between that belief and the hard reality that Parliament claimed the power to bind colonials "in all cases whatsoever" helped tear his unstable mind apart.

Thomas Jefferson's first pamphlet, *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), cut

through much of the tangle. He abandoned all the complexities of internal and external taxation, taxation and legislation, colonial privilege and parliamentary power that had bedeviled previous protests. He asserted a full equality of rights between (white) Americans and Britons. They were separate peoples, linked only by a shared monarch, who reigned over them on their own terms by their own consent. Jefferson's pamphlet prefigured both his tone and his arguments in the Declaration of Independence two years later. Without fully realizing it, he was opening the question of how an independent America should structure itself. His style was forceful: "Let those flatter who fear, it is not an American art." He understood that a deep crisis had opened and that old arguments had become useless.

Thomas Paine published his great pamphlet *Common Sense* in January 1776, after crisis had turned into war. His prose was ferocious, not gentlemanly. The king was a "royal brute." "The weeping voice of nature" cried "'tis time to part." Jefferson and Paine alike were ardent republicans, believers in political liberty and in the idea, at least, of equality. But Jefferson tripped on the contradiction that ran through both his America and his own life, slavery. Drafting the Declaration of Independence in June 1776, he tried to blame slavery on the hapless king. It did not work, foreshadowing his lifelong failure to address the question adequately. Paine saw more clearly. In this matter the king was not at fault. As he wrote in "African Slavery in America" (1774), "We," not the king, had "enslaved multitudes," and the act was a "crime."

By 1776 many people were raising their own voices in their own interests, within a general sense that equality and liberty ought to apply to them. A New Jersey farm woman asked her soldier husband why she "should not have liberty whilst you strive for liberty." A poor Boston shoemaker who once had groveled in the presence of the wealthy merchant John Hancock now faced down both British officials and American privateer officers. Farmers in New York's Hudson Valley debated among themselves which side to choose. So did Iroquois Indians not far west of them, breaking their centuries-old Confederacy as four of their six nations chose the British side and two chose the American. Chesapeake slaves invited Virginia governor Lord Dunmore to recruit them and rallied to join his "Aethiopian Regiment." Their badges proclaimed, "Liberty to Slaves." Many other black men found freedom under American arms. After initial opposition, George Washington welcomed them. In 1781 he recognized their contri-

bution by giving a heavily black Rhode Island regiment pride of place in the final attack on British emplacements at Yorktown.

FUTURE VISIONS

People agitating for liberty and equality did not necessarily get what they wanted. For Indians the Revolution became a disaster, whichever side they chose. After independence they faced an implacable Republic bent on acquiring their land. For black Americans it was a partial success. Slavery started to break up, and free black communities began to take shape, at least in what became "the North." Within these communities, antislavery could generate and flourish. But in the South slavery expanded and prospered, fueled by a vicious African slave trade that did not end until 1808. For many women the Revolution was a moment of opening possibilities, but it was not a moment of institutional change. Yet all of these groups were beginning to develop and press a public agenda that turned on rights and equality rather than privileges and hierarchy. They were addressing Jefferson's proposition that "all men" indeed "are created equal."

In immediate terms ordinary white men enjoyed the greatest success in asserting rights and equality for themselves. Between 1776, when the old institutions of government finally collapsed, and 1789, when the United States Constitution took effect, the fourteen separate states (including Vermont) provided the arena where such men worked out their visions and their fears. In both thought and practice one problem was giving real meaning to the abstract idea of "the People." Farmers in western Massachusetts and "mechanics" in New York City demanded in 1776 that new state constitutions be written by special conventions and ratified in special elections, rather than simply proclaimed. But only Massachusetts carried that ritual through, and it did not do so until 1780.

More than ritual was involved. In general, the state governments drastically expanded white men's political possibilities. Pressure from outside forced leaders to enlarge both representative institutions and the pool of candidates and voters. Elections would be frequent rather than at long intervals. Most states made their legislatures the dominant branches of government, on the assumption that these would do the people's will. Men who never would have gotten near the old centers of power found themselves making, interpreting, and enforcing laws.

The model of the good community continued to be the small communities people knew. But another truly radical force was emerging around those communities and their people: a national capitalist economy. Such an economy demanded stability and predictability over long distances and long periods of time. One way or another, most of the states passed laws during the late 1770s and the 1780s that tried to restrict and hamper capitalist development. Where they did not, unrest followed, most notably in the case of Shays's Rebellion in central and western Massachusetts (1786–1787).

The United States Constitution met the needs of the young nation's emerging economy. It would be a "supreme law of the land" governing all citizens equally and directly. Binding contracts, not local customs, would govern economic relationships. For that reason it won the firm support of city folk who were enmeshed in trade. The Constitution also expressed the belief of many national leaders that broad, frequent political involvement and state autonomy did not serve America's real needs. In this sense, it marked a reaction against the Revolution's radicalism. But it was completely consistent with the idea that "the American people" ought to govern itself. It left open the problem of who actually comprised that people. Thus in principle, at least, the possibility remained open that people who were excluded or made marginal during the Revolution still could claim its radical heritage for themselves.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; Antislavery; Constitutionalism: Overview; Constitutionalism: State Constitution Making; Government: Local; Government: State; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas; People of America; Politics: Political Pamphlets; Popular Sovereignty; Shays's Rebellion.**

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Edward Countryman

RAILROADS Although railroads dominated the American transportation network by the eve of the Civil War, their origins during the early Republic were quite modest. The first railways in the United States developed from crude systems developed by miners to transport bulky coal and ores from the mouth of the mine to a river or canal. These early rail lines consisted of wood planks placed along the route with iron rails on top to provide durability. Most of these systems were less than one mile long and used gravity—as one full cart descended the route it pulled an empty car to the top—as a form of power. The first true “railroad” appeared in Quincy, Massachusetts, in 1826. Called the Granite Railroad, this three-mile-long line, which transported stone from a quarry to nearby docks, used a raised track on wooden ties and cars with flanged wheels. This line was soon followed by similar systems in Pennsylvania’s anthracite coal-mining country. Although technically railroads, these early efforts used mules or a stationary steam engine to pull carts.

Early American railroads rarely came into direct competition with turnpikes or canals, which were the preferred forms of transportation through the 1830s. The comparative advantage of rail systems over water or wagon travel was the ability to climb or descend higher altitudes. Thus, many early rail lines complemented existing canal networks; for example, Pennsylvania’s ambitious State Works used a railroad link on its Main Line from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna River and employed an ingenious system of stationary steam engines pulling cars on inclined planes to provide a link over the mountains from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown. These early efforts, although costly, demonstrated that railways were more practical than boats or wagons for reaching certain areas. The replacement of horse or mule power with steam-engine locomotives by 1829, moreover, made railroads the cutting edge of transportation technology in the early Republic.

Entrepreneurs from large cities found state governments unwilling to fund the construction of railroads that could handle both passenger and freight

travel, so the main investors in this new technology came from the private sector. In 1828 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad began its ambitious project of linking Baltimore to the Ohio River by railway. By 1830 the B&O had completed only thirteen miles of track; nevertheless, its directors demonstrated the viability of rail travel during a time when canals and turnpikes dominated the nation’s transportation network. Investors in Boston soon followed with a plan to link Boston and Worcester with a railroad. In the year the B&O opened, only about twenty-five total miles of railroad track were in use in the United States, but several projects such as New Jersey’s Camden and Amboy, South Carolina’s Charleston and Hamburg, and New York’s Mohawk and Hudson were under way. By 1835 more than one thousand miles of track had been created and the railroad’s place as the future means of transporting passengers and goods had been established.

See also **Steamboat; Steam Power; Transportation: Animal Power; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Travel, Technology of.**

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Sean Patrick Adams

RAPE Early Americans understood rape to be a crime of forced heterosexual sex—in their words, carnal knowledge of a woman against her will. Most states set ten as the age of consent, which meant that sex with a girl under ten years old was rape, regardless of her consent or resistance. For an adult victim, a rape prosecution generally required proof that she had resisted with all her might; that she had visible injuries; that she had attempted to call for help; and that she had no way to escape her attacker. Men’s most common defense to a rape accusation was that the woman had consented to the sex.

For most of the eighteenth century, rape was a capital crime, punishable by death. Beginning in the

1790s many states revised their criminal codes to abolish the death penalty for many crimes. Instead of a death sentence, many states punished convicted rapists with incarceration for anywhere from ten years to life. However, southern slave states continued to punish black—slave and free—rapists with death sentences if their victims were white, even as they abolished the death penalty for white rapists. Overall, about three-quarters of the men executed for rape in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were of African descent. Black men were also sometimes executed for attempted rape, whereas white men were usually punished with a fine, whipping, or, more commonly after the Revolution, imprisonment.

Indeed, the clearest determinant of the outcome of a rape prosecution was the racial identities of the victim and defendant. In both the North and South, black men were far more likely to be charged, convicted, and executed for rape than were white men. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, black men were convicted of rape at least twice as often as were white men. Part of the reason for this discrepancy is that enslaved blacks were often tried at separate courts without the standard legal protections afforded to whites. Many colonies and states also passed laws specifically condemning to death or harsh corporal punishments slaves who attempted to rape white women. Because most states did not have statutes about white men's crime of attempted rape until after the American Revolution, many incidents of white men's attempted rapes were prosecuted as lesser charges such as fornication, lewd behavior, or simple assault.

Rape cases were often difficult for any victim to bring to court. In order to complain about sexual assaults, young victims frequently had to overcome fear, manipulation and an attacker's social or economic power over her and in the community. White women who accused white men of rape might be humiliated in public court trials that regularly disparaged the victims' chastity and virtue. Nonwhite (especially African American) victims almost never brought successful prosecutions against white or black rapists. More than 95 percent of identifiable victims in rape prosecutions in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were white. Although African American women could theoretically ask for legal redress for a rape, white communities and courts generally did not value African American women's sexual chastity enough to prosecute such cases. Further, many colonies and states did not allow slaves to testify against white defendants,

which made rape convictions of such men exceedingly difficult. Accordingly, historians have been unable to find a single conviction of a white man for raping an enslaved woman during this period. Courts and law enforcement officials usually ignored the rape of slaves by other slaves, although some individual masters punished such behavior.

See also **Capital Punishment; Crime and Punishment; Interracial Sex.**

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Sharon Block

RATIONALISM Rationalism was a cultural movement from 1750 to 1820 that questioned social and intellectual traditions. Although rationalism did not reject tradition completely, it encouraged criticism of traditional laws, ideas, and social practices. Such criticism helped precipitate social and political change after 1750. One such change concerned the traditional privileges of aristocracy. Most rationalists were not aristocrats but were associated with the trading or commercial classes of the bourgeoisie. As such, rationalists often criticized aristocratic practices such as using birth or family lineage to determine a person's social position. In his *Autobiography* of 1771, the rationalist and American Revolutionary Benjamin Franklin boasted that his talent and merit, not his lineage, determined his social position in late-eighteenth-century Philadelphia. He suggested that talent and social mobility, not birth and traditional privilege, should characterize American society.

In addition to aristocratic practices, rationalists criticized intellectual traditions. Rationalists particularly opposed traditional religious ideas about human nature. The most influential of these ideas in 1800 were the orthodox Protestant ideas of Calvin-

ism. Although originating with the sixteenth-century reformer John Calvin, Calvinism remained influential in America even after 1800. Calvinists held that human nature was inherently sinful and that human beings depended on God's grace for moral improvement. Rationalists scorned such ideas. They even replaced the traditional religious language of sin and grace, which suggested human dependence on God, with secular words like virtue and vice, which suggested human free will. One such rationalist was the American Founder Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson argued that human beings were not inherently sinful because they possessed "moral sense." This sense, he maintained, was part of human nature, enabling human beings to recognize virtue and pursue moral improvement without special grace or redemption from God.

For rationalists, such particular criticisms of aristocratic convention or traditional religion were not unrelated. They both derived from the rationalist principle that society was of human origin. Rationalists argued that the laws and institutions of society were not of divine origin or reflections of God's will, as many traditional writers had asserted. Instead, rationalists argued that society's laws and institutions were the product of human history, or the result of human decisions in history.

This emphasis on the human origins of society informed rational criticisms. By insisting that society's institutions and laws were the result of human decisions, and not part of an immutable order, rationalists challenged those institutions and laws as mere human creations. Rationalists thus challenged the legal privileges of aristocracy as merely the product of aristocratic decisions in political history. The aristocracy, they charged, made the laws of aristocratic privilege. Rationalists similarly criticized the clergy. They viewed the clergy as possessing power and prestige because clerical leaders had influenced the political decisions of history. One rationalist who expressed these critical views was the American Revolutionary John Adams. In 1765 Adams published *A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law*, in which he condemned the history of aristocratic and clerical power as a history of "civil and ecclesiastical tyranny."

The rational view of society also promoted confidence in reform. By describing institutions and laws as the product of past decisions, rationalists expressed confidence in the human ability to change those decisions and reform their society. Such confidence was evident in the writings of Thomas Paine. In *Common Sense*, published in January 1776, Paine

characterized the long-established institution of monarchy as merely a form of tyranny. He thus sought to convince Americans to reform their politics not simply by declaring independence, which they did in July 1776, but also by creating a new kind of government based on rights rather than kings.

Rationalists expressed a confidence in human ability both in their religion and their politics. By the early nineteenth century, religious rationalism developed into Unitarianism. Unitarians were optimistic about human nature and encouraged individuals to use reason and moral sense rather than traditional doctrines as guides to individual and social life. Unitarians thus sought to replace the traditional Christian doctrine of the Trinity—God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—with a "united" or indivisible notion of God, which they viewed as more rational. Unitarianism was particularly influential among the merchant classes of Boston. The leading Boston Unitarian was William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). In 1819 Channing published *Unitarian Christianity*, in which he expressed many essential features of rationalism. He emphasized the human ability to use the free and rational faculties of human nature for moral self-improvement and social reform.

See also **Adams, John; Franklin, Benjamin; Jefferson, Thomas; Paine, Thomas.**

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RECREATION, SPORTS, AND GAMES By 1750 sport and recreation had become an important part of everyday life in colonial America. The settlers who came to North America brought with them the love of games and amusements that characterized "Merrie Olde England," but recreation had to give way to the creation of a new society in an intimidating and dangerous environment. Early on in both the



A Music Party. This engraving by Paul Revere served as the frontispiece for *The New England Psalm-Singer* (1781), a book of vocal compositions by William Billings. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Massachusetts Bay Colony and Jamestown, leaders felt compelled to “suffer no Idle persons” and to adopt laws “in detestation of idleness.” During the early decades of settlement, strict proscriptions against dancing, bowling, dice and cards, and the playing of games of ball were imposed, although enforcement was sporadic. As the colonies developed stable economic and social foundations, however, such prohibitions broke down and colonists of all classes engaged in a wide range of games and amusements.

By the mid-1700s distinctive regional patterns for individual and organized sport had taken root. Attempts to enforce seventeenth-century laws prohibiting popular leisure activities had long since ended. Interest in sports grew with rising income levels and a growing colonial economy that made leisure activities more attractive. To their credit the Pu-

ritans in Massachusetts and Connecticut had sought, with varying degrees of success, to outlaw “butcherly sports” like cockfighting and animal baiting, although it has been said that they banned them not so much because of the sufferings of animals but the pleasure the practice gave spectators. Such prohibitions grew out of the essential work ethic of Calvinism: games might provide amusement, but they detracted from the labor that had to be accomplished in field and shop. Nonetheless, the erosion of theocratic control meant that New Englanders increasingly enjoyed their dancing, cards, and dice, even an occasional horse race. Children were encouraged to engage in vigorous activities, especially hunting and fishing for the boys. Young males also played a ball and stick game of “rounders,” the precursor to baseball, and “foot-ball,” which was somewhat akin to modern soccer and rugby. Swimming was a popular



Barroom Dancing (1820) by John Lewis Krimmel. Americans, such as these Pennsylvanian farmers, regularly participated in dancing and parlor games, creating tensions between traditional Puritan values and the widespread popularity of such amusements. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

summer pastime, as was ice skating in winter. Girls were generally cautioned against vigorous exercise after reaching puberty and encouraged to prepare for early marriage by playing with dolls and learning from their mothers the skills of housekeeping and cooking. By the eve of the Revolution, New Englanders regularly participated in dancing and parlor games, challenging traditional Puritan values. In the mid-1750s the young Boston lawyer John Adams found such dalliances disconcerting but inevitable: "Let others waste their bloom of life at the card or billiards table among rakes and fools," he grumbled. Nor did he appreciate the popular pastime of dancing: "I never knew a dancer good for anything else."

In the middle colonies the Dutch Calvinist and Quaker influences initially put a damper on exuberant play, but later people enjoyed whist, croquet, tennis, lawn bowling, and badminton, even a rudimentary game played with "gouff sticks." In both

New England and the middle colonies, taverns served as a center for organized events, their owners arranging horse races, cockfights, wrestling matches, and bowling contests to attract customers. The taverns also were the natural home for ongoing games of checkers, dice, darts, shuffleboard, and cards, serving as precursors of the organized men's athletic clubs that would appear in the mid-nineteenth century. The increased number of laws passed during the early eighteenth century in New England prohibiting popular recreations suggests that more people were engaging in these activities more often.

As the Calvinist leadership valiantly but vainly sought to focus its people on a life of solemn industriousness, conversely the dominant Anglican culture in the Tidewater encouraged the playing of games. From the earliest days of settlement, members of the southern aristocracy consciously sought to emulate the landed aristocracy of England, where

life revolved around horses, hunting, drinking, and gambling. The slave-owning classes of Maryland and Virginia felt compelled to work hard at their play because their slaves did the arduous work. Women supervised the household and went on continuous rounds of visiting, card parties, balls, and banquets; men oversaw work in the tobacco fields and enjoyed gambling (often high stakes) at cards, dice, backgammon, cockfights, lawn bowling, and especially horse races.

Quality horses were central to the lives of the slave-owning class. Ownership of a spirited and elegant horse in colonial America was the equivalent of possession of a sleek automobile in the twentieth century—it set a gentleman apart. In emulation of the British country gentry, the southern male aristocrat relished riding to the hounds in pursuit of a frightened fox. George Washington was proud of his stable of fast horses and his pack of trained hounds, and he imported the best hunting firearms from England along with buckskin riding breeches and brilliantly colored riding frocks. His diaries report frequent forays for “ducking” and fox hunting. During the first two months of 1769, for example, he rode to the hounds no less than fifteen times, and he enjoyed the many balls, receptions, and banquets that he attended in Alexandria, Williamsburg, and Annapolis. Thomas Jefferson equally enjoyed the life of a gentleman slave owner: “I was often thrown into the society of horse-racers, card-players, fox hunters,” he once wrote approvingly. His advice to a friend on the perfect life was, “Get a pair of keen horses, practice the law in the same courts, and drive about to all the dances in the county together.” That Virginia common law included a code for the conduct of races and the settling of wagers afterward attests to their centrality in the life of colonial Virginia. After the American Revolution the first thoroughbred horses of Arabian origin were imported from England, and urban newspapers would report as early as 1820 on major races conducted at enclosed tracks in New York and Virginia.

Lower-class whites in the South pursued their own games, largely unfettered by the religious constraints of the northern colonies. At small roadside taverns they enjoyed food and plenty of drink, quoits, cards, dice, and shuffleboard. Tavern owners attracted business by holding wrestling matches and bare-knuckle fights, cockfights, and dog baitings. Similarly, in the middle and northern colonies during the eighteenth century people enjoyed drinking and wagering at table games in taverns. One popular entertainment was “gander pulling,” at which a tavern

owner would tie a poor goose to a tree limb, its head slathered in grease, and patrons, fueled by hearty drink, rode past on their horses in an attempt to pull off the squawking bird’s head. The winner got to take the goose home for dinner.

On the eve of the American Revolution, sporting events remained informal and local, with little resemblance to the heavily organized and regulated amateur and professional sporting activities of today. Except for firearms, most equipment was handmade, and rules were created locally. Many contests—bare-knuckle fights, foot races, shooting contests—often occurred spontaneously as a means to resolve disputes but also provided amusement for onlookers. In a predominantly rural society, work naturally melded with play. The average citizen found amusement in corn huskings, quilting bees, and community harvests, frequently with music and dancing. Local fairs often featured demonstrations of strength and agility necessary in everyday life—wrestling, target shooting, plowing contests, horsemanship, wood cutting, log rolling. Often the distinction between work and play disappeared entirely as community activities like a barn raising included socialization, demonstration of carpentry skills, and physical prowess. Hunting and fishing required special skills and merged the worlds of work and play until they were indistinguishable.

The Revolutionary era put a damper on popular sport and recreational activities. Opposition to colonial rule from abroad inspired attacks on members of the native privileged class, who were closely associated with the sporting life. Thus horse racing virtually ceased after the First Continental Congress passed legislation urging the states to “discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gambling, cockfighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and amusements.” Several state legislatures enacted similar legislation, and informal Revolutionary groups, such as the Sons of Liberty, served as extralegal enforcers of these prohibitions. The ardent revolutionary Sam Adams urged that each of the thirteen states seek to become a “Christian Sparta.” This zealous republican Revolutionary spirit spent itself by the late 1780s, after which the American people comfortably resumed their public pursuit of amusement.

The end of the War for Independence unleashed a heavy migration into the trans-Appalachian frontier. There popular recreations, such as target shooting, often revolved around hunting. Other activities, especially wrestling, emphasized physical strength.

The peculiar phenomenon of “rough-and-tumble” developed in western Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. A particularly violent form of human combat, it was part wrestling, part fisticuffs, part pure mayhem that included kicking, clawing, and gouging. Tearing off body parts—testicles in particular—was a primary objective, although the ultimate victory occurred when an adversary’s eyeball was extracted. To that end, local champions grew their fingernails long and filed them to a sharp point. These gruesome contests were sometimes scheduled at shooting matches, fairs, and by entrepreneurial tavern owners, but most often they simply grew out of a dispute between two hot-blooded young men who saw their honor as at stake and sought to gain “respect.” Spectators joined in the fun, naturally betting on the outcome. Visitors to the old Southwest long after the Civil War reported observing surprising numbers of aging men with badly scarred faces and empty eye sockets.

Following the War of 1812 the growing tide of modernism altered popular recreations. By 1830 machine technology, steam power, and major innovations in transportation had led to factory manufacturing and a new urban environment. The emerging corporate economy influenced the games Americans played. Local and regional sports organizations were formed to establish standards of play. The time when sporting events were spontaneous extensions of the rigors of daily life and labor would be replaced by structure, bureaucratic organization, written rules, and formal records. A wealthy gentleman no longer rode his own prize quarter horse in an informal sprint for glory, but instead owned a thoroughbred ridden by a professional jockey wearing attire specifically prescribed by the Jockey Club of America. Newspapers and magazines began to provide national coverage of horse racing and other sporting events, encouraging the standardization of rules, methods for setting betting odds, and the keeping of records.

By 1820 the indigenous middle-American sport of harness racing emerged. It was first reported in New York City in 1803. Men gravitated after work to the five-mile graveled stretch of Third Avenue to show off their family horse and buggy. The animals were of common stock, not the fancy thoroughbreds of the elitist Jockey Club set. Informal races often ended at one of the many taverns along the thoroughfare. By the 1820s this “roadster” phenomenon had given way to oval tracks for “trotters” where organized competition was scheduled. The new sport of harness racing quickly spread; by the 1830s sever-

al race tracks for trotters and pacers had been opened in the West and South. Harness racing remained a sport of the middle class, becoming a constant at county fairs, an American tradition that continues to this day.

Not only horses attracted public attention. In Boston, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, rowing clubs were formed to sponsor various forms of small craft racing as well as to provide exercise for the desk-bound, urban middle-class male. Long-distance foot racing—popularly known as “pedestrianism”—was also the rage. In 1835 a twenty-four-year-old Connecticut farmer, Henry Stannard, thrilled the nation when he won \$1,000 put up by New York’s leading sportsman, John Cox Stevens, by finishing ten miles in less than the prescribed sixty minutes; Stannard beat the clock by just twelve seconds.

By 1830 sport in America had thus begun to make a grand transition from an emphasis on localism and spontaneity to standardization, routinization, and organization. By 1845 the simple informal game of rounders played by youngsters in colonial times had been transformed into the formal game of baseball—complete with written rules, an umpire dressed in judicial black, and manufactured equipment—played before cheering spectators by grown men wearing distinctive uniforms. Within another decade the “New York City Game” had become professionalized with top players now being paid by team owners who charged spectators admission to see the action.

See also **Class: Development of the Working Class; Class: Overview; Domestic Life; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Gambling; Games and Toys, Children’s; Work: Work Ethic.**

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REFINEMENT AND GENTILITY In the eighteenth century, “refinement” and “gentility” were used interchangeably to refer to the inner qualities of sensibility, taste, and virtue and their outward manifestation in the kinetics of the body, dress, conversation, and manners. Men and women demonstrated their refinement not only in their persons, but through the built environment, religion, and literary culture. Although refinement was often thought to be innate and to vary enormously among individuals, most commentators agreed that education, exposure to other refined persons, and rigorous self-scrutiny could enhance one’s capacity for it. The culture of refinement simultaneously excluded the vulgar, invited the participation of anyone who possessed a modicum of gentility, and then ranked the participants according to their performance. This combination of hierarchy, inclusiveness, and competition was well suited to the social and economic aspirations of many Anglo-Americans. As those aspirations changed, so too did the cultures of refinement and gentility.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GENTILITY

Eighteenth-century standards for gentility owed much to British conduct manuals and didactic novels, which derived from the manners that distinguished European court society. These books emphasized the salience of social rank, control over one’s body, and regard for the feelings of others. They also encouraged the performative dimensions of gentility by urging readers to imagine how they appeared to others and by focusing on sociability as the litmus test of refinement. In theory, gentility drew sharp distinctions between the rude masses and the polite few, most of whom had been born to their station. But in practice the boundaries were more porous than didactic literature allowed. And conduct manuals themselves held out the promise that refinement—or at least its outward manifestations—might be acquired. Accordingly, readers devoured the advice dispensed in *The Spectator*, a literary magazine; Samuel Richardson’s *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753–1754), a novel whose hero is an ideal eighteenth-century gentleman; and especially Lord Chesterfield’s *Letters to His Son* (1774), which portrays a social realm of ideal conduct and deportment. By the mid-eighteenth century, Anglo-Americans of the middling and better classes had integrated much of this advice into daily life: They championed deference and avoided the appearance of overt social climbing; they monitored their table manners, posture, and penmanship; and they read not only for their own

edification, but to enrich their conversation with other refined individuals. They created new spaces like parlors and formal gardens to serve as settings for polite leisure. This concern with refinement extended beyond the secular world, prompting Anglo-Americans to embellish their churches with paintings and draperies. Not coincidentally, the spread of gentility intersected with the eighteenth-century consumer revolution, which made the props of refinement—mirrors, tea sets, books—available to growing numbers of Anglo-Americans.

REPUBLICAN REFINEMENT

During and after the Revolution, when manners and ideals derived from aristocratic courts became suspect, Anglo-Americans creatively revised the meaning of refinement to correspond with the values and practices demanded by a republic. Historians disagree about the broader implications of this process. Some, like Richard Bushman, suggest that the aristocratic origins of refinement presented persistent, vexing contradictions for Americans bent on establishing a republic. Others, including C. Dallett Hemphill, argue that men and women harnessed older codes of conduct to the aspirations of a more fluid society, partly by extending the promise of refinement to growing segments of the population and partly by replacing idealized deferential social relationships with egalitarian ones.

In the wake of the Revolution, Anglo-Americans expressed new anxieties about excessive refinement, associating it with aristocratic pretense and decadent luxury. But Americans never abandoned “refinement” and “gentility” as ideals. Instead, they infused them with republican meaning. In effect, Americans displaced the potential dangers of gentility onto others: the pretensions and vices of European aristocrats and avaricious elites closer to home served as foils for a distinctly American, supremely virtuous refinement. Republican refinement demanded taste, simplicity, and sincerity and manifested itself in what Jay Fleigelman called “natural theatricality”—the painstaking orchestration of posture, facial expression, and voice so to appear natural and unaffected. Mastery of these codes of behavior took on new, explicitly political significance. Manners were no longer simply an index to an individual’s character. They were the social glue that bound citizens together, ensuring that Americans avoided both affectation and servility.

The material world also registered this republican refinement. Political leaders dressed down, abandoning bright colors and exuberant trimmings in

favor of the somber colors and plain style depicted in Gilbert Stuart's famous portraits of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Neoclassical architecture and design and Empire dress, which recalled the ancient republics, allowed elite and middling Americans to partake of fashion, novelty, and virtuous simplicity all at the same time. Never mind that these styles were wildly popular on both sides of the Atlantic; Americans read them as particularly suited to and evocative of the new nation.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF REFINEMENT?

The first decades of the nineteenth century saw both the democratization of refinement among the middle class and new efforts to exclude members of the working class and African Americans from the ranks of the genteel. Growing numbers of conduct manuals made the increasingly arcane rules for genteel behavior accessible to growing numbers of readers, helping them to negotiate the social encounters that accompanied geographic and social mobility. Refinement extended beyond cosmopolitan centers. Members of the rural middle class, though careful to distinguish themselves from "aristocratic" urban excess, began to incorporate the props and rituals of refinement into domestic life, sociability, and self-presentation. As refinement became the special preserve of the middle class, it became infused with domestic values. Parlors, for example, became sites for family gatherings rather than worldly sociability. And middle-class women gained new visibility as exemplars of domestic gentility. Although Evangelicals cast genteel pretense as a distraction from Christian duty, by the end of the 1820s even Methodists and Baptists sanctioned politeness. At the same time, social arbiters stridently condemned attempts by the working class and African Americans to appropriate refinement for themselves. Conduct manuals drew sharp distinctions between the genteel and the lowly, and clearly advocated servility from the latter. In *Life in Philadelphia* (1828–1829), the caricaturist Edward W. Clay viciously lampooned the dress, manners, and sociability of upwardly mobile blacks. Such evidence indicates the challenges that confronted the hegemony of an explicitly white, middle-class culture of refinement and the urgency with which that culture was defended.

See also **Class: Rise of the Middle Class;**

Clothing; Consumerism and Consumption; Fashion; Fiction; Home; Manners; Market Revolution.

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Catherine E. Kelly

REFORM, SOCIAL The great social reform movements in U.S. history took off in the 1790s. Movements for the abolition of slavery, temperance, education, assistance to poor people, voting rights for women, civil rights for African Americans, and land rights for Native Americans galvanized large numbers of women and men to their causes and demanded responses from elites, government officials, and businessmen alike. Though major northern cities such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia were home to hundreds of organizations, news of reform activities circulated widely in newspapers and in person by activists, ministers, and others who traveled. From Akron, Ohio, to Baltimore, Maryland, from Rochester, New York, to Fredericksburg, Virginia, organizations of various structures and causes sprang up in towns everywhere—few were untouched by the prophetic zeal of those devoted to change.

Such well-organized, financed, and sustained efforts to alleviate pain, regulate behavior, attain rights, or in some other way alter the situation of a specific group of people were largely absent prior to the Revolutionary era. In the early eighteenth century, few people with the capacity to bring about change perceived poverty, slavery, crime, or drinking as social problems. The rigidly hierarchical social structure enabled the community elite to rest assured that poor people were merely needy, not threatening. Few organizations or social structures existed to assist people in their times of need. Tax dollars were the source of charity money in most locales, and it was offered on an individual basis to those in need, regardless of cause. Fundamentally changing social re-

lations and structures was not on the agenda for much of the eighteenth century. Opposition to slavery on moral grounds grew among some religious groups before the Revolution. Quakers John Woolman and Anthony Benezet vehemently spoke out against slavery in the 1760s. Methodist leaders such as John Wesley also attacked slavery. The Declaration of Independence's promise "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," stimulated political opposition to slavery. During the Revolution abolitionist societies emerged in the North and the Upper South. In the North these societies helped lead the passage of gradual abolition acts in Pennsylvania and later New York and New Jersey.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The fact that many social reform organizations began in the post-Revolutionary, newly formed nation of the 1790s is no coincidence. Historians point to the collusion of two great forces: the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening. Many speak of the Enlightenment as the "age of reason," or as philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) described it, a time characterized by the pursuit of truth. Rather than restrict the definition of the Enlightenment project to a handful of well-known European philosophers who published and spoke on such issues, many historians have a wider view that encompasses all who engaged in questioning the received teachings of religion, and particularly the focus on the afterlife as the driving force for human behavior. In an enlightened world, human progress would be achieved through advances in science, medicine, culture, education, technology, and even politics.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

The Enlightenment empowered people to seek truth—and question the order of things. But it was the other powerful force of the eighteenth century—the Great Awakening—that inspired mass numbers of Protestants to do so. One of the most famous revivalists was English preacher George Whitefield, who toured America in 1739 and 1740. The staged revivals drew thousands and Whitefield, like Jonathan Edwards before him and others after him, appealed to their emotions, emphasized the value of spiritual rebirth and personal salvation, and downplayed the importance of religious doctrine. By encouraging people to reject the formal teachings of the churches and by re-centering the afterlife as the focus of human existence, the teachings of the

Awakening appear to have challenged those of the Enlightenment. In reality, however, the Great Awakening may have furthered some beliefs at the heart of the Enlightenment—the values of human reason and of learning by experience. The growth of colleges and spread of education throughout the country was largely a result of Old Light Protestants who rejected the teachings of the New Light evangelical preachers and sought to further integrate knowledge and faith.

REPUBLICANISM AND REFORM

Just prior to the Revolution, the first movement to abolish slavery in the United States was initiated by the Quakers in Philadelphia, who made the buying or transfer of slaves grounds for disownment by the Quaker community in 1774. They formed the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage in 1775, though it was soon disrupted by the Revolutionary War. Philadelphians concerned for the plight of prisoners organized in 1776 as the Philadelphia Society for Assisting Distressed Prisoners, but their efforts too were thwarted by the war. Like most of the first benevolent and reform associations, they were organized by men and restricted membership to men.

The Declaration of Independence of 1776 was followed by nearly a decade of war and even more years of political uncertainty and economic instability. Debates over the possible structure and function of a national government in the newly independent colonies resulted in the triumph of the political theory of republicanism. Republican theorists knew that the political, social, cultural, and familial spheres were not isolated units. In calling for the reform of human institutions, they instilled a responsibility for the success of the new nation in everyone. It turned out to be good timing—the period from the 1780s to the 1820s was one of great change and uncertainty. The post-Revolutionary era ushered in decades of economic, political, and social upheaval, with which many women and men—particularly middle- and upper-class white Protestants—took it upon themselves to deal. Responsibility for the fate and character of the nation and the manifestation of republican values seemed up for grabs—or at least up for the shaping by passionate individuals with a range of means and motives to do so.

SLAVERY

The most pressing social issues to the first generation of post-Revolutionary reformers were poverty, slavery, and education. The antislavery cause picked up momentum after the Revolution. Some saw the hy-

pocrisy of allowing African Americans to fight for the Revolution while denying them the right of liberty promised by the Declaration of Independence, not to mention their apparent exclusion from the phrase, "All men are created equal." Individuals spoke against the institution of slavery, from Abigail Adams to John Jay, the first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Organizations formed throughout the Northeast, namely the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (1784), the New York Manumission Society (1785) and the New Jersey Abolition Society (1793). Having already taken a position against the enslavement of Africans in their own community, Quakers turned to the larger society.

Sidestepping the issue of slavery, groups formed to determine the future of Africans in America who were freed from enslavement. The American Colonization Society (ACS), formed in 1816, advocated the removal of blacks to Africa. The ACS even purchased land, named it Liberia, and sent freed slaves there beginning in 1822. The colonization movement was spearheaded by white men, particularly in the North. Antislavery groups, however, fought against colonization efforts. Abolitionist women, black and white, including members of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society (1833), allied with the free black community in opposition to colonization. These more radical abolitionists wanted freedom and equality for African Americans in the United States, the land where most of them were born. Exile to Africa seemed like a racist compromise and an unfair proposition for people who had labored without reaping its benefits for generations in the American colonies.

The most significant difference between southern and northern organizations was the absence of explicitly antislavery associations run by women in the South. The Virginia Abolition Society formed in Richmond (1790) and Quakers spearheaded abolition activism in North Carolina. Such activism persisted in the face of great local resistance. Southern women were more likely to participate in the less radical female colonization societies that organized petitions in favor of removing African Americans to Liberia premising their arguments on the racist notion of protecting white women from blacks. Southern women's organizations were also less likely to challenge class inequalities among women than their northern counterparts. Providing education for those Africans who did move to Liberia, however, appeared to be a less politically charged issue, and both northern and southern organizations worked for this end.

POVERTY

While men spearheaded major reform organizations for abolition, colonization, prison reform, temperance, and education, the 1790s were a critical decade in the establishment of permanent women's organizations, laying the groundwork for future generations to collectively mobilize for political, social, and religious purposes. The promotion of radical social reform was on the agenda of very few of the new organizations, which can be classified as religious, benevolent, charitable, mutual aid, and reform projects. Leaders of women's reform organizations combined the traditional female role of concern for the health and well-being of others with the evangelical zeal that defined Protestantism in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Nowhere is this more apparent than in efforts to help poor people.

From the 1780s until around 1815, Protestants largely viewed the poor with sympathy and as deserving of assistance. Dozens of benevolent organizations were formed as people directed their religious convictions to relieving the plight of the poor. They included the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children (1797) and the Orphan Asylum Society (1806), both in New York; the Boston Female Asylum (1800) and the Fragment Society (1812), also in Boston; and the Female Society for the Relief of the Distressed (1795) in Philadelphia. While some individuals may have taken aim at the structures that perpetuated poverty, most organizations were satisfied to raise funds; distribute resources such as food, clothing, and supplies; and visit homes of the sick, widowed, and disabled. This work was perceived as an outgrowth of Christian piety until an economic downturn and rising numbers of poor people and immigrants to the cities led many to reconsider the purpose of poor relief and the cause of poverty. The 1820s marked a turn away from concern for the material needs of the poor toward the belief that a spiritual bankruptcy often led to a financial one.

Women's benevolent and reform associations were less common in the South than in the North, in part because southern ministers were less supportive of benevolence work in the name of religion. The wealthy women of Charleston, South Carolina, and Wilmington, North Carolina, however, did form several organizations, and one of them became a pioneer in the area of public education. Incorporated in 1817, the Wilmington Female Benevolent Society aimed to educate "poor children and destitute orphans" and apparently was quite successful over the years.

PRISONS

In the aftermath of the Revolution, state and community leaders in many states relished the opportunity to revise the common laws and what they believed to be an outdated penal code. Influenced by the writings of Cesare Beccaria, the Italian author of *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), many became convinced that crime was the result of an ineffective punishment scheme, writing, "that a punishment may not be an act of violence, of one, or of many against a private member of society, it should be public, immediate and necessary; the least possible in the case given; proportioned to the crime, and determined by the laws." An Englishman, John Howard, wrote a widely circulated book on prison abuses and model prison practices called *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* (1777). Greatly influenced by both Beccaria and Howard, leading religious, scientific, and political figures in Philadelphia formed the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons in 1787 to implement a series of changes to the penal system. Similar societies formed later in Boston (Boston Prison Discipline Society, 1825) and in New York (Prison Association of New York, 1844). Prison reform organizations are one of the few social reform movements that restricted the participation of women during this period. Women were not admitted to the Philadelphia Society until the famed reformer and philanthropist Dorothea Dix was granted corresponding membership in 1844.

WOMEN AND POLITICAL POWER

Political and social reform often went hand in hand. After Washington became the nation's capital in 1800, some women had unusual access to the political sphere through their husbands, fathers, and brothers. Though they were relegated to the sidelines of official business, they were active observers in Congress and chief organizers of the social sphere in which a great amount of politicking was done. Elite women with ties to powerful men were not denied access to the public political sphere in a way that is commonly thought for this period. The public sphere that emerged in the coffeehouses, reform societies, and reading libraries of the new republic was a predominantly male phenomenon. Women were sometimes able to secure legislative votes they desired by networking with female family members of congressmen. Occasionally, they applied their energies and skills to benevolent associations, such as the Washington Female Orphan Asylum, which was started in 1815 by Marcia Burnes Van Ness, with significant help from Dolley Madison. Unlike similar organizations in other cities, their organization re-

ceived extensive publicity for its services and the organizers held their meetings in the House chamber in the Capitol building.

TEMPERANCE

The temperance movement was at first an initiative of a small group of ministers to regulate the drinking of working-class men. Founded by men in 1826, the American Temperance Society began to characterize drinking as representative of and responsible for all that was decaying in American life, specifically deference by workers to employers, by women and children to men, and by everyone to ministers. Images of abused and neglected wives were widely circulated to bolster the arguments for temperance, playing on fears that were all too justified for some women. Leaders recruited women to the cause as the organization blossomed to about 100,000 members by 1836. In later years, women became prominent leaders of their own temperance organizations, which would lead some to the more radical antislavery and women's rights movements.

See also **Abolition Societies; Alcohol Consumption; Domestic Violence; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Revivals and Revivalism; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

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REGULATORS The North Carolina Regulation was a farmers' reform movement in the pre-Revolutionary period. Between 1766 and 1771, North Carolina farmers sought to combat corruption among local officials and to increase their participation in the political system. The Regulators lived in the Piedmont, the area west of the coastal plain and east of the mountains. This region had first been settled by Europeans starting in the 1740s as part of a vast interior migration from the middle colonies to the southern Piedmont. Rising land prices in the middle colonies, dangerous warfare with Indians, and a desire to live life according to their own dictates drove colonists into the southern backcountry, where the native population had shrunk to almost nothing as a result of epidemics, warfare, and migration further west.

INSURGENCY IN NORTH CAROLINA

Eager for cheap land, religious freedom, and economic security, newcomers were deeply disappointed to find that their dreams were threatened by corrupt local officials eager to enrich themselves. Such officials engrossed the best land and drove up land prices; failed to pass people's tax monies on to the provincial treasury; and made government expensive by charging higher fees than the law allowed. Inspired in part by the protests against the Stamp Act in 1765, Piedmont farmers first organized in Orange County in 1766, led by a Quaker named Herman Husband. Husband's powerful ideas about social justice combined religious radicalism with the country or real Whig political philosophy increasingly adopted by the Patriot movement. In 1768 farmers joined under the name of "Regulators" to indicate that they intended to "regulate" and reform government abuse. The term "regulator" had first been used in this way in England in 1655 and had since entered into common usage.

Regulators pursued both legal and extralegal means to reform their local government. They tried to set up meetings with local officials, who rebuffed them. They repeatedly petitioned the governor and assembly, hoping to interest them in their cause, with little success. They brought suits against extortionate officials but could not get convictions. When such legal means did not bring results, Regulators resorted to illegal actions: they refused to pay their taxes; repossessed property seized for public sale to satisfy debts and taxes; disrupted court proceedings; and tried officials at people's courts. In September 1768 Governor William Tryon and his militia con-

fronted a large number of Regulators outside of Hillsborough, but violence was avoided. Two years later, a large group of Regulators brought proceedings at the superior court in Hillsborough to a halt; beat up a number of lawyers, merchants, and officials; and destroyed the home of the most hated Piedmont official, Edmund Fanning. Government officials retaliated swiftly and powerfully.

Battle of Alamance Creek. When the assembly opened later that fall Herman Husband, who had been elected a legislator for Orange County in 1769, was accused of libel, expelled from the assembly, and jailed. Next, the assemblymen passed a sweeping Riot Act that, among other things, gave Governor Tryon the authority and funds he needed to raise the militia against the Regulators. On 16 May 1771, about eleven hundred militiamen, commanded by many of North Carolina's prominent Patriots—men who would soon lead North Carolina into independence—confronted upward of two thousand farmers on a field near Alamance Creek, about twenty miles from Hillsborough. In a battle that lasted less than two hours, from 17 to 20 farmers were killed along with 9 militiamen; more than 150 men on both sides were wounded. One Regulator was hanged on the spot without benefit of trial. Six more were executed on 19 June in Hillsborough after a hasty trial. After the battle, the governor and his troops undertook a punitive march through the Piedmont, forcing some six thousand men, the great majority of adult males in the area, to take the oath of allegiance to the crown. Some of the best-known Regulators fled the province, and by summer the Regulation had been suppressed.

Regulation and Revolution. Once news of the Battle of Alamance spread, sympathy for the Regulators grew outside of North Carolina. Many incipient Patriots stressed the parallels between themselves and the Regulators, who had also stood up for their right as freeborn Englishmen, had patiently tried to redress their grievances by peaceful means, and had finally been driven to war by the governor and his friends. North Carolina's leading Whigs, most of whom had opposed the Regulators, labored hard to undercut this initial impression beyond the colony. To them, there were no parallels between legitimate opposition to Britain and the Regulators' resistance to oppression by local elites. It would not be long before Patriot elites elsewhere would understand the dilemma of North Carolina leaders: how to galvanize popular support for the Patriot cause while limiting people's aspirations for independence and justice at home. In this respect, the North Carolina Regulation consti-

tutes an important and early example of the limited nature of the radicalism embodied in the independence movement. While North Carolina farmers did not secure their broadest goals in the Regulation or in the subsequent Revolution, their dreams of economic justice in an agrarian setting surfaced again and again in the South, finding its most explicit reincarnation in Populism in the 1880s and 1890s.

REGULATORS OUTSIDE NORTH CAROLINA

The terms "Regulation" and "Regulators," while most prominently associated with the North Carolina farmers' movement, were used in various other struggles in Revolutionary America, such as in South Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts. While North Carolina farmers intended to create a local government respectful of the law, South Carolina backcountry elites took the law in their own hands between 1767 and 1769. These men called themselves Regulators, but their aims were nothing like those of their North Carolina namesakes. The South Carolina Regulation was a vigilante movement led by slave owners aimed at disciplining horse thieves, bandits, and marginal people who made their living by hunting and trading rather than by farming. Thus, rather than a movement of common people trying to make government more responsive to the people, the South Carolina Regulation consisted of elite men trying to impose their values and way of life on the rest of the population.

The Pennsylvania Regulation (usually known as the Whiskey Rebellion [1794]) and the Massachusetts Regulation (better known as Shays's Rebellion [1786–1787]) bore a close resemblance to the North Carolina Regulation. Farmers in those states protested structural economic inequality much as did their North Carolina counterparts.

See also **North Carolina; Shays's Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion.**

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Marjoleine Kars

RELIGION

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Overview*, *The Founders and Religion*, and *Spanish Borderlands*.

Overview

The early Republic witnessed major changes that forecast religion's exceptional vitality in America well into modern times. By 1830 the religious diversity that typified Britain's colonies in 1776 had developed into a far more expansive spiritual pluralism that became a touchstone of modern American life.

DIVERSITY OF BELIEF

From the 1740s to the Revolution, the highly variegated populations in Britain's mainland colonies exhibited confusing patterns of religious diversity, revival, and indifference. Surviving Indian groups often synthesized new customs as they merged under the impress of disease and constant British territorial expansion. For example, the Catawbas of the Carolinas mixed several different native customs with Christianity learned from missionaries in a culture they sustained largely by living away from British settlements. Slaveholders in Britain's mainland colonies suppressed most African religious customs because they feared religion as a source of slave rebellion. African burial practices survived into the next century, but none of the great national African religious systems themselves—Ashanti or Ibo, for example—resurfaced in British America.

In contrast, European Christian groups thrived in British North America. By 1770 eight Protestant denominations—Congregational, Presbyterian,

Church of England, Baptist, Quaker, German Reformed, German Lutheran, and Dutch Reformed—counted between one hundred and seven hundred congregations. Another five—Methodist, Roman Catholic, Moravian, Dunker, and Mennonite—counted between fifteen and one hundred congregations, while Jews clustered in the colonial cities and a variety of sects, such as British Rogerenes and Sandemanians, sustained worship in British America despite very small numbers.

Two-thirds of Revolutionary-era congregations had been formed after 1700, demonstrating how thoroughly eighteenth-century migration from Scotland, Wales, and continental Europe fractured the homogeneity of English Protestantism in British America. The variety of religious expression among Europeans also revealed the weakness of the traditional state church tradition in the colonies. Nine of the thirteen mainland colonies enacted some form of formal church establishment—Congregationalism in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and the Church of England in New York, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia. But religious dissent and diversity spread nonetheless. Varied revivals in the 1740s and 1750s—later homogenized under the label the Great Awakening—threatened established Congregationalists and the Church of England, who saw their authority questioned; another threat came from dissenting Baptists and Presbyterians, who divided over revival methods and theology. Opponents sometimes used coercion against revivalists, usually without success. When Virginia authorities attempted to suppress Baptist preaching in 1771—a sheriff and a Church of England minister caught one Baptist preacher, in the words of one witness, “by the back part of his neck, [and] beat his head against the ground, sometimes up, sometimes down”—public regard for the Church of England fell rather than rose.

Yet most colonists did not belong to any religious congregation, contrary to modern myths about a past more “religious” than the present. Only about 15 to 20 percent of British and other European colonists actually belonged to a congregation or attended services (in the year 2000, roughly 55 percent of adult Americans belonged to a religious congregation), and only the tiniest number of enslaved Africans had been converted to Christianity. This pattern actually paralleled church attendance throughout early modern Europe, where laypeople often did not attend except on the great holidays of Christmas and Easter. Laypeople were not necessarily atheists or anti-religious in either Europe or America. But they

held their religious convictions in a very general sense and reacted warily to the pronouncements and power of the state-supported clergy. The variety of European religions in America probably confirmed colonists’ spiritual standoffishness. The itinerant Church of England minister Charles Woodmason described the situation in North Carolina in 1767: “by the Variety of Taylors who would pretend to know the best fashion in which Christs Coat is to be worn[,] none will put it on.”

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLUTION

The American Revolution dealt organized religion severe setbacks. Although some historians in the 1960s and 1970s argued that controversies over revival religion in the 1740s and 1750s shaped the Revolution and its rhetoric, most historians at the start of the twenty-first century agree that the Revolution focused not on religion but taxes, representation, and politics—themes confirmed throughout the Declaration of Independence. Princeton president and Presbyterian minister John Witherspoon signed the Declaration of Independence, and some other ministers backed the Revolution vigorously. But many clergymen did not. In 1775 the Presbytery of Philadelphia made it a point to note that it was “well known . . . that we have not been instrumental in inflaming the minds of the people.” Indeed, the Presbytery worried that the conflict with Britain could become a civil war “carried on with a rancour and spirit of revenge much greater than [a war] between independent states.”

The Presbyterians were not far wrong. War wreaked havoc with organized religious life in many colonies, if not all. By 1781 membership in Baptist congregations in and around Philadelphia dropped from three thousand to fourteen hundred, and easily more than half of the Church of England congregations closed, tainted because the king headed the church. Pennsylvania Patriots exiled to Virginia some Quakers who espoused pacifism. Both American and British troops sometimes burned and ransacked church buildings, and the tombstones broken off for oven hearths by British troops on Long Island produced death inscriptions baked into the soldiers’ bread. Although patriotic army chaplains likened the Revolution to “spiritual warfare,” soldiers attacked their ineffectiveness in salving the agonies of death and injury; as one soldier put it, a chaplain was “as destitute of employ . . . as a person who is dismissed from their people for the most scandalous crimes.”

Religion changed dramatically after the Revolution, as did America itself. Part of that change in-

volved a revolution in relations between religion and government. Every colony with a formally established church abandoned the practice or severely altered it. New York, Maryland, Virginia, and North and South Carolina abolished the legal privileges and tax revenues previously given to the Church of England, and while Connecticut and Massachusetts continued to support Congregational churches with tax revenues, they provided exemptions for Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians (the new name for the Anglicans of the Church of England), and members of “any other Denomination.”

Virginia’s debate about disestablishment carried national implications. After Virginia disestablished the Church of England, Patrick Henry proposed a “general establishment” for Christianity that authorized Virginia’s state government to determine which specific churches and ministers actually qualified and could be supported. George Washington initially supported Henry’s bill as a middle ground between the old establishment and none. But Washington changed his mind, fearful that contests over supporting specific groups would “rankle, and perhaps convulse the state.” When Henry’s bill failed, Virginia passed Thomas Jefferson’s bill “for Establishing Religious Freedom,” which was guided through the legislature by James Madison in 1786. It prohibited taxation for “any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever” and upheld freedom of worship for all religions, not just Christianity.

The First Amendment to the federal Constitution, ratified in 1791, followed in the wake of successful disestablishments in all but Connecticut and Massachusetts. Rejecting narrow clauses that would have prohibited government support for a specific “religious doctrine” or for a national church, the Congress settled on sixteen words that spoke broadly and clearly to the religion question: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” In short, the amendment protected the free exercise of religion, not just Christianity, and it prohibited “an establishment” in broad terms, rather than merely prohibiting a single national church.

INSTITUTIONAL PROLIFERATION AND SPIRITUAL CREATIVITY

If a few Americans, such as Yale president Ezra Stiles (1727–1795), worried that the abolition of a formally sanctioned religion cut America loose from any secure moral and religious foundation, most American religious groups and leaders reversed Stiles’s fears. They believed that religion arrived at voluntarily was

morally superior to religion guided by government. Indeed, the need for moral virtue in a republic only increased the need for religion, and precisely the kind of religion that now would prosper in America because government no longer determined its shape or directly or subtly formed the ways citizens expressed their faith.

The opening provided by disestablishment in the states and the strictures of the First Amendment against federal involvement in religious matters brought a near orgy of proselytizing that fueled exceptional denominational growth into the 1830s. Between the 1790s and the 1830s, a series of highly emotional revivals, sometimes called the Second Great Awakening, merged with exceptionally astute denominational organizing drives, especially among Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, producing congregational growth and a rising in membership that outstripped even the vigorous population growth in the new Republic. Methodist congregations increased from fifty to three hundred, and Baptist congregations almost doubled from seventeen hundred to nearly three thousand between 1780 and 1820. In all, America’s superheated religious denominations constructed more than eight thousand church buildings in the United States in the five decades after the Revolution, and the church membership rate for adults probably increased into the mid-20-percent range by 1830.

Voluntary associations that emerged most prominently from America’s rapidly expanding congregations and denominations set models for American civic life. Mission, literary, temperance, education, women’s rights, and abolitionist societies, such as the American Bible Society (1816), American Tract Society (1823), American Colonization Society (1816), American Sunday School Union (1824), and American Temperance Society (1826), quickly typified the American reform style. They bespoke the religious foundations of innumerable American reform movements, offered leadership opportunities for women who were denied formal posts, including ordination, within denominations, and engaged every major social issue in nineteenth-century America.

New spiritual expressions and institutions accompanied the expansion of familiar religious groups in the new Republic. Formerly enslaved Africans led by Philadelphia’s Richard Allen (1760–1831) opened the Bethel African Methodist Church in 1794, which in 1816 became one of the founding congregations of the new African Methodist Episcopal Church. Together with the African Methodist Epis-

copal Zion Church and increasing numbers of Baptist congregations formed in the early national period, they constituted the major Christian denominations attracting African Americans up to the Civil War and well beyond. Methodist preachers outstripped businessmen in understanding and mastering the early Republic's local and regional markets and added a visionary enthusiasm to the mix. Methodist itinerants related their dreams about heaven and hell and conversations with Jesus to their listeners because, as Freeborn Garrettson (1752–1827) noted, “great discoveries were made to Peter, Paul, and others in their night visions.” Unordained women preachers, such as Nancy Towle (1796–1876) and Salome Lincoln (1807–1841) and the African American Jarena Lee (b. 1783), preached with an effectiveness that questioned but did not yet overturn the prohibition against women's ordination in almost all denominations except the Quakers, which alone among major Protestant groups had allowed and even fostered female preaching.

Protestant and Roman Catholic proselytizing among Indians increased and achieved some particular successes, most notably among the Cherokees of the western Carolinas and northern Georgia. Other Indians responded to new prophecies. The Seneca prophet Handsome Lake (1735–1815) offered a new teaching called the Gaiwiiyo, or Good Word, to set Indians on a new moral path. Neolin (fl. 1760–1766), a Delaware prophet, demanded that Indians reject European civilization and its products, especially alcohol. Tenskwatawa (1775–1836), the Shawnee prophet, denounced Europeans as descended from a lesser god and demanded a return to traditional native culture and the expulsion of Europeans.

In a Republic that represented the “new order of the ages,” it scarcely is surprising that reform overtook, and split, many religious groups. New England Baptists who rejected the traditional Calvinist theology of predestination formed a new denomination called Free Will Baptists. Universalists emphasized the breadth of Christian salvation, not its narrowness, and drew believers from urban and rural New England alike. Revivals that began in 1801 at Cane Ridge in Kentucky produced converts to evangelical Protestant groups, especially Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. They also spawned yet more movements and denominations. Followers of Barton Stone and Thomas and Alexander Campbell, disaffected Presbyterians, sought to recover the spirit of the early Christian church, forming the Disciples of Christ in 1832. A “unitarian controversy” split several hundred New England Congregationalist

churches between 1805 and 1835 over the question of the Trinity. The argument also led to the demise of America's last state church establishments in Connecticut in 1818 and Massachusetts in 1833 as state lawmakers and lawyers reeled from the spectacle of congregants suing each other over tax revenues rather than simply worshipping together.

The new Republic's spiritual hothouse sustained prophets as fully among Europeans as among Indians. The followers of the Shaker visionary and millennialist Ann Lee, who migrated from England to New York in 1774, expanded to their greatest number in the four decades after Lee's death in 1784. Freemasonry won an enormous following among middle-class men fascinated by mystical spiritual teachings, alchemy, and alleged Egyptian secrets. Prophets and short-lived sectarian movements popped up almost everywhere. New York City witnessed two prophets in the late 1820s: Elijah the Tishbite (Elijah Pierson), an affluent merchant and evangelical reformer who sought to raise his wife from the dead, and the Prophet Matthias (Robert Matthews), who headed an authoritarian Christian commune that included Pierson as well as the African American reformer and visionary Sojourner Truth, but which ended when Matthews was charged with Pierson's murder (although he was later acquitted).

The history of New York's Joseph Smith Jr. exemplified all the themes of reform, prophecy, and renewal that invigorated religion in the early Republic. Disaffected by the competition of religions in America and sensitive to evangelical revivalism, Smith initially imbibed occult techniques to locate buried fortunes in the late 1810s. Later, Smith's visions of visits with the angel Moroni resulted in the 1830 publication of *The Book of Mormon*, which he described as a translation of hieroglyphic texts engraved on golden plates or tablets presented to him by Moroni that described God's dealings with ancient groups of people called Jaredites, Lamanites, and Nephites. Smith's writings and beliefs became the foundation for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The controversies stirred by *The Book of Mormon* and its adherents not only capped the lively assertiveness of religion in the early Republic but prefigured Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish expansion and the rise of new groups such as Spiritualists, Seventh Day Adventists, Christian Scientists, and Jehovah's Witnesses in the later nineteenth century.

See also African Americans: African American Religion; American Indians: American Indian Religions; Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Catholicism and

Catholics; Congregationalists; Deism; Disciples of Christ; Disestablishment; Jews; Methodists; Mormonism, Origins of; Moravians; Presbyterians; Quakers; Revivals and Revivalism; Shakers; Unitarianism and Universalism; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom; Voluntary and Civic Associations.

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Jon Butler

The Founders and Religion

Within cultures, religion evidences a paradoxical character. It provides humans with meaning and purpose, thereby supporting social stability and maintaining the status quo. But it also offers notions of the ideal social order, thereby serving as an agent for social change. Both dynamics were at work during the American Revolution and the early Republic. Both buttressed the move towards independence, albeit in different ways.

PURITANISM AND REVOLUTION

One clear understanding of religion's links to order and stability emerged in the New England Puritan colonies. Inherent in the Puritan worldview was the sense of deference that prevailed in the British social order. Just as ordinary folk should defer to those of higher rank, especially the monarch, all human life should demonstrate deference to God. Influenced by John Calvin (1509–1564), Puritans believed that

those God elected to salvation should exercise political power; God could entrust only to them oversight of society. Magistrates became God's agents to maintain order; rebellion against them was thus rebellion against God.

By the mid-eighteenth century, countervailing forces complicated this sense of deference and order. The evangelical revivals of the Great Awakening represented one such force. Preachers such as Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758) and George Whitefield (1714–1770), both Calvinists, unwittingly stressed the equality of all humans as sinners separated from God. Likewise, election to salvation evinced an equality rooted in divine grace. A commitment to social order remained, but with a difference. Deference was not automatic, as in the hierarchy sustaining monarchy, but due those who acknowledged their sin and testified to God's work in their lives.

Puritanism's evangelical dimension also nurtured the challenge to deference accompanying independence. Advocates of breaking with king and Parliament included many clergy. But the individualism of personal conversion resonated with larger democratic impulses, thus undermining Puritanism's Calvinist base and spurring rapid growth of more democratic denominations (for example, Baptists and Methodists) in the early Republic.

The second force centered on abuse of power. Even Puritans displeased by evangelical, emotion-laden revivals believed all power had limits. When power became tyranny, rulers forfeited legitimacy. Allegiance to God superseded devotion to despotic power that rendered true worship impossible. Commitment to social order could require overthrow of demonic power. When leaders likened parliamentary tax policy to enslavement, the king became a symbol of oppression and revolution a sacred duty. Such thinking influenced founders like Samuel Adams, John Adams, and James Otis, though they were more inclined to emergent Unitarianism than to traditional Congregationalism.

REFORMED REALISM

Support for order alongside support for rebellion against Britain found a different basis in the Reformed Protestantism gaining ground in the middle colonies. The beliefs of New Jersey's John Witherspoon, the sole clergyman signing the Declaration of Independence, illustrate both aspects. Witherspoon, Scots by birth, espoused the evangelical Calvinism associated with middle colonies Presbyterians, but he tempered that with the philosophy called Scottish common-sense realism.

This heritage meant Witherspoon appreciated the primacy of personal religious experience that gave authority to individuals rather than institutions. He therefore believed that local congregations and not denominational authorities had absolute authority to choose pastors. He transferred this belief to the political sector when he endorsed American independence. Belief and common sense called for social change.

Yet when Witherspoon helped Presbyterians organize a denomination in the new Republic, he worked to secure assent to traditional doctrine and consent to a single church order and liturgy. Here Witherspoon's belief and use of common sense called for order and maintenance of the status quo.

ENLIGHTENMENT INFLUENCES

The paradoxical dynamic of sustaining social order while planting seeds of social change likewise influenced those founders more directly affected by Enlightenment rationalism. Many, but not all, came from the southern colonies. There, legal establishment of the Church of England epitomized institutional ties between religious order and political stability, at least until independence. During the Revolution, many priests serving these churches remained loyal to the crown and took refuge in Canada, the Caribbean, or the mother country. Although their departure left Anglicanism in disarray, neither religious nor social disorder followed. Rather, a vibrant evangelicalism stood poised to fill the void left by the demise of colonial Anglicanism.

Enlightenment rationalism bolstered a different type of social change than had Puritanism or Reformed realism. Precepts of reason caused many, such as Benjamin Franklin (a nominal Presbyterian) and Thomas Jefferson (a nominal Anglican), to reject much traditional doctrine as superstition. They thought religious beliefs based on revelation or miracle lacked rational grounding and were therefore unreliable.

If orthodox belief was suspect, so was any legal tie between a particular denomination and the state. Although James Madison, his friend and collaborator, secured adoption of Jefferson's statute establishing religious freedom in Virginia in 1786, Jefferson embodied the Age of Reason's dislike of religious establishments and support for religious liberty. An agent for social change, rational religion helped erect what Jefferson later called a "wall of separation" between church and state.

At the same time, the religious style of Enlightenment advocates buttressed social stability in its

conviction that religion, even when superstition, provided moral codes essential to public order. In his famous Farewell Address in 1796, George Washington, another nominal Anglican who served as a parish vestryman, argued that without religion, society lacked the moral foundation essential for harmony and stability. Pennsylvania's Benjamin Franklin remarked in his *Autobiography* that religion's value lay in making persons good citizens, not devotees of a particular denomination.

This commitment to morality had other implications for the public square. Some analysts brand founders influenced by rationalism as Deists because they jettisoned traditional views other than simple belief in a providential, creator God who left humanity to its own devices. Others regard them almost as twenty-first-century fundamentalists because they saw moral values as basic to society and were at least nominal church members. Neither view is entirely accurate. Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and others of like mind believed religion and common life connected in a way similar to what their French contemporary Jean-Jacques Rousseau called civil religion. That is, they saw a Divine Providence undergirding the nation's destiny that was most obvious when citizens followed a common-sense moral code sustained by religious belief and practice. Differences of doctrine remained but counted for little. What mattered was moral living so social stability could prevail.

In the age of American independence, forces as diverse as Puritanism, Reformed realism, and Enlightenment rationalism reveal the complex ways religion maintains order. They also demonstrate how religion at the same time can promote social change.

See also Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Congregationalists; Deism; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; Methodists; Philosophy; Presbyterians; Revivals and Revivalism.

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San Xavier del Bac Mission. This mission church was built between 1783 and 1797 near Tuscon, Arizona, by Franciscan fathers Juan Bautista Velderrain and Juan Bautista Llorenz. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

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Charles H. Lippy

Spanish Borderlands

In the early 1500s Spain had nominal claim over a region that stretched from present-day Florida to California. Franciscan missions in New Mexico were first established in 1598 but were pursued inadequately. By 1775 the area had been made part of the Diocese of Durango, and twenty friars administered to Spanish colonists and a dwindling native population. Another segment of borderland territory, later called Arizona, benefited from work begun in 1687 by Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. Work continued among his successors until 1767, when Jesuits were suppressed within Spanish jurisdictions.

In 1769 authorities sent Don Gaspar de Portolá northward into California to counteract further Rus-

sian movement into the area. Junípero Serra, a Franciscan missionary of wide experience, accompanied this expedition. Under his determined, energetic guidance, nine missions were built along the Pacific Coast: San Diego (1769), San Carlos Borromeo (1770), San Antonio (1771), San Gabriel (1771), San Luis Obispo (1772), San Francisco de Assisi (1776), San Juan Capistrano (1776), Santa Clara (1777), and San Buenaventura (1782). Serra's records indicate that he baptized more than six thousand Indians and confirmed more than five thousand of them. He was convinced that the mission-colony plan of churches, farms, industry, and permanent dwellings was the best means of converting natives to Christianity and of improving their chances of survival in a European-dominated society.

Nine additional missions were founded between 1786 (Santa Barbara) and 1798 (San Luis Rey) under the administration of Serra's successor, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén. Three more were added in the early 1800s, making a total of twenty-one establishments. They formed the context in which four presi-

dios and three secular colonies, together with adjacent ranches, constituted the only Christian settlements in California between 1769 and 1840. Incorporated into the Diocese of Sonora, mission efforts continued until Mexican independence from Spain in 1821. All activities associated with missions and church life declined after that, and the missions were secularized in 1833. This exacerbated the situation, which became even worse with the entry of Americans into California in 1845 and the subsequent ceding of the land by Mexico to the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848).

Louisiana had been a mission field since the 1600s, administered by the bishop of Quebec. Spanish authorities took control of the region in 1769 after it was ceded to them by France in the Treaty of Fontainebleau (1762). One ecclesiastical figure who became active there was Antonio de Sedella (also known as Father Antoine), and his agitations were at the center of a fifteen-year dispute over jurisdiction and proper authority in church matters. His superior, Luis Ignacio de Peñalver y Cardenas, became the first ordinary of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas in 1793. He worked strenuously to revive an indifferent population, and besides establishing new parishes he laid the foundations for the Cathedral of St. Louis. In 1803 Louisiana was ceded back to France and thence to the United States. By 1809 the last canonical link between Spanish personnel and the churches there was severed.

See also **Catholicism and Catholics; Professions: Clergy.**

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Henry Warner Bowden

co's first Catholic bishop, much of what would be printed in America would have a distinctly religious flavor. A century later, the Puritans continued this linkage between religion and print by establishing the first printing press in the British colonies in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Largely because of the Puritan commitment to literacy, American publishing in general—and religious publishing in particular—went on to establish itself most prominently in the northeastern region during the ensuing two centuries. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Puritan-inflected Boston had become a major religious publishing center. In these decades, Philadelphia and New York City also rose to prominence in the area of religious publishing, due largely to their deep roots in the publishing industry more generally and to the fact that both cities played host to a number of Protestant denominational headquarters, major churches, and religious benevolent societies.

By 1755 there were twenty-four printing establishments in ten of the British colonies. A decade later, every one of the original thirteen colonies had an active publishing enterprise. Religion, politics, and printing were so intertwined during these years that nearly all of these mid-eighteenth-century American printers published religious material, but they published other kinds of material as well. At this point, strict specialization in printing rarely existed. The Ephrata cloister of Pietists near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, established a printing enterprise around 1743 and became a rare example of a publishing enterprise almost totally dedicated to religious publishing. Other strictly “religious publishers” hardly existed at this time, and printers took a wide variety of work to remain financially solvent. Perhaps the most famous American printer of the eighteenth century, Benjamin Franklin, serves as a useful illustration here. Franklin used his printing presses to produce newspapers, books, pamphlets, and almanacs of a more secular hue. He also printed many extremely popular religious works, including sermon collections originally preached by George Whitefield, the most famous traveling evangelist of the eighteenth century.

To be sure, certain publishers did make a name for themselves by printing religious materials. Prior to the American Revolution, Christopher Sower produced a German Bible in 1743, and his son produced later editions in 1773 and 1776. After John Eliot's translation of the Bible into an Algonquian language in the early 1660s, Sower's was the second Bible edition to be printed in the United States, and its produc-

RELIGIOUS PUBLISHING Dating back to the sixteenth century, religious publishing has had a long and vibrant history in North America. From the time Juan Pablos arrived in Mexico City in 1539 to set up a printing office under the patronage of Mexi-

tion distinguished him as one of the leading religious publishers of his day. Mathew Carey was yet another publisher who came to distinguish himself as a producer of Bible editions. Until the rise of the American Bible Society in 1816, Mathew Carey was the largest single printer of Bibles in the United States.

The 1770s and 1780s saw the rise of denomination-based publishing. The Methodists took the lead in this area. Before the 1770s, Methodists employed local Philadelphia printers to produce hymnbooks and other works. These printers profited by producing these works, something that outraged the Methodist leadership in England. In 1773 the Methodists determined that only officially approved publications and publishers would be used, and all the proceeds would go toward mission work. This led to the establishment of the Methodist Book Concern in 1789, the first denominational printing enterprise in the United States.

Other denominations followed suit in the nineteenth century. The Baptists established a publication society in 1824, the Unitarians set up a book and pamphlet society in 1827, the Episcopalians began American publishing in 1828 through the New York Episcopal Press, and the Congregationalists set up a tract and book printing enterprise in 1829 to service its loosely confederated circle of churches. By the mid-1830s every major American denomination recognized the need for a publishing enterprise to produce materials for their missions activities and educational curriculums, and to facilitate denominational coherence. Denominations were also largely responsible for the proliferation of religious newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first newspapers dedicated strictly to religion began to appear in the second decade of the century, but nearly three hundred religious newspapers (most often sponsored by a specific denomination or religious body to help facilitate communication within its ranks) existed by the time of the Civil War.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century also gave birth to a new kind of interdenominational publishing. The American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), and the American Tract Society (1825) came to represent cooperation among various denominations, which allowed for a flood of religious material to be released throughout the country. These societies took full advantage of changes in papermaking technology, stereotyping, centralized mass production, and power presses to become the largest publishing enterprises of their day. By the late 1820s the American Bible Society was producing 300,000 Bibles a year,

the American Tract Society was producing over six million tracts a year, and the American Sunday School Union was embarking on a 100-volume Sunday school series to help facilitate its Bible class curricula across the country. This spirit of interdenominational cooperation signaled a significant shift from the decentralized religious publishing of the mid-eighteenth century to a more centralized and powerful religious publishing presence in the United States by the 1830s.

See also **Bible; Newspapers; Printers; Printing Technology; Religion: The Founders and Religion.**

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Paul C. Gutjahr

RELIGIOUS TESTS FOR OFFICEHOLDING

In the aftermath of England's Glorious Revolution of 1688, Parliament imposed on members of colonial assemblies and councils the obligation to take an oath renouncing allegiance to all foreign powers, political and spiritual. This oath effectively barred Roman Catholics from holding political office in all the colonies, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which were essentially self-governing. However, Rhode Island passed a law in 1719 against Roman Catholic officeholders and, it is safe to say, Connecticut elected no Catholics to office. Jews also did not serve in colonial legislatures. At least in theory, foreign-born Catholics could not become naturalized British citizens, vote, or hold property. The exclusion of Roman Catholics from political power occasioned no debate, and the French and Indian War against Catholic France and the Quebec Act of 1774 led to increased anti-Catholic sentiments. It is a safe conclusion that on the eve of the American Revolution, most colonists saw America as a Protestant country.

A second form of religious test came in requirements to swear an oath of office (“so help me God”). Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania allowed an affirmation (omitting the name of God), but other states followed the British practice of allowing an affirmation for legal matters while deeming it insufficient for holding high office. Maryland and the Carolinas allowed an affirmation for officeholders in the seventeenth century, but subsequently repealed that provision as a way of reducing Quaker influence.

DURING THE REVOLUTION

After independence was proclaimed, all the states except Connecticut and Rhode Island wrote new constitutions. Virginia was unique in having no religious test and no naming of God in oaths of office. Yet it kept its established church. Georgia had no religious test, but did invoke “so help me God” in the oath of office from 1777 until a new constitution in 1789 dropped this requirement.

Six states’ constitutions—North and South Carolina, New Hampshire, Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia—restricted officeholding to Protestants. New York effectively barred foreign-born Catholics from becoming naturalized state citizens by a law requiring an oath renouncing allegiance to a foreign political and spiritual power, that is, the papacy. Even though Massachusetts’s constitution of 1780 restricted officeholding to Christians, its legislature and New York’s effectively banned Catholics. Against Benjamin Franklin’s opposition, the ministers in Pennsylvania persuaded its convention in 1776 to allow only Christians to hold office. Maryland passed the same restriction that year and did not revise its constitution to allow Jews to serve until 1851 and even then insisted that all officeholders believe in a future state of rewards and punishment.

The states feared religious strife and sought to protect their citizens by forbidding practicing ministers from serving in the legislatures. Six states banned ministers exercising their pastoral vocation from serving in the legislature (South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware, and New York). New York wished to be delivered from “bigotry and ambition of weak and wicked priests,” but South Carolina noted that “a profession dedicated to the service of God and the cure of souls, ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their function” (Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, vol. 5, p. 2636; vol. 6, p. 3253).

All of the state constitutions included a loyalty oath or affirmation. Six states required the naming

of God in their oaths, while only two did not mention the deity in the prescribed form; the others did not stipulate the form of the oath. In theory, the “so help me God” formulation was not meant to enlist the aid of God in telling the truth but to acknowledge that God would deal with the person in this or the next life in a manner congruent with whether he or she told the truth. Several state constitutions made this explicit by requiring officeholders to acknowledge a future realm of rewards and punishment (heaven and hell).

EASING REQUIREMENTS

The most secular constitution of 1777 was the Articles of Confederation, which did not mention God nor require an oath of loyalty. The Federal Constitution made no mention of God either in the preamble or the oath of office, created no religious test, and allowed an affirmation.

The individual states also eased their requirements before and after 1787, showing widespread but by no means universal opposition to some religious tests, particularly those against Catholics and Jews. The Pennsylvania constitution of 1790 ended the restriction upon Jews, but still required a belief in God and in a realm of rewards and punishments after death. This provision would remain in the state’s constitutions until the twentieth century. The South Carolina constitution of 1790 dropped the name of God and the religious test for electors and officeholders. The Delaware constitution of 1792 also dropped religious tests. Georgia’s 1789 document continued the state’s policy of no religious test. Kentucky in 1792 banned ministers from officeholding but required the naming of God in its oath; the state dropped the latter requirement in 1799. In 1777 and 1786, Vermont restricted officeholding to Protestants who believed in heaven and hell. After becoming a state in 1791, however, it required only belief in God and in heaven and hell. Many of the religious tests endured long into the nineteenth century. Massachusetts ended them in 1833, North Carolina in 1835, and New Jersey in 1844. Invoking the name of God in oaths of office remained common even when states allowed an affirmation.

What should one conclude about the significance of religious tests? At the time of the Revolution, eleven states and Vermont proclaimed their devotion to religious liberty even while maintaining a religious test for office. The citizens wanted to guarantee that honest, God-fearing men held office, but feared the influence of church organization on politics. Ironically, the 1776 constitution of Virginia, the most

secular state document, did not bar ministers from serving, while South Carolina's constitution of 1778, filled with religious sentiments, did. At first, only Georgia accepted the Virginia pattern, but it became increasingly influential even before the Constitution of 1787. The impact of the federal Constitution and the First Amendment was felt because while many Americans had already concluded that religious tests were unnecessary or an infringement on religious liberty, no one had argued that they were illegal.

See also **Constitutionalism; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.**

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J. William Frost

REVIVALS AND REVIVALISM The period in American history stretching from the mid-eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century was marked by many dramatic bursts of revivalism. Revivalism is a movement within modern Christianity, particularly but not exclusively Protestantism, that calls on individuals to repent of their sin, believe the Gospel, and enter a proper relationship with God. Revivals are generally experienced communally, but they stress, by rhetoric and ritual, the individual's spiritual standing. Revivals shaped the lives of countless Americans and deeply affected the character of colonial and early national religion and society. Revivalists challenged the conventional hierarchies of religious culture, and they advanced an egalitarian, voluntaristic, and inclusive social order that was often international in scope.

Yet revivals polarized as much as they consolidated, leaving a long tradition of controversy in their wake. These events were highly contested in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and have stimulated a wide spectrum of interpretation ever since,

both among their supporters and detractors. Most scholars today see the revivals as an important storyline in the unfolding narrative of American history, and certainly they receive prominent treatment in American history textbooks. But some have challenged the notion of revivalism's centrality to American history. In 1982, for example, the historian Jon Butler argued that the so-called Great Awakening of the mid-eighteenth century was an "interpretive fiction," a creation of mid-nineteenth-century evangelicals overly eager to give their nation a sanctified past. As such, Butler urged that the notion of a Great Awakening reveals more about subsequent evangelical aspirations than about eighteenth-century realities. By employing a homogenizing concept like the Great Awakening, scholars assume a religious and political unity that does not exist, and the formation of the American nation can become something of a stepchild of evangelicalism. Historians of American religion have generally appreciated Butler's careful attention to the historical construction of the category of revivalism and to religious diversity, but subsequent studies have shown that the Great Awakening was not merely a product of the nineteenth century; the concept was "invented" while the revivals were happening, the historian Frank Lambert has argued, by evangelicals like Thomas Prince, the editor of *Christian History* (1743–1745), eager to see God's hand in the surprising and gracious revivalist events of the day.

DEFINITIONS AND ORIGINS

As a distinct form of modern religious experience, revivals, as explained by the historian Russell Richey, can be identified by the following ten traits: a firm grounding in the Pietist tradition, a proselytizing tendency, a soteriology of crisis (that is, the conversion experience), the assumption of religious declension, the presence of crowds, an emphasis on voluntarism, a dramatic ritual form, charismatic leadership, confidence among participants in the fact of God's presence, and a strong communication network. As Richey points out, one or two of these factors may be absent and people may still wish to call something a revival. But where all exist there is usually little doubt about whether a revival has occurred.

Yet the ambiguities surrounding revivalism's importance to American history point to a deeper confusion about revivalism's definition. Implicit in the term itself is a notion of spiritual decline from which one might be revived. It is this quality that set the revivals apart from the cultural institution of the



Camp Meeting. Between the 1790s and the 1830s a series of highly emotional revival meetings and denominational organizing drives, especially among Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, produced a rise in membership. This 1829 lithograph by Kennedy and Lucas is based on a painting by Alexander Rider. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

biannual Presbyterian communion seasons, which were popular in America, Ireland, and Scotland. The revival tradition grew out of the rituals of these communion seasons, in which congregants would gather together for a week or more, hear preaching, and, most important, receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. These holy fairs shaped a distinct revival experience centered in personal introspection and communal renewal. However, because most contemporary scholarship debunks the long-entrenched notion that religion was in fast decline in the early eighteenth century, historians have had to look elsewhere to account for revivalism's considerable appeal. The Pietist and Puritan movements in western Europe and North America, which preceded the era of revivals, help scholars to understand that the revivals emerged as a challenge to the new emphasis on rationality in the Western Enlightenment. Revivals, then, are a distinctly modern form of religious practice that gave new attention to individual subjectivi-

ty, centering religion in the heart rather than the head.

THE GREAT AWAKENING

Revivals occurred as early as the late seventeenth century, most notably under the ministry of Solomon Stoddard in Northampton, Massachusetts. During the period between the 1730s and the 1770s, however, these efforts intensified into a broader movement known as the First Great Awakening. In the process, the revivals initiated a slow but steady transformation of religion and society in America. The period prior to the 1730s was characterized by clerical religion and sundry attempts on the part of the clergy to bring the laity into conformity with orthodox religious practice. The period beginning with the Great Awakening represents a triumph of lay religion—a shift, as Mark Noll put it in his 1993 article, “The American Revolution and Protestant Evangelicalism,” “from the minister as an inherited authority

figure to an effective mobilizer, from the definition of Christianity by doctrine to its definition by piety, and from a state church encompassing all of society to a gathered church made up only of the converted" (p. 626).

The colonial revivals of the mid-eighteenth century (especially from the 1730s to the 1750s) were one part of a transatlantic phenomenon that stretched from Scotland to Boston, and from Saxony to South Carolina. The English-speaking phase of this movement centered on the ministry of the Anglican itinerant George Whitefield (1714–1770), who made seven trips to North America and traveled widely in the United Kingdom. Whitefield was a committed Calvinist who believed and preached that the "new birth," or conversion, could occur only through God's initiation. But his Calvinism did not keep him from doing all he could to ensure that his revivals would be a worldly success. Whitefield's agents would send news of the surprising works of God ahead to the next town he would soon visit, stimulating intense interest in the event and laying the groundwork for hearts to be changed. According to Harry Stout, Whitefield pioneered technologies of communication (appropriating theater techniques) that would not only alter the future course of American religion but also spread into other arenas of culture including politics and entertainment. Far more than others, Whitefield was a master at making the complexities of faith simple—even simplistic—and his popularity grew as a result. A person of celebrity status, Whitefield was first to be seen by a majority of the colonists. In 1739 the skeptic and printer Benjamin Franklin heard him in Philadelphia and was duly impressed, willing to support Whitefield as much for the publishing business he generated as the morality he inculcated in the population through his evangelical Calvinism. Franklin was astounded by the size of the crowd that gathered in Philadelphia to hear him, a testimony to his unusual skill in voice projection as well as to his phenomenal success in bringing religion into the marketplace of ideas in the Atlantic world.

Whitefield was only the brightest star in a constellation of other lesser but noteworthy lights, and these revivalists' diverse backgrounds indicate the complex ways in which revivals mixed with American culture. Revivalists and those affected by the revival fell along a range of theological positions and denominational standpoints. Some pro-revivalists, like Whitefield, the Presbyterian Gilbert Tennent, and the Dutch Reformed Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen, moved safely within a Calvinist orbit, even though

they nevertheless challenged long-established ecclesiastical traditions and put a new emphasis on religious experience. Others, particularly those under Wesleyan and later Methodist auspices, articulated their gospel as a challenge to Calvinism: God's grace had made it possible for humans everywhere to repent and live holy lives. The revivals also generated a cohort of religious radicals that famously challenged established hierarchies and conventions with a call from God. In the mid-eighteenth century Andrew Croswell and James Davenport both bordered on antinomianism in their defenses of the saving graces of God, calling into question the spiritual validity of the established Christian ministries and earning for themselves much public opprobrium throughout New England and beyond. As the wing of the Awakening occupied by Croswell and Davenport became increasingly strident and radicalized, the colonial ministry split on the question of revivals. Pro-revivalists, or "New Lights," were opposed by the conservative "Old Lights," with the Old Lights taking offense at the way that revivals were undermining traditional social values. The Congregational clergyman Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), a New Light moderate and the grandson of Solomon Stoddard, carried on a long debate with the Old Light conservative Charles Chauncy, resulting in Edwards's *Treatise Concerning the Religious Affections* (1746). In this defense of the revivals, Edwards spent most of his pages chronicling all the ways religious experience may be false and thus destructive to religion and society. Similarly, the colonial Presbyterian tradition underwent a temporary schism between its "New Side" and "Old Side." But for all the love lost between fellow denominationalists, pro-revivalists found a refreshing new camaraderie with others from outside their own traditions and regions who also supported the awakenings. Thus the intercolonial religious discourse took place across a range of Protestant viewpoints.

THE RISE OF THE METHODISTS AND BAPTISTS

While evangelical Calvinists of Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Anglican, or Dutch Reformed background dominated the early phase of the Great Awakening, the Separates, Baptists, Methodists, and Disciples of Christ laid the revivalist groundwork of the Revolutionary era. These Protestant traditions were sympathetic to experimental revivalism and thrived in the democratic atmosphere of the early decades of the new American Republic. They gave voice to religious enthusiasm, appealed to the individual conscience, nurtured egalitarianism, and, not least, tapped into a burgeoning entrepreneurialism.

Francis Asbury (1745–1816), a tireless itinerant and America's first Methodist bishop, was one of these religious entrepreneurs, traveling thousands of miles on horseback each year bringing Methodist institutions like the class meeting and its distinctive connectionalism to the American countryside. Methodism relied on a dedicated and involved laity for its growth and provided just enough clerical leadership for the laity to flourish. Under Asbury's leadership, American Methodism came to feature a highly centralized episcopal polity with a remarkably flexible institutional culture; hence its early expansion occurred with relatively few growing pains. By 1830 it would be the largest denomination in the country.

Religious historians have been increasingly attuned to the presence and cultural role of evangelical revivalism in the American South, looking in particular at the way that religion and race intersected. The revivals of the 1730s and 1740s had a limited impact in the southern colonies despite the best efforts of Whitefield and others. In the years surrounding the Revolution, however, the appeal of the Methodists and Baptists began to strengthen among the South's largely unchurched populations. Baptist ministers in North Carolina and Virginia, who took up preaching as an avocation with little remuneration, gained a following among the poorer frontier farmers and even some free and enslaved blacks. The worshipping culture of the evangelical churches was an affront to the refined manners of the southern gentleman. Not only were evangelical services emotional and full of improprieties, but evangelical ministers denounced the worldly amusements and values of the planter class, their social and religious hierarchies, and even their standards of manliness.

As evangelicalism became more of a force in the South in the early years of the nineteenth century, even winning adherents among the planting class, it did so by making several conspicuous concessions. Whereas ministers prior to 1740 rarely challenged the slave system, the notion of absolute equality before God implicit in evangelical religion gradually made slavery a problem. Quakers and other radical Protestants were the first to articulate slavery as a problem, but evangelicals were not far behind, and early Methodists and Baptists in the South ruffled feathers by implicitly and explicitly challenging dominant race ways. In fact, scholarship suggests that the Christianization of the South occurred less as a product of intense conversions among Americans of European and African descent than as a result of the construction of lasting communal structures that evangelicals introduced: churches, the class

meetings of Methodists, and a reconstruction of marriage, slavery, and commercial relations. But as Christianization proceeded apace, evangelicalism especially in the South eventually shed its critiques of slavery and of entrenched traditions of honor in exchange for cultural dominance.

THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

There is no way of knowing exactly how many lives were influenced by the revivals of the early nineteenth century. It is known, however, that the denominations that carved out a space for revivalist culture fast outpaced the denominations that opposed it. Methodists, Baptists, and the Disciples of Christ (the "antiformalists") eclipsed the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Unitarians (the "formalists"). In the process, many of the former denominations spawned smaller sects and movements that imparted to the Second Great Awakening its trademark diffuse and fragmented character. Particularly in the 1820s and beyond, sectarian groups tapped into the revivalist ethos to create what the historian Paul Conkin calls "American originals," religions and sects that trace their origins to the cultural ferment of the early national period. Nevertheless, most of the revival activity associated with the Second Great Awakening had a strong evangelical core, creating a dominant evangelical Protestant culture in the United States by the second half of the nineteenth century.

The revivalist cultures that proliferated in the early nineteenth century resembled colonial revivalism, but a few subtle shifts were increasingly apparent. Early national revivalists were more willing to posit the right and duty of every Christian to search the Scriptures for themselves and individually to discern the truth. Some of the most effective ministers had little if any formal theological training and wielded tremendous spiritual authority in people's lives by virtue of their charismatic appeal. The traveling Methodist itinerant Lorenzo Dow was famous for his dramatic preaching, in which he would amaze audiences by his jerking bodily movements as well as his denunciations of established churches and their pastors. Preachers such as Dow liberally applied what they took as the lessons of the American Revolution to religious life. The validity of republican and democratic principles, they claimed, was self-evident, and all that was necessary for a vital religious life was for Christians to think and to act for themselves and to band together voluntarily in communities and churches of their own making. Such themes were the ideological fuel of the Second Great Awakening.

On the other end of the evangelical spectrum were revivalists like Lyman Beecher (1775–1863), a man committed to the established order as well as to revivalism. Beecher sought in more modest ways to adapt his native Calvinist Congregationalism to the new democratic republican ethos of the nation. His concern was that Calvinism, if not moderated by good common sense, could lead people to spiritual lethargy and despair. With his friend Nathaniel William Taylor of Yale College, Beecher sought to re-fashion Calvinism so as to make sense of the revival experience of personally accepting or rejecting grace. In fact, one general pattern that emerges in the history of revivals from the Revolutionary period through the early Republic is a shift from a Calvinistic to a pragmatic framework for understanding the revival's origins and function. Ministers in the mid-eighteenth century spilled much ink defending the notion that revivals were works of God, even "surprising" works in Jonathan Edwards's formulation. By the early Republic, many evangelicals became convinced that Calvinism produced apathy and so, with Charles G. Finney, urged that revivals and the "new heart" that they were calculated to change were the proper domain of human agency. In both the radical and conservative wings of the Second Great Awakening, the importance of individual experience emerged.

See also **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Baptists; Bible; Congregationalists; Disciples of Christ; European Influences; Enlightenment Thought; Methodists; Millennialism; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Pietists; Professions: Clergy; Quakers; Religion: Overview; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

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REVOLUTION

This entry consists of thirteen separate articles: *Diplomacy, European Participation, Finance, Home Front, Impact on the Economy, Military History, Military Leadership, American, Naval War, Prisoners and Spies, Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution, Social History, Supply, and Women's Participation in the Revolution.*

Diplomacy

For the United States, the key problem of the diplomacy of the American Revolution was to secure aid from abroad without sacrificing independence. With the outbreak of war in 1775, many Americans in and out of Congress presumed that some foreign aid was necessary. On 29 November 1775, the Continental Congress created the Committee of Secret Correspondence (renamed in 1777 the Committee for Foreign Affairs) to communicate with friends of America in Great Britain, Ireland, and elsewhere.

The main questions regarding foreign alliances were whether independence should come before or after such agreements, what America had to offer foreign powers, and what commitments America should make to them. Leaders as different as John Dickinson and Patrick Henry believed that independence without an alliance in place would put America at the mercy of France. Samuel and John Adams believed that other nations would not sign alliances until America declared its independence and that the offer of trade would bring alliances without political commitments. In *Common Sense* (1776), Thomas Paine argued that American agricultural productions would force European concessions "while eating is the custom of Europe." Agreeing with this assessment, John Adams in March 1776 proposed a commercial alliance with France that would accept no

French troops or ministers, taking only French arms and supplies. On 6 April, Congress opened American ports to the world. Congress sent Silas Deane, a Connecticut merchant and former member of Congress, to France to purchase munitions.

On 11 June, Congress appointed a committee to draft a plan of a treaty that would be offered to other powers. Adams completed the Model Treaty in July. It would grant the United States and the other nation most-favored-nations status in each other's ports. Adams borrowed this provision from the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). Adams also included provisions traditionally favored by small navy powers, such as a limited contraband list (of items that neutrals could trade to belligerents and still remain neutral) and the principle that free ships make free goods, meaning that all goods carried in a neutral ship are considered neutral. The only military provision stated that the United States would not seek a separate peace if Great Britain declared war on the other signatory. Congress adopted a slightly modified version as official policy on 17 September 1776. Military setbacks led Congress to abandon the Model Treaty by the end of the year. In December 1776 Benjamin Franklin joined Arthur Lee and Silas Deane as an American envoy in Paris. They were authorized to do whatever was necessary to bring France into the war.

SEEKING FRENCH SUPPORT

France was the natural choice for an ally. Since its humiliating defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), France had sought a way to regain its power and prestige. France sent several secret agents to the American colonies during the 1760s and 1770s to determine if the colonial crisis might be turned to French advantage. In September 1775 France's foreign minister, the Comte de Vergennes, sent Julien-Alexandre Achard de Bonvouloir to Philadelphia. Bonvouloir reported back that Congress was seeking French aid. Upon receiving this report, Vergennes moved toward supporting the American Revolution. In March 1776 Vergennes prepared his "Considerations" on the colonial rebellion, recommending that France and Spain prepare for potential war with Great Britain, that France assure Great Britain that it had no hostile intentions, and that France should secretly supply the American Revolutionaries with munitions. King Louis XVI approved the policy in April. Vergennes then directed his deputy, Joseph-Mathias Gérard de Rayneval, to draft another paper, "Reflections," which argued that British power and wealth depended on the colonies. American success would increase French power and trade while perma-

nently damaging Great Britain. The French government set up a dummy corporation, Rodrigue Hortalez and Company, led by Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, to funnel munitions to America. By 1777 France was paying for the bulk of the war.

Soon after Franklin's arrival in Paris in December 1776, he, Deane and most of the Americans in the mission to France moved to a residence at Passy, which became the Americans' headquarters. The mission was far from unified. Lee's heightened sense of his own republican virtue led him to be overly suspicious of the motives and actions of those around him. He soon suspected that Franklin and Deane were plotting against him. Meanwhile, the mission was also riddled with spies, double agents, and others of questionable loyalty. The most notorious double agent was Edward Bancroft, who met with Deane in Paris in July 1776 and subsequently served first as Deane's secretary and then as secretary of the legation. Franklin never knew of Bancroft's activities and tended to dismiss the danger of spies. Others around the mission, such as William Carmichael, who served as Deane's secretary and later as John Jay's secretary in Spain, sometimes acted in ways that cast doubt upon their loyalties.

Benjamin Franklin was already the most prominent of the Americans and so naturally took the lead in diplomacy. He recognized that France was in a delicate position and sought to help the American cause through what later generations would call public diplomacy. He avoided the court of Louis XVI and instead concentrated on the salons of Paris, appealing to the intellectuals and wooing the ladies there. French Enlightenment thinkers tended to have an idealized view of America as an unspoiled utopian wilderness. Franklin played on this image and portrayed himself as a simple backwoodsman. He appeared around Paris in a coonskin cap, which certainly would not have been part of his wardrobe in London or Philadelphia. In these ways he kept the American cause before the eyes of influential Parisians without embarrassing the French government.

Franklin agreed with the moderates in Congress that the United States should rely on France for foreign aid and not seek other entanglements. Arthur Lee, like the radicals in Congress led by the Adamses and the Lees, sought to balance other allies against France. In February 1777 Lee left for Spain. He was not officially received but was promised aid. Between May and July he was in Berlin seeking permission to use Prussian ports for American privateers. King Frederick II had some sympathy for the United States, but could not risk hostilities with Great Brit-

ain. In May, Congress decided to expand diplomatic activities, naming Arthur Lee commissioner to Spain, his older brother William as commissioner to the Holy Roman Empire, and Ralph Izard as commissioner to Tuscany. The commissioners received their appointments in September.

Vergennes hoped to keep the American war at a low level while preparing for a wider conflict with Great Britain. In the spring of 1777 Rayneval concluded that the navy would not be ready until March 1778. The aggressive American use of privateers out of French ports threatened to bring a premature war. On 23 July, Vergennes presented a memorial to the king that France could no longer prop up the American cause through secret aid. The time had come for a formal offensive and defensive alliance. The king agreed, provided that Spain join any such alliance. Spain, however, preferred to avoid an open war with Great Britain and advocated a truce between America and Great Britain guaranteed by France and Spain. The American victory at Saratoga, New York, on 17 October 1777 changed the diplomatic situation. Word of the victory reached Paris on 3 December. The week before, Deane had suggested threatening to reconcile with Great Britain if France did not offer recognition. Soon after the news of Saratoga, the North ministry in Britain sent Paul Wentworth, a former colonial agent for New Hampshire, to try to get a settlement short of independence. Fear of a deal between the Americans and the British contributed to Vergennes promising recognition on 17 December 1777. He had wanted to wait until Spain was on board.

THE FRANCO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

The United States and France concluded two treaties on 6 February 1778. One was a treaty of amity and commerce based on the Model Treaty. The other was a treaty of alliance. The alliance provided that France and the United States would fight together against Great Britain if Britain declared war on France. The United States was free to conquer Canada and Bermuda, and France could keep any islands it took in the Caribbean. Neither would sign a separate peace with Great Britain. France and the United States agreed to guarantee each other's territory in America. The king appointed Conrad-Alexandre Gérard as minister to the United States and formally received the American commissioners on 20 March. In November 1777 Congress replaced Deane with John Adams, who arrived in Paris in February. Formal recognition made the commission system obsolete and even counterproductive. In September 1778 Con-

gress named Franklin minister to France and recalled all other commissioners.

The Franco-American alliance turned the American war into a transatlantic conflict. The goals of the United States, however, remained the same: independence with a minimum of outside interference. Many Americans assumed that French interest in American independence would lead France to do what the United States wanted. For France, the U.S. alliance was a part of a wider strategy against Great Britain. France wanted to create a client state, completely independent of Great Britain but reliant on France for its survival. France had its own objectives in the Caribbean, India, and Africa that had little or nothing to do with American independence. The problem for France was how to confine American ambitions to a framework compatible with French policy and France's European allies.

Political divisions within the United States made France's task easier. For the first two years after independence, Great Britain failed to make any counteroffer that might have divided the Continental Congress. In 1776 the Howe brothers were authorized to offer only a partial amnesty. In the spring of 1778, a commission led by the Earl of Carlisle offered some home rule, but not independence. French policy opened divisions the British had closed. Congress recalled Deane for issuing too many army commissions to French officers who did not speak English. In September 1778 Congress took up charges by Arthur Lee of Deane's corruption. Deane had heavily invested in Rodrigue Hortalez, mixing his personal and official accounts to the point where they could not be untangled. Franklin and the moderates in Congress believed Deane innocent of any wrongdoing. The Lee-Adams faction believed the charges. In response, Deane accused the Lee family of disloyalty to the alliance.

The dispute came at an opportune moment for Gérard's efforts to moderate American peace demands. Congress began to discuss peace ultimata in early 1779, and on 23 February approved independence, possession of territory to the Mississippi, free use of the Mississippi below thirty-one degrees north latitude, British evacuation of American territory, access to the Newfoundland fisheries, and either the cession or independence of Nova Scotia. These ultimata threatened French goals in Newfoundland and would have frightened Spain. On 12 April 1779 France and Spain signed the Treaty of Aranjuez in which Spain joined the war against Great Britain. Gérard attached himself to the moderates, subsidized a newspaper campaign against American claims to the

fisheries, and sought to moderate American demands in the West. His work paid off on 14 August, when Congress reduced its demands to independence and possession of territory to the Mississippi north of thirty-one degrees. Congress then debated electing someone to the joint post of minister to Spain and peace commissioner. Moderates supported John Jay. Radicals abandoned Arthur Lee for John Adams. On 26 and 27 September, Congress voted to split the position, sending Jay to Spain and naming Adams peace commissioner. Gérard resigned his position for health reasons, and the Chevalier de la Luzerne arrived as his replacement in August 1779. Vergennes cautioned Luzerne against becoming too identified, as Gérard had, with any one political faction.

SPAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS

Jay and Adams arrived in Spain at the end of 1779 and proceeded to their respective posts. Jay's main goal was to secure a Spanish alliance and loan while preserving American claims to the West and access to the Mississippi. Spain did not favor American independence but did wish to hurt Great Britain, so it funneled money to the United States through American agents in Europe. In February 1780 the Conde de Floridablanca, Spain's foreign minister, told Jay he would have to give up claims to the West. Floridablanca did not formally receive Jay until 11 May 1780. Again, Floridablanca was willing to loan money in exchange for an American retreat from the West. Jay had always held the Mississippi to be a vital American interest. He appealed to the Comte de Montmorin, the French ambassador to Spain, for assistance. When none came, Jay concluded that France dictated Spanish policy. In October, Congress reaffirmed the claim to the Mississippi. Military setbacks led Congress in February 1781 to allow Jay to back off the claim to navigation below thirty-one degrees north. Jay learned of his new instructions in May. On 19 September 1781, Jay offered to abandon the lower Mississippi in exchange for an alliance. The offer was good only for the duration of the war.

John Adams's mission was no more successful. Adams wanted to reveal his commission to the British to see if Great Britain would negotiate. Vergennes believed such a move premature. Adams believed that France was wasting resources on its abortive invasion of Great Britain and the failed assault on Gibraltar when deployment off New York would end the war. Adams defended Congress's 18 March 1780 decision to devalue the currency and refused Vergennes's request to intercede for French merchants. Vergennes concluded that he could no longer negoti-

ate with Adams and broke off communication with him. Franklin also considered Adams a disruptive presence and believed that the United States needed to treat France with deference, making no demands.

Adams wished to bring as many nations as possible into the conflict. In July 1780 Russia proposed an Armed Neutrality, a league of the neutral powers of northern Europe dedicated to maritime principles similar to those in the Model Treaty. Adams urged the United States to apply for membership. Congress sent Francis Dana as minister to Russia, but he was never received. In August 1780 Adams left Paris for the Netherlands to serve as acting minister until the arrival of Henry Laurens. Laurens was captured by the British a month later. Adams's main goal was to secure loans and so he set up his mission at Amsterdam rather than The Hague. Adams constantly appealed to the Netherlands as a fellow republic and a fellow small navy power, but to no avail. The Netherlands did not grant a loan until June 1782, after news of Yorktown had reached Europe.

THE TREATY OF PARIS

By 1781 the expense of war and a string of battlefield defeats led France to explore a negotiated settlement. In May, Russia and Austria offered to mediate between Great Britain and "the colonies." Vergennes was willing to accept only if all of France's allies accepted as well. As peace commissioner, Adams refused to attend any conference that did not recognize American independence. Great Britain refused any direct negotiation with the United States. Vergennes believed that Adams was the main obstacle to peace and instructed Luzerne to lobby Congress for Adams's removal. The first half of 1781 saw a series of military disasters, and Congress had begun to panic. On 15 June 1781, Congress revoked Adams's single commission and approved a five-member commission of Adams, Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Thomas Jefferson. Congress instructed the commission that France was to take the lead in all negotiations.

Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown on 19 October 1781 started the chain of events that concluded in the Treaty of Paris. On 4 March 1782 Parliament voted to suspend offensive operations. On 20 March the North ministry fell and was replaced by a government under the Marquis of Rockingham and the Earl of Shelburne, both American sympathizers. Franklin sent peace feelers in March and in April began unofficial negotiations with Richard Oswald, a Scottish merchant. Oswald was formally appointed on 17 June. Jay arrived in Paris on 23 June. Rock-

ingham died on 1 July, leaving Shelburne as chief minister.

On 10 July, Franklin presented a peace proposal that went beyond the ultimata of 1779 to include access to the fisheries as a necessary article and the cession of Canada as a desirable one. Shelburne was willing to grant a generous peace, particularly regarding western claims and the fisheries. Oswald arrived with a commission on 8 August, but Jay objected to the fact that the commission did not formally recognize American independence. Two days later, Jay and Franklin met with Vergennes and Rayneval. The French diplomats informed the Americans that the claim to the Mississippi was extravagant and should not be a necessary article. Jay concluded that the commissioners must violate the 15 June 1781 instructions and sign a separate peace. Franklin reluctantly agreed.

Oswald returned to Paris on 27 September. On 5 October, Jay submitted a draft treaty that would give the United States much of New Brunswick and lower Ontario. Great Britain rejected it on 17 October, but it did serve as the basis of the final treaty. Adams arrived in Paris on 26 October, having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the Netherlands on 8 October. Laurens did not join negotiations until the final days, and Jefferson never left for Europe. On 30 November 1782 Great Britain and the United States concluded a preliminary treaty that recognized American independence and granted territory to the Mississippi, granted some access to the fisheries, and allowed British merchants to collect prewar debts. The Americans had hoped for a commercial treaty that restored trade patterns in the West Indies. The peace brought down the Shelburne ministry and the new government took a harder line. The final Treaty of Paris, signed on 3 September 1783, read the British-American articles into a general settlement. France never did see the economic benefits it expected. The British did not completely evacuate American territory until 1796. The Maine boundary was not completely settled until 1842, and the fisheries remained a contentious issue until 1871.

See also **Adams, John; Continental Congresses; Fisheries and the Fishing Industry; Franklin, Benjamin; Mississippi River; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Treaty of Paris.**

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European Participation

Both individual foreigners and foreign governments aided the Patriot cause during the Revolutionary War. The individuals who served were motivated by a wide range of factors, including idealism, the desire for professional military experience, and personal financial gain. Those who came to America to assist in the fight against Britain include some of the most important figures in the Continental Army.

Four Europeans stand out for their notable contributions to the Patriot cause. Marie-Joseph-Paul-Yves-Roch-Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette, the Marquis de Lafayette, came from one of the most prominent noble families of France. He rose to become one of the Continental Army's major field commanders as a major general and virtually an adopted son of army commander General George Washington. Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben was neither a baron nor a general as he claimed when he arrived at Valley Forge from Prussia in February 1778, but he had served as a junior officer on the staff of Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia. Washington immediately recognized his value and appointed Steuben as the drill master of the Continental Army and then its inspector general. Steuben played an important role in training the army. He greatly simplified the Prussian drill, and he produced the first drill manual for the army. Thaddeus Kosciusko of Poland was the first major foreign volunteer for the American cause. Congress made him a colonel of engineers. In this capacity he provided great assistance to the Continental Army, especially in the construction of defensive works, including the design and fortification of West Point on the Hudson. Promoted to brigadier general at the end of the war, Kosciusko played an important role in subsequent Polish history, as did Lafayette in

France. Kosciusko's fellow Pole, Count Casimir Pulaski, was a fearless leader who as a brigadier general helped develop cavalry in the Continental Army. He died in the cause of American independence at Savannah in October 1779. Johann de Kalb (also not a baron, nor authorized to place the "de" before his name), born in Bavaria, retired from the French army in 1763. As a Continental Army major general and highly effective commander in the field, Kalb was mortally wounded in the August 1780 Battle of Camden. There were of course many other foreigners serving in the Continental Army in lesser capacities, many of whom gave their lives for the cause of American independence.

Among foreign governments supporting the Patriot cause, France was far and away the most important. As early as September 1775 French agents were in America to assess the rebellion and its course. American privateers operating against Britain soon found welcome in French ports, and, beginning in March 1776, the French government extended financial assistance to the rebels. That same year the French government ordered the shipment of weapons and munitions to the West Indies for transshipment to North America. In the process, France became the chief source of arms supplies for the Patriot cause.

France did not aid the rebels out of interest in the ideals of the American Revolution. Louis XVI could hardly be expected to favor rebellion by a people against their sovereign. Rather, French support was prompted by French foreign minister Charles Gravier, the Comte de Vergennes, who sought to weaken Britain internationally, advance France's interests abroad, and secure revenge for the humiliating defeat suffered by France in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The French aid was handled by the well-known playwright Pierre de Beaumarchais, who came up with a scheme of a bogus trading firm known as Hortalez and Co. Ultimately Beaumarchais dispensed twenty-one million livres in French government funds during the years 1776 to 1783. He secured, mostly from government arsenals, more than two hundred cannon and twenty-five thousand small arms. The latter included the excellent .69 caliber "Charleville" musket, named for the principal French arsenal producing it. The Charleville was an excellent weapon and remained the standard American infantry weapon well after the Revolutionary War. The French also provided 100 tons of gunpowder, 20 to 30 brass mortars, and clothing and tents sufficient for 25,000 men. This was a tremendous amount of

aid, and its importance cannot be overstated. Its impact was clear in the September and October 1777 Battle of Saratoga in New York. One source estimates that nine-tenths of the arms used by the Americans there came from France.

The surprising Continental Army victory and surrender of British forces at Saratoga convinced French government leaders at Versailles that the Americans had a chance of winning, and they now decided to bring France into the war openly. In February 1778 France concluded with the United States both a Treaty of Amity and Commerce and a Treaty of Alliance. In the latter, both parties agreed to fight on until American independence was "formally or tacitly assured." Neither power was to conclude a separate peace. In June 1778 hostilities began between France and Britain.

The entry of France in the war was a threat to every part of the British Empire, including India and especially the West Indies. The war now ceased to be wholly a land operation and became largely a contest of sea power. From 1778, except in North America itself, Britain was on the defensive, compelled to surrender the initiative. This change was further accentuated in 1779 when Spain declared war on Britain. In December 1780 rising tensions over its claim to search Dutch shipping led the British government to declare war on the kingdom of the Netherlands. Although the Royal Navy was adequate to secure the Atlantic sailing lanes, it was not sufficiently dominant to meet all possibilities, the most worrisome of which was that France might actually invade the British Isles.

On paper the Royal Navy was in 1778 still more powerful than the French navy, but the latter was more efficient. In that year the Royal Navy had seventy-three ships of the line at sea or in good repair. France had some sixty ships of the line, but many of these were better ships than those of the British. When Spain entered the war in alliance with France in 1779, it added another forty-nine ships of the line. In 1780 the Dutch added another fourteen. The British weathered the threat of a Bourbon invasion in 1779, but this was more from poor allied leadership and disease than any action by the Royal Navy. Spain's interest was chiefly in securing Gibraltar. Although the British managed to hold on to that important possession and indeed maintain their empire outside America, it meant that fewer resources would be available for major offensive operations in North America.

French support was crucial and marked the turning point in the war. In July 1781 a French

navy squadron arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, bringing four thousand French troops under the command of Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau. It was the participation of regiments of the French army in conjunction with squadrons of a powerful French fleet that made possible the defeat of Britain in the war. French troops took the leading role in the critical siege operations at Yorktown in September and October of 1781. Indeed, that land victory was made possible by a brief period of French naval supremacy and success in the Battle of the Chesapeake the month before. In all, some 44,000 Frenchmen took part in the war: 31,500 in the navy and 12,700 in the army. Of these, 5,040 died in the cause of American independence: 3,420 in the navy and 1,620 in the army.

The irony of French support is obvious. The vast sums necessary to fight the war, especially in the naval sphere (total expenditures estimated at some forty million livres), bankrupted France and led directly to the government's decision to tax the nobles. Their resistance to this decision triggered the calling of the Estates General and the French Revolution of 1789.

Some have argued that the United States would not have won its independence without French intervention. Perhaps if the states had been forced to rely entirely on their own means, they would have voted to approve the allocation of the resources necessary to continue the war. But without this, the Continental Army sooner or later would have disbanded. Resistance would have been possible only by guerrilla warfare. Because a large percentage of the population was either opposed to or indifferent to independence, it is doubtful that resistance could have been continued for very long.

Following the British defeat in the Battle of Yorktown, London adopted a policy of cutting its losses and treating both the United States and Spain generously so as to wean them from France. London ceded Florida to Spain, along with the island of Minorca, but it kept Gibraltar, which the British had successfully defended during the war. United States leaders ignored their treaty with France and concluded a separate peace with Britain. In the settlement of 1783, the new Republic obtained territory as far west as the Mississippi. For all its efforts, France secured only the Island of Tobago in the West Indies and Senegal in Africa.

See also **British Army in North America; Continental Army; French; Lafayette,**

Marie-Joseph, Marquis de; London; Yorktown, Battle of.

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Spencer C. Tucker

Finance

The rebellious colonies successfully financed the first stages of the Revolution as they had their colonial wars, by issuing fiat paper money called bills of credit. By May 1781, however, both state bills of credit and continentals (bills issued by the Continental Congress) were so numerous as to be almost worthless. In January 1782, a joint-stock commercial bank called the Bank of North America, a financial institution new to America, commenced operations. Its notes and deposits supplanted bills of credit as the major medium of exchange, and its loans to governments and merchants helped to finance the final phases of the war. Forced and voluntary domestic loans and foreign loans also helped to finance the war effort and formed the greater portion of the national debt funded under Alexander Hamilton's funding and assumption plans in the early 1790s.

SOURCES OF GOVERNMENT REVENUE

Colonial governments generated revenue by selling assets, taxing, borrowing, and issuing bills of credit. In the first stages of the Revolution, only the last method was readily available to the rebel governments.

Colonial governments often owned valuable assets, including public lands. Some colonies, like Maryland, invested budget surpluses in financial securities like Consols (British government bonds) and Bank of England stock. However, titles to such government assets became tenuous after the Declaration of Independence, so the assets could not be sold at favorable prices. In the final years of the war, the sale of confiscated Loyalist estates became a significant revenue source in some places.

Colonial taxes took various forms. The perennial favorite of colonies with large seaports was tariffs, duties on imports (and occasionally exports). Relative to other types of taxes, tariffs were easily collected and the ultimate sources of the revenue were easily obscured: importers paid the duties to government collectors before silently passing the taxes on to their customers in the form of higher prices. Britain's blockade of the American coast severely disrupted international trade, and most wartime imports were destined for government use anyway, so the war severely curtailed tariff receipts.

Colonial governments also taxed real and personal property (land, buildings, slaves, and personal property like kitchen utensils and bedding), as well as certain types of income (rental income and government salaries). Per capita (head) taxes were also imposed in some places. Levying taxes was fairly easy, but even in peacetime actually collecting them was difficult. During the Revolution direct taxes became even more difficult to collect, especially in areas with Loyalist sympathies. Fearful of driving neutrals to the king's side, rebel governments were reluctant to use coercive collectors, sheriffs, and courts, even in patriotic districts. Use taxes, like court and recording fees, were still collected in many areas, but they funded only the specific services provided.

Some colonial governments had established strong credit ratings. After currency reforms in the early 1750s, for example, Massachusetts successfully borrowed specie (gold and silver) and serviced its debts to lenders' satisfaction. Pennsylvania too successfully borrowed on bonds, but not as extensively as Massachusetts did. Especially early in the war, the rebel governments found borrowing difficult because their legitimacy was suspect and their tax receipts and receipts from sales of assets were anemic. As a result, every state informally borrowed from suppliers, contractors, and even soldiers, receiving goods, wares, and services for the promise of later payment.

Beginning in earnest in 1780 and 1781, the military essentially forced Americans to lend by seizing their corn, pigs, and horses in exchange for IOUs. In the last years of the war the soldiers themselves regularly received IOUs in lieu of wages. The rebel governments did not, however, force people to lend specie to them. Instead, they tried to coax people into lending by appealing to their patriotism. The sums offered were insufficient to prosecute the war, largely because lenders feared that they would never be repaid. Throughout the war the United States Loan Office garnered only about \$11.6 million in specie from the sale of certificates.

Rebel governments had a final, well-understood expedient open to them: issuing paper bills of credit. At one time or another, every colony, anticipating tax receipts, had issued such bills as a form of scrip rather similar to modern Federal Reserve notes. As government IOUs that bore no interest, the bills were both a form of borrowing and a form of taxation called seigniorage. Governments used them to purchase goods and services, redeeming them later, when bill holders tendered them for taxes or government assets. People who would not consider holding government bonds held bills because they were a medium of exchange—bearer instruments that passed from hand to hand as cash in a wide range of economic transactions.

Bills of credit could also indirectly tax the citizenry with inflation. By the end of 1781, state governments had issued bills totaling about \$246 million in terms of nominal or face value. By the time that Congress finally stopped printing continentals in 1779, it had put some \$241.5 million into circulation. As early as 1777, the nominal value of bills in circulation far exceeded the demand for money at prevailing price levels, so putting more bills into circulation simply caused inflation. Holders of bills were subject to a type of "tax" when the purchasing power of their bills decreased. Some scholars have pointed to the progressive nature of this tax: those who held the most money suffered the greatest inflationary losses. At first Americans endured the tax of inflation without much discomfort. Moreover, early in the war it was possible to mitigate the tax by refusing to accept the bills. However, with increases in the tax rate (the rate of depreciation or inflation), the rebel governments found it necessary to strictly enforce their legal tender laws. So avoiding the tax became more difficult just as inflation reached its highest levels. Specie, which had been acquired by trading with the British and French armies, disappeared into hoards as people frantically sought to rid themselves of their rapidly depreciating paper money. The end came in April and May 1781, when continentals lost almost all of their remaining value. State bills of credit held up little better. In May Congress repealed its legal tender laws and asked the states to do likewise.

Since it was impractical to issue any more paper money and the troops in the field were in a perilous condition, state governments buckled down and began collecting taxes, first in kind (wheat, horses, gunpowder) and later in gold and silver, which began to emerge from hoards after repeal of the tender laws. Some of the funds the states turned over to Congress, which did not have the power to levy di-

rect taxes. Moreover, the new Republic had fought well enough and long enough to convince European allies that it was creditworthy. In 1781 and 1782 French, Dutch, and Spanish loans totaling some \$7.8 million became available.

ROBERT MORRIS AND THE BANK OF NORTH AMERICA

Increased tax collection and foreign loans were insufficient, however, to continue to prosecute the war. Philadelphia merchant-statesman Robert Morris, whom Congress appointed as superintendent of finance in May 1781, helped to stave off bankruptcy by issuing IOUs backed by his personal credit. Several of his lieutenants, including Treasurer Michael Hillegas, another Philadelphia merchant-statesman, did likewise.

Morris also helped to establish the Bank of North America, the continent's first bank of issue, discount, and deposit. This commercial bank, which began operations in Philadelphia in January 1782, portended the future. Unlike the rebel federal and state governments, the Bank of North America was a business, a private corporation owned by stockholders. Also unlike the rebel governments, the Bank of North America issued not one but two types of liabilities: checking deposits, much like those in use at banks today, and banknotes. Though superficially similar to bills of credit, banknotes were a very different form of cash that most thought vastly superior. For starters, banknotes were not a legal tender for private debts. They circulated because people valued them, not because the government proclaimed that they should. People valued them because they could convert them into specie on demand. Moreover, banknotes were also backed by high-quality, short-term loans to private individuals, not future taxes or land, as bills of credit had been. In addition to supplying the economy with superior cash instruments and merchants with loans, the Bank of North America made numerous short-term loans to the government in the final years of the war.

Due to Congress's continued inability to levy direct taxes, however, the nation's finances remained precarious until after passage of the Constitution and the implementation of Alexander Hamilton's funding and national bank plans. Not including interest on the national debt, Americans paid approximately \$163 million (specie) for their independence, roughly 15 to 20 percent of the gross national product, about the same level that they would commit to fighting the Civil War and World War I. Of the total cost of the war, bills of credit (including the taxes and sales

of assets that redeemed some of them) bore about 67 percent of the financial burden (\$110 million, specie); voluntary and forced domestic loans (\$43 million) and foreign loans (\$10 million) accounted for the remainder.

See also **Bank of the United States; Banking System; Hamilton, Alexander; Hamilton's Economic Plan; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

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Robert E. Wright

Home Front

Two fundamental circumstances shaped the lives of civilians during the Revolutionary War. First, while Britain enjoyed unchallengeable military superiority at sea, it lacked the power either to conquer or to control effectively more than isolated outposts and a few cities on the American mainland. This made for a prolonged, inconclusive war. Second, the persistence of regional-colonial economies in North America during the war denied the Revolutionaries the benefit of an integrated, national economy while the struggle lasted.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COLONIAL ECONOMY

Colonial economies produce surpluses for distant, overseas markets in exchange for imported goods not available in their home markets. Throughout the seventeenth century, such long-distance exchanges suffered because the value of American exports was low in relation to their volume while the value of de-

sired imports remained high in relation to theirs. That made it difficult fully to load vessels in both directions. Since the overhead on each voyage remained the same, American producers met the added cost by foregoing some imports they might otherwise have consumed.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, four gateway ports emerged that addressed this inefficiency. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston encouraged British merchant capitalists to fill vessels carrying European merchandise to the colonies through the extension of credit. Besides providing a range of local services like safe harbors, wharfage, warehousing, and low prices for refits, wholesale merchants saw to distributing imports to the interior and assembling return cargoes. All four gateways also served as the judicial centers of their provinces and thus facilitated the collection of local debts. Finally, the gateways encouraged specialization in the West Indian trade, thus diminishing the inefficiencies of the triangular trade in seeking remittances on Europe, by providing a site where the two trades were integrated. The rising standard of living enjoyed by Americans during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century derived principally from the gateways' success in making their respective regional economies more efficient.

Though the Chesapeake Bay region possessed tobacco, the most valuable staple produced in North America, it lacked a gateway because British merchants controlled its marketing in Europe. The merchants valued decentralization because it preserved the distinctive qualities of the leaves grown in each of the bay's estuaries. Tobacco exports also more than balanced the Chesapeake's demand for European goods during much of the colonial period. Only after 1750 did Norfolk and Baltimore start emerging as commercial centers to market the expanding wheat production of Maryland and Virginia in the West Indies and southern Europe. By the Revolution, the Chesapeake was moving in the direction the other regional economies in the colonies had already taken.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ECONOMY

The colonists initially hoped to bring Britain to terms by denying it the benefit of their trade. When hostilities broke out in 1775, the British navy replaced Congress's Continental Association as the principal barrier to contact with overseas markets. In addition to blockading choke points along the coast like the mouth of the Delaware River and the Virginia Capes at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, Britain's sea power eventually enabled it to seize all the conti-

nent's gateway ports. After being driven from Boston in March 1776, the British held New York from September 1776 until the end of 1783 together with at least one other gateway for most of the rest of the war. Overseas trade never entirely ceased because Americans proved adept at bypassing both the gateways and choke points and the British navy lacked the resources to blockade the entire coast. But the increased risks and costs involved in maintaining contact with overseas markets adversely affected the production of domestic surpluses and dramatically inflated the price of the few imports that continued to trickle in, discouraging the production of domestic agricultural staples still further.

Congress sought to cushion these economic dislocations by issuing continental bills of credit. It hoped a common currency would create a national economy to replace the regional ones. But the means proved inadequate to the end. Britain's navy also threatened the coastal trade, the principal avenue for national economic integration. Even had it not, paper credit instruments by themselves would have experienced difficulty in overcoming the geographic impediments standing in the way of the emergence of a truly national economy. The bills also lost value at the first hint that the debt they represented might not be paid. Since Congress lacked the authority to tax and the state governments were reluctant to do so, there was no way individuals could secure the value represented by the bills besides exchanging them for domestic produce. This raised the price of supplies that the army and urban residents depended upon and forced Congress to issue more bills for progressively less return. The resulting runaway depreciation led to the creation of a nominal debt by 1779 that exceeded anything Americans could conceivably pay. In 1780 Congress repudiated 97.5 percent of it in an effort to retain a remnant of its former credit.

Chronic shortages began plaguing the army well before the currency repudiation and persisted through much of the war. Most civilians also experienced a severe reduction in their standard of living. While some contractors and privateersmen prospered, the vast majority endured economic privation. Few perished from want—North America's poor were more likely to succumb to the winter's cold than to die of starvation—but the moral tone of civil society declined dramatically as civilians competed with the army and among themselves for a shrinking quantity of goods.

FARM LIFE

During the first year of the conflict, disease affected agricultural production more than the diversion of manpower into the army. In the absence of an effective hospital department, the army sent unseasoned soldiers who sickened in camp back to their homes, thereby communicating camp fever to the civilian population. The larger military mobilizations of 1776 and 1777 cut more directly into agricultural production, but prewar surpluses delayed the full impact of the resulting shortages until 1778–1779. Civilians fared better than the army because labor shortages never threatened subsistence, and families could support their members in the ranks by forwarding supplies through networks of camp visitors. Such assistance was less available when the army was mobile or when detachments embarked on distant expeditions like that launched against Quebec in September 1775. Most men taking part in the early operations of the war, however, benefited from the support of their families and communities.

In an effort to minimize the costs associated with rotating large numbers of short-term recruits through the ranks, Congress decided in September 1776 to raise a permanent army in 1777. This improved its health, though at the expense of its connection with the society from which it was drawn. Efforts by state legislatures to assist families whose principle breadwinners had enlisted failed either to temper the emerging gulf between the army and society or to sustain enlistments. During the last four years of the conflict, the Continental Army shrank steadily in response to adverse economic conditions. After 1778 the collapse of market incentives proved more significant than labor shortages in limiting agricultural production. The brief revival of the grain economy in Philadelphia's hinterland during 1780 and 1781 demonstrates the point. This expansion in production was a direct response to Spain's opening the Cuban market to North American grain imports during the summer of 1780. That revival in turn insured a grain harvest in 1781 sufficient to sustain the concentration of French and American forces around Yorktown that forced Lord Cornwallis's surrender. However, the British navy quickly put an end to this bonanza in 1782 once British officials realized what had happened.

Congress hoped foreign intervention would relieve Americans from their economic difficulties. But initially the French alliance aggravated Congress's currency problems by forcing it to behave in a fiscally irresponsible way to meet the demands of combined operations. The inconclusive results of the campaign of 1778 left Americans embroiled in a con-

flict they were powerless to extricate themselves from without additional foreign aid. France intervened more effectively in 1780 when it committed Rochambeau's expeditionary force to North America. Provisioning this force provided some economic relief to New England. But despite the military assistance and generous financial subsidies of 1781, France failed to provide a naval umbrella under which America's overseas trade might have recovered. France did supply most of the capital for the Bank of North America, but the tight British blockade of the Delaware River during the first half of 1782 compromised that institution's ability to revive the Patriot economy.

URBAN LIFE

The capture of gateway ports by the British provided local residents with powerful motives for migrating to the countryside. The British brought disease, especially smallpox, with them, making the cities they occupied far less healthy than they had previously been. Smallpox presented a greater danger to Americans than it did to Europeans because residence in the New World diminished one's exposure and therefore one's resistance to the affliction. Most urban residents had kin in the countryside with whom they could seek refuge, so only the need to protect substantial property or strong political commitments persuaded them to risk health and compete with unfriendly soldiers for housing and fuel in the occupied cities. Because those fleeing a British occupation had many more options than Loyalists fleeing Patriot regimes, New York City's out-migration was more than balanced by Loyalist immigration. If refugees lacked a taste for serving as recruits in Britain's armed forces, they could still find economic opportunity on privateers or in occupations that served the British forces. African slaves fleeing their masters from near and far flooded the city and were formed into a Black Brigade.

Fire partially destroyed New York City in September 1776 and again in August 1778. However, it suffered less of a decline during the war than Boston, Charleston, and Philadelphia experienced. Charleston, occupied from May 1780 to December 1782, had little time to recover. Boston and Philadelphia experienced shorter occupations but failed to recoup their prewar prosperity because of the anemic state of overseas trade. Urban refugees often hesitated about returning from the countryside to dependence on a diminished urban market. As the command center of British operations, New York fared better than the other ports because it was constantly receiving

fresh infusions of supplies both locally and from abroad and enjoyed a hard money economy throughout the war.

IRREGULAR WARFARE

The inability to hold more than limited amounts of territory plagued the British and Revolutionaries alike. Though Patriot regimes claimed control over most of the continent, neither they nor their army could defend the civilian population near British bases. Even the armies could only protect themselves from surprise by each other by taking positions of natural strength that were sufficiently distant from enemy bases to allow ample warning of impending assault. That left the population in between largely at the mercy of marauders. The British occupation of New York entailed prolonged suffering for the inhabitants of modern Westchester County and northeastern New Jersey. In addition to being subject to periodic forages by both armies, rival militias vied inconclusively for control of the terrain while outlaw elements plundered the inhabitants. Connecticut's shoreline fared only slightly better after of the formation of the Associated Loyalists in 1780. Long Island then became a staging area for refugee raiders bent on seeking compensation for choosing the wrong side.

While irregular warfare often led to lethal violence in the neutral ground of New York and New Jersey, in Connecticut it yielded an epidemic of kidnapping. Long Island, only nominally under British control, was more vulnerable to Patriot retaliation than Manhattan and its environs, while Long Island Sound lent itself to a thriving illicit trade that the chaotic violence closer to New York City would have threatened. The coast of Maine resembled the Connecticut shoreline after the British seizure of Castine in 1779. Though local Loyalists used it as a base for plundering coastal shipping and conducting an illicit trade with Patriot communities, it failed to spawn conflict of any intensity.

Instead, the most virulent irregular warfare of the Revolution emerged in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, where the dispersed demography of the interior precluded the development of significant commercial exchanges that might have restrained the violence. Dispersion also obstructed the exercise of political control. The British, sensing military opportunity in the region's large slave population, had tried unsuccessfully to seize Charleston during June 1776. Another attempt, begun with the invasion of Georgia in the winter of 1778–1779, finally succeeded in May 1780. Leading Patriots then

accepted British protection in exchange for the promise to remain neutral. But the British wanted more than a passive submission, and on 3 June Sir Henry Clinton ordered all enjoying the king's protection to swear allegiance to the crown. Many thought Clinton had released them from their paroles. When the British subsequently treated them as rebels, it initiated an escalating cycle of murder and revenge. Cornwallis's attempt to eliminate Nathaniel Greene's southern army by chasing it through the backcountry magnified the mayhem. By adroitly maneuvering his smaller force, Greene prevented Cornwallis from giving the Loyalists of South and North Carolina the kind of support they needed. After a pyrrhic victory at Guilford Courthouse in March 1781 forced Cornwallis to retreat to the coast, Greene was able to assist the insurgencies that Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion had organized in Cornwallis's rear. The Patriots then eliminated British outposts in the Carolina backcountry and Georgia one by one. Only when this task was completed did the chaos in the Deep South begin to subside.

Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania fared better than their northern or southern neighbors. The British army found Philadelphia, which it occupied from September 1777 to June 1778, a far less secure position than New York City, though Pennsylvania's frontier suffered from British-sponsored Indian raids as much as New York's did. Maryland fared best, being only briefly visited by a British force in 1777 as it made its way toward Philadelphia. During 1782 Loyalist remnants like those based around New York pillaged the state's commerce and even defeated the Maryland navy in pitched battle, but otherwise Maryland's grain and stock remained in high demand among allied forces throughout the war. Virginia survived its first taste of war in 1775, when its last royal governor summoned the slaves to rebel against their Patriot masters, relatively unscathed. After that the state was spared more than an intermittent blockade of the Virginia Capes until the British raided inside the bay during 1779. Convinced that Virginia was powering the American war effort, they returned again in 1780 and 1781. Virginia's dispersed demography hampered defense against enemy penetrations, and in June 1781 Jefferson narrowly escaped capture by an enemy force operating seventy miles from its base. But most of the state was spared the virulent partisan warfare that afflicted the Carolinas and Georgia.

CONCLUSION

The prolonged traumas experienced by the civilian population during the Revolutionary War remained

part of the social memory of American society for several generations and complicated the approach of the successor generation to a second war with Great Britain in the early nineteenth century.

See also **British Army in North America; British Empire and the and the Atlantic World; Chesapeake Region; City Growth and Development; Continental Congresses; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Foreign Investment and Trade; Revolution as Civil War: Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Smallpox; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt.**

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Impact on the Economy

In the decade prior to the American Revolution, the value of annual imports to the thirteen mainland colonies exceeded exports by £1 million per year. At the same time, the British colonies of North America were undergoing rapid economic growth, thus over-

shadowing any apparent negative aspects of the continuing trade deficits. As a result of both immigration and natural population growth, the population of the colonies rose from approximately 1 million in 1750 to nearly 2.5 million by 1775, thus rapidly increasing the availability of needed labor, both free and bound. The value of land and resources, through fast and steady improvements, also increased, spurring the development of a domestic market for locally produced agricultural and manufactured goods. Indeed, not only were the thirteen mainland colonies generally prosperous, their domestic economy was growing more rapidly than any other sector of the British Empire.

Despite this growth, the colonies were not self-sufficient. The prosperity of the colonies remained in every way dependent on their collective position within the British mercantile system. First, the colonies relied on trade with other parts of the British Empire, including the home country, the West Indies, Canada, Scotland, Ireland, and the Indian subcontinent. Goods obtained through trade allowed the colonies to concentrate on those areas of economic development that would benefit them the most—subsistence and cash-crop agriculture, mineral extraction and processing, craftwork for local markets, shipbuilding and the carrying trade.

Second, the colonies benefited from immigration during the 1760s and early 1770s precisely because they were part of the British Empire and thus havens of economic growth and opportunity. Servant and slave populations poured into the colonies in this period because their labor was required to increase economic development. Third, the colonies relied on British entrepreneurs. Although domestic capital was becoming more readily available for investment, British investors supplied a vital proportion of the monies and credit necessary for commercial and industrial development in the colonies. Trade deficits aside, in the 1760s the mainland colonies, particularly because of the greater availability of land, for the first time rivaled the West Indies as a growth area for future profits.

Despite attempts to avoid unwanted regulation and taxes, most American colonials realized that continued association with Britain was to their economic advantage. For their part, neither Parliament nor English merchant-manufacturers saw any reason to share economic power with the American colonies. By 1775, a war that was not economically advantageous to either side became unavoidable. The American economy was particularly hard-hit, and it was only the tremendous potential of the former col-

onies that allowed for the reestablishment of a vibrant economy within a decade after the Revolution.

IMMIGRATION AND LABOR

From the outbreak of war in the spring of 1775 until 1781, immigration to the thirteen rebellious colonies by both free and bound fell to a trickle. Natural increase during the war raised the free population by over 200,000, but far more British regulars arrived in the colonies than migrating settlers. Although natural increase among slaves continued during the Revolution, the evaporation of new imports plus the escape of slaves and some emancipations caused the slave population to decline by nearly 1 percent a year. Shortages of servant labor were more acute. Nearly all servant indentures required four to five years of service; approximately 20 percent of all servant indentures expired each year. Without immigration, the normal replacement pool of servants was not available. As a result, by 1780 the servant population was less than 20 percent of what it had been five years earlier.

Also, approximately 20 percent of all servants and slaves used the upheaval of the Revolution to attempt escape from bondage, and nearly half of them were ultimately successful. Even unsuccessful flight, however, deprived masters of labor for a period of time. Because bound labor was vital to production and the stability of the economy, the decline in new arrivals signaled an inevitable decline in the economy. The absence of free peoples migrating to the new United States also severely limited economic expansion.

WAR PRODUCTION AND MILITARY SERVICE

The war placed an enormous strain on the economy. The population, cut off from supplies formerly obtained through imports, was pressed to support a wartime economy without the immediate means to do so. Armies needed to be supplied while the colonial labor force was declining. Militias called up men to serve, and the newly organized Continental Army offered bounties for enlistment to attract both free men from among common laborers and servants and slaves who saw service in the military as an avenue toward freedom. Thus the workforce necessary to carry on war production was drained to create a fighting force to carry on the war itself.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Nearly half of all men between the ages of sixteen and forty-five served in some capacity during the war. This put a tremendous burden on women, who

for long periods had to manage their own farm labor while taking on as much of the work of absent males as they could handle. Their burden was especially heavy given the shortage of servants and slaves due to reduced immigration. Agricultural production could not keep up with demand.

Industry faced similar problems. Despite the fact that the Continental Congress and individual states exempted industrial workers from military service so as to maintain production, at least 20 percent of workers from mills and ironworks turned up on muster rolls for the militia and Continental Army. Moreover, before the Revolution servants or slaves made up over 40 percent of the full-time workforce; the rapid decline in the availability of these workers between 1775 and 1781 not only impeded industrial production of supplies, but also caused the failure of a significant proportion of businesses.

WAGE AND PRICE CONTROLS

Labor and production shortages as well as imminent inflation led the Continental Congress to attempt to set wage and price controls. With these measures they hoped to stabilize work and prevent profiteering. Congress also recommended that local assemblies ensure that needed goods were produced at fair prices and made available to the army. In the spring of 1776, however, the Albany committee of correspondence, one of several anti-British bodies throughout the colonies, questioned the concept of fair pricing: Were fair prices to be determined in relation to prewar prices or within the context of the war? Lacking the power to impose universal wage and price controls, Congress left it to the assemblies themselves to set restrictions while continuing to strongly suggest them.

Initially, assemblies followed a general plan that allowed for wages and prices to inflate slowly, based on the rates of 1774. By early 1777 New England states had tentatively agreed to hold the wholesale costs of imported goods to approximately 250 percent of their 1774 prices, with retail prices held to 20 percent above wholesale. Wages were to be limited to 20 percent above the 1774 rates. Despite the initiatives, the states had little capacity to enforce these controls. Beginning with payments to skilled workers, wages quickly rose beyond the limits, and prices rose even faster.

In New York in 1777 representatives from the mid-Atlantic, Maryland, and Virginia gathered for a convention intent on imposing a coordinated series of wage and price controls. All proposed plans, however, were rejected. This did not end attempts to im-

pose controls, but none were effective. Mainly because of spiraling inflation caused by the overdistribution of paper currency and its subsequent devaluation, by 1779 assemblies were trying to put limits on wages and prices that were only fifteen to sixteen times higher than in 1774. There was a universal distrust of the common currency and uncertainty in anything but a barter value for goods and services.

TAXATION

The Second Continental Congress in May 1776 took what power it could onto itself to carry on the war. But there were many things the Congress simply could not do without the acquiescence of the individual colonies. One of the key powers it lacked was the power to tax; it could only request funds from the colonial assemblies. It was up to the individual assemblies to decide whether and how much to tax so as to meet the needs of Congress.

Supporters of the Revolution and Loyalists alike had been force-fed a philosophy of “no taxation without representation” for nearly a decade. In this tax-averse climate, few people wished to take on wartime tax burdens. Members of each colonial assembly had to weigh their desire to hold on to their seats against the need to impose new taxes. For the first year of the war, not only was victory uncertain but independence was not even the goal; most colonists simply sought a redress of grievances. Taxing a divided people to support a war whose goal was, in 1775, at best vague was a difficult proposition.

Acting cautiously, colonies (and later states) initially imposed new taxes that would raise barely half of what Congress asked—if in fact they were all collected. Assemblies seemed to pass tax bills that matched congressional requests only when it was understood that a large proportion of the taxes would never be paid.

CURRENCY

With no treasury to draw from, no power to tax, and no initial credit on which to borrow, the Continental Congress was faced with the nearly impossible task of financing the rebellion. In June 1775 the Congress determined to create, print, and issue a national currency—legal tender for the payment of debt—to pay the debts Congress itself incurred. Beginning that month, a total of \$2 million was issued, and thereafter Congress essentially had monies printed and issued as needed—but backed by nothing. In the crisis of war, Congress tried to exercise as much fiscal responsibility as possible, but budgetary

concerns were secondary to the primary task of paying for needed supplies. By the time Congress ceased new issues of currency, nearly \$250 million had entered circulation in the form of Continental dollars, all of it virtually worthless. In a perverse twist, Congress had imposed acceptance of the currency through desperation: if farmers, manufacturers, carter, craftspeople, soldiers, and common laborers were to be paid for goods and services at all, they had to take the rapidly depreciating continental dollars and hope they would be worth something after a not-too-certain victory. In 1781, because it took \$146 in Continentals to buy what \$1 had purchased in 1775, even victory in the war could not reverse the devaluation.

At the end of 1781 even the most ardent rebels questioned the economic state of the fledgling nation. Could the new nation ever fulfill the potential it had shown in 1775? The situation looked grim as the peace talks in Paris began.

PROPERTY: CONFISCATION AND DESTRUCTION

The most obvious tax-evaders from the very beginning of the war were Loyalists. Although at least half the colonial population did not support the war, most of these people were neutral rather than in opposition. They may have questioned new tax burdens and refused to pay some or all of them, but they were not necessarily trying to undermine the war effort. Loyalists, however, viewed any effort to confront Great Britain militarily as treason and were not about to support such an effort financially.

For a time, Loyalists who were not vocal in their protest faded in with other tax evaders. But by 1777 Loyalists were being targeted to have their taxes collected; they faced imprisonment if they refused. In 1778 individual states began to pass confiscation acts that initially centered on the seizure of Loyalist property for nonpayment of taxes, but these acts quickly became another method to finance the war. Loyalists were labeled traitors to their states and to the new country to which they had never sworn allegiance; agents of the state assemblies confiscated their properties and auctioned it off to raise money for support of the Revolution.

The confiscation of Loyalist property did not adversely affect Loyalists alone. The process of claims against individuals for treasonous actions took time, and many personal grudges took on the aspect of loyalty tests. Many business owners were harassed by competitors and workers over other issues, but questioning the loyalty of someone who had taken a neutral stance in the war often resulted in boycotts

and physical attacks on individuals and property. Such activity slowed production and negatively affected the economy.

Confusion over ownership and use-rights also caused production delays and economic distress. For example, in 1774 George Taylor, an ironmaster who leased the Durham Iron Company in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, renewed his lease of the operation from the chief shareholder of the Durham Company, Joseph Galloway. In 1775 Taylor was the first ironmaster in the colonies to agree to the manufacture of ball and shot for the Continental Congress. The Durham Company produced ammunition for the Continental Army for two years, until the British invaded Philadelphia and the surrounding countryside. British soldiers attacked and damaged the Durham furnace, which remained out of operation for over a year until the British abandoned Philadelphia.

In the meantime, Joseph Galloway had declared his loyalty to Great Britain and fled Philadelphia with the British army in June 1778. When Taylor returned to Durham and attempted to get the ironworks operating again in the service of the United States, he found that Galloway's property had been confiscated under orders of the Supreme Executive Council and was to be inventoried and sold at public auction. It took Taylor nearly a year to plead his case through piles of red tape in order to begin operations and produce the supplies the rebel armies so desperately needed.

Destruction of property was a common consequence of the war. The coastlines of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia were the scenes of continuous raids by both rebels and the British, with both sides attacking and destroying the properties of their enemies—wharves, warehouses, ships, and mills. As the zones of battle moved through the states, destruction in the countryside followed. In New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and Delaware, both armies scavenged for food and destroyed the farms, fields, fences, and livestock of those they determined to be supporters of the other side. The American armies usually distributed scrip (paper currency for temporary use) or continentals to pay for what they took from farmers (for what it was worth), but the British typically confiscated what they needed and moved on. When the war moved to the South, the Carolinas and Virginia were ravaged, particularly by the British under Lord Cornwallis, who, in frustration, instituted a scorched-earth policy against supposed rebels. The destruction of cities like Norfolk, Virginia, caused both immediate and long-term economic distress.

DEBT

The American Revolution was a time of severe economic hardship. The war left a legacy of economic problems that lasted for a dozen years after its conclusion. In late 1781, as the war wound down, the new United States could begin to calculate the price of independence. The debt to France, including direct subsidies and credit extended for supplies, was approximately £12 million, with interest accruing. Another £500 thousand was owed to the Dutch and Spanish. Congress had sold \$3,330 million in bonds to private citizens at between 4 and 6 percent interest; with an empty treasury, it had no immediate means to meet its postwar obligations. Congress was indebted to the suppliers of goods and services to the army for scrip written by quartermasters to the tune of more than \$100 million.

The debt situation in the states was just as bad. Most states had printed their own currencies to pay for supplies locally, and by 1781 over \$200 million in state-issued paper was in circulation. Although locals usually trusted their own state's currency more than the overly inflated continentals, most paper currency had lost at least 75 percent of its value, led by Rhode Island's issues, down about 87 percent. The states collectively were in debt to private citizens for over £5 million in unredeemed bond issues, which were accumulating interest at rates between 8 and 18 percent.

THE AFTERMATH OF INDEPENDENCE

In short, the economy of the new nation in 1781 was a shambles. The United States had combined debts of nearly £40 million, no national treasury, and a national government, under the Articles of Confederation, with no power to tax. It had no international credibility to borrow monies against. Its devastated countryside, including a manufacturing base that even at its previous best had supplied 10 percent of consumer needs, would take several years to recover. It was at least temporarily barred from its place within an international commercial network on which it had been dependent for 150 years.

The United States has a remarkable ability to rebound from disaster. Based on the state of the economy in 1781, the Revolution would likely have destroyed the future of most peoples. Little more than one decade later, because of the immediate efforts of Robert Morris, the superintendent of finance under the Articles of Confederation, and the fiscal vision of Alexander Hamilton, the constitutional United States was on the verge of two centuries of unprecedented growth.

See also **Banking System; Currency and Coinage; Economic Development; Economic Theory; Government and the Economy; Hamilton, Alexander; Iron Mining and Metallurgy; Market Revolution; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Wealth.**

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Michael V. Kennedy

Military History

The American War for Independence (1775–1783) began more than a year before the self-designated leaders of colonial political resistance to Britain could bring themselves to take the much more radical—and more revolutionary—step of declaring independence to be their goal. This fact had important implications for the progress and outcome of the Revolution. After resistance was abandoned as the only

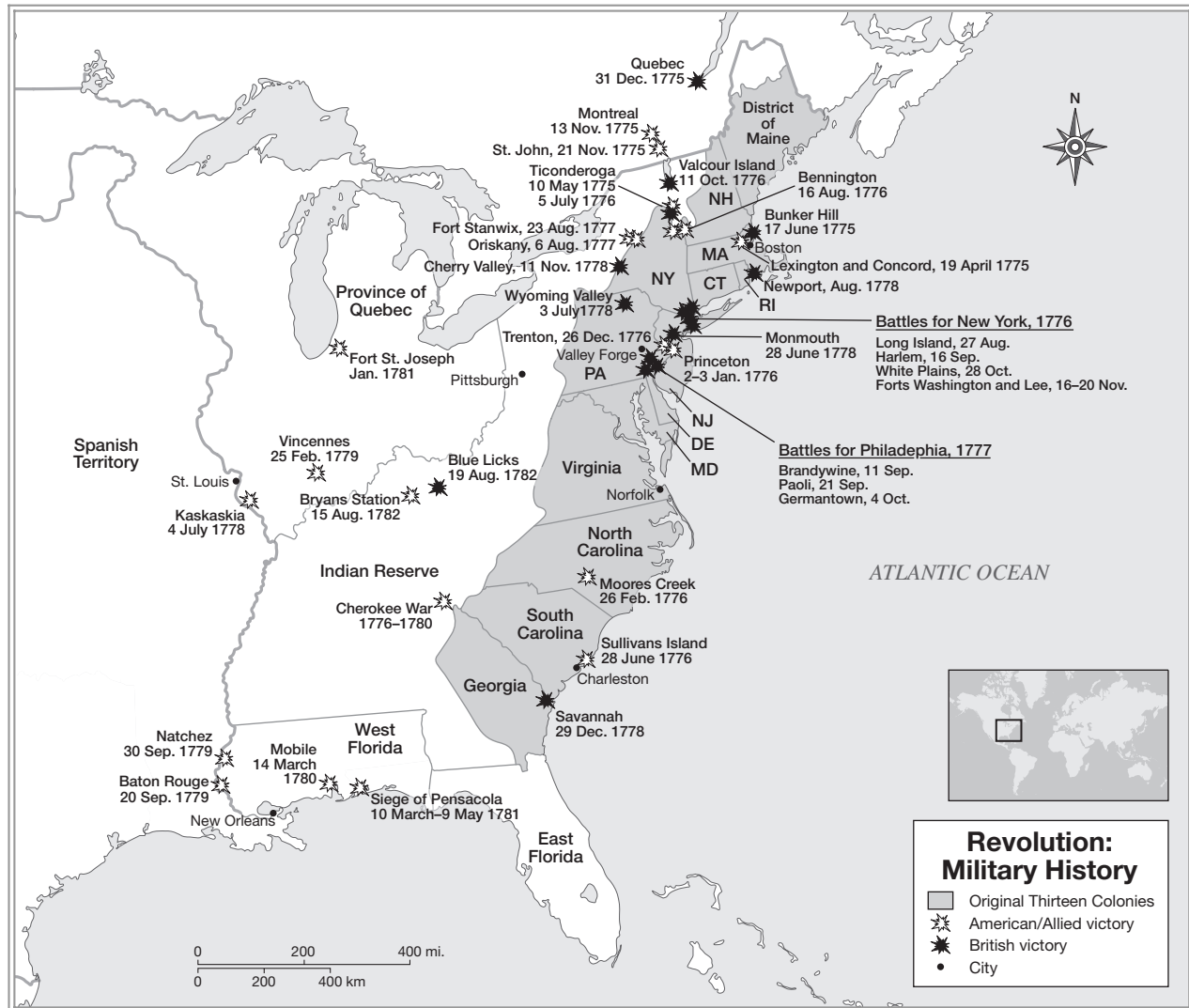
admissible objective of intercolonial organization, the tension between war-making imperatives and political operations assumed a life of its own and shaped the rest of the Revolution.

NEW ENGLAND

Each colonial region had its own military experience and culture, significant variations of a common British heritage. This complexity preoccupied Patriot leaders long before it landed in George Washington's lap when he accepted command of the projected Continental Army in June 1775. The war, if not the Revolution itself, began in New England, where communal solidarity, ethnocentrism, and a Puritan-derived variation of republican ideology colored its origin and influenced its character. Century-old traditions of town-based militia training, galvanic popular responses to external military threats, and what Fred Anderson has called a "contractual" approach to defense obligations shaped the region's behavior when British commander Thomas Gage sent redcoats from Boston into the nearby countryside on 19 April 1775. Regular British troops and minutemen unexpectedly and indecisively clashed several times that day at the Massachusetts towns of Lexington and Concord. Then the British withdrawal into Boston became a small calamity as waves of militia responders from southern New England harassed their movements, obstructed their retreat, and spontaneously besieged the town.

The Second Continental Congress, convening in Philadelphia in early May, hardly welcomed news of colonists and redcoats fighting near Boston. After taking steps to affirm their commitment to a political solution of the imperial crisis, the delegates faced up to the implications of Lexington and Concord and voted to adopt New England's "army of observation" and mold it into a continental army that could be kept under political control. George Washington, a forty-three-year-old Virginian with a mixed service record in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), seemed the likeliest delegate to accomplish that objective. He left Philadelphia in mid-June and arrived near the lines around Boston on 2 July.

New plans by British ministers in London changed the situation in America. Three British generals—William Howe, Henry Clinton, and Charles Cornwallis—arrived in Boston to take charge of the army from the discredited Gage. On 18 June an effort to drive American forces from Breed's and Bunker Hills on the north shore of Boston Harbor ended inconclusively, with the redcoats controlling the battlefield but suffering heavy casualties. Yankee troops



surrendered the ground but gained a new regard for their own abilities. Washington, arriving at Cambridge, Massachusetts, two weeks later, made a fumbling start at the task of remodeling the army. He conceived, and imprudently disclosed, a distaste for New England’s insular communal culture and the kinds of fractious, self-directed soldiers that it produced. He also was uncomfortable with the large number of blacks serving in the militia.

NEW YORK AND CANADA

During 1775 other military actions—spontaneous and planned—spread from New England to the north and west. On 10 May, as the Second Congress convened, an awkward amalgam of irregular New England troops led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold (separately commissioned by regional authorities acting privately) seized the isolated British garrison

at Ticonderoga in New York. They captured some old artillery, inflamed latent tensions between New England and New York, and embarrassed a Congress which still insisted that peace was its goal. In late June, Congress authorized an effort to seize Canada and bring it into the Revolutionary coalition. Adopting a pattern from late colonial-era wars, American forces advanced through the Hudson River–Lake Champlain corridor to Montreal and across the wilderness of northern Massachusetts (modern Maine) against Quebec. General Richard Montgomery, a veteran British officer in the Seven Years’ War, commanded the force from New York. Arnold led the expedition across Maine. Montgomery seized Montreal in November. In a blizzard on 31 December, the combined forces attacked Quebec but were repelled with heavy casualties. Montgomery was killed, becoming America’s first tragic hero of the Revolution.

Near Boston, Washington trained the New England troops while Congress struggled to make the army truly continental. In March 1776 the arrival of cannon from Ticonderoga broke the stalemate. Washington placed the guns on hills overlooking Boston harbor. General Howe and his brother, Admiral Richard Howe, in command of British naval forces, decided to abandon Boston rather than expose their forces to bombardment. They evacuated the city on 17 March and went to Nova Scotia to await reinforcements while the ministry in London forged better plans to crush the rebellion.

MIDDLE COLONIES

Both commanders eagerly moved the seat of war from New England to the mid-Atlantic region. That area was the economic engine of late colonial America, but its political complexity and social pluralism made it most resistant to independence and for both sides a difficult place in which to fight.

Washington placed his army in Brooklyn on western Long Island. The British, arriving by sea in July and August 1776, landed thirty-two thousand men on Staten Island. On 22 August, the redcoats crossed New York harbor to Long Island. Howe outmaneuvered Washington and on the evening of 26 August flanked his forces and badly defeated the Americans. Washington withdrew the survivors to Manhattan, then conducted a month-long retreat north into Westchester County. After the British won a less decisive clash at White Plains on 28 October, the Continentals crossed the Hudson River and retreated into New Jersey. On 16 November, Howe captured almost three thousand rebel troops at Fort Mifflin in northern Manhattan, then slowly pushed the Continentals southward across New Jersey toward the Delaware River. The Howe brothers had commissions as peace negotiators, and—hoping to avoid casualties or political bitterness—offered pardons to civilians who would swear allegiance to the crown. Thousands of Jerseyans emerged to declare their loyalty.

In December 1776, Washington sat with a few thousand men in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, fearing that, as he wrote to his brother in Virginia, the “game” was “pretty near up.” The Continental Congress adjourned that month to Baltimore while fleeing civilians virtually emptied Philadelphia. Then, with most Continental enlistments due to expire at year’s end, Washington crossed the icy Delaware on Christmas night and surprised a garrison of Hessians at Trenton, New Jersey. He followed this victory by defeating British reinforcements rushing toward

Trenton at the Battle of Princeton on 3 January 1777 and then marched his evaporating army into the hills of Morris County. The reversals in New Jersey demoralized British officers and especially American Loyalists. Many New Jerseyans quietly reversed themselves and signed oaths of allegiance to the Continental side. Congress returned to Philadelphia in March and accepted Washington’s plan for a permanent army, staffed by better officers and made up of economically poorer soldiers on long-term enlistments. Washington desperately tried to organize this new army while Howe again sought more reinforcements from his superiors in London.

The British strategic plan for 1777 called for an army to invade New York from Canada along the Hudson-Champlain corridor and sever radical New England from the more loyal Middle Colonies. That force was led by Howe’s subordinate, General John Burgoyne. Howe acknowledged the need to support Burgoyne, if necessary, but he heeded the advice of Pennsylvania Loyalist Joseph Galloway that his province could be reclaimed if the redcoats would only go there. Howe believed that he could capture Philadelphia, install a Loyalist government, and still have time to return to New York if Burgoyne needed assistance. These plans all failed disastrously.

The 1777 campaign began awkwardly. Burgoyne packed heavily and moved slowly down Lake Champlain toward Albany. Howe tried unsuccessfully to lure Washington into a decisive action on the plains of eastern New Jersey and then in July took fourteen thousand troops to sea in his brother’s fleet, leaving seven thousand redcoats in New York under Henry Clinton. In August, Washington marched his troops back and forth across New Jersey, seeking to protect both the Hudson Valley and Congress in Philadelphia.

Delegates from New England and the southern states feared that their regions were the real target. In late August, Howe appeared in Chesapeake Bay and landed his army at Head of Elk, Maryland. As he moved toward Philadelphia, Washington raced into Pennsylvania and placed his army in Chester County. On 11 September 1777, the two armies clashed along the Brandywine Creek. Howe again outflanked the Continentals and battered them badly. Washington extracted the army from destruction and retired toward Philadelphia. Two weeks later Howe outmaneuvered him and marched into the city. The Continental Congress fled again, this time to York, Pennsylvania, beyond the Susquehanna River.

On 4 October, Washington attempted a reprise of Trenton. He launched a complex overnight assault



The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton, 3 January 1777 (c. 1789–1831), by John Trumbull. General Hugh Mercer died near Princeton, New Jersey, in 1777 at the hand of British troops. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

on the main body of British troops, which was camped at Germantown, northwest of Philadelphia. The operation began well but unraveled in fog, smoke, and the confusion of inexperienced American troops. Howe secured his winter quarters. In December the Americans limped to the nearby village of Valley Forge, committed to protecting the security of Pennsylvania's radical government and Whig citizens. Meanwhile, in New York State, American general Horatio Gates and a technically independent Northern Army twice defeated Burgoyne's force at Saratoga in October with the help of Benedict Arnold. A negotiated convention required that the British troops be sent to Britain, but Congress reneged on the agreement, and they were eventually interned in Virginia for the duration of the war. The American triumph at Saratoga gave Benjamin Franklin, negotiating in Paris, the credibility to persuade France to recognize American independence and intervene in the war. In Pennsylvania, Washington labored under the widespread perception that his own campaign had failed and under criticism from rival officers and politicians.

The Continental Army spent the winter of 1777–1778 in hardship at Valley Forge, keeping eastern Pennsylvania pacified and depriving the British of the easy fruits of their victory the previous fall. France's entry into the war on the rebel side in March 1778 changed the dynamics of the rebellion. Britain went on the defensive in the mainland colonies, determined to protect the invaluable Caribbean sugar islands. Howe resigned, and his successor, Henry Clinton, abandoned Philadelphia in June 1778. Washington's retrained troops chased him into New Jersey, where the two armies fought to an intense draw at Monmouth Courthouse on 28 June. The British retreated to their garrison in New York City while the Continentals took up positions around northern New Jersey and southeastern New York. For the next five years the two sides faced each other across a no-man's-land in the Lower Hudson Valley, but the war's most intense fighting was over in the North.

FRENCH ALLIANCE AND SOUTHERN WARFARE

The arrival of French land and naval forces in America and the contest over the West Indies drew the

mainland war southward and toward the sea. Even after disappointments in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, British strategists hoped that the South might offer a bastion of loyalism that armies could mobilize for the restoration of civilian government. In the fall of 1778, Clinton detached thirty-five hundred troops to invade Georgia and end the rebellion there. They succeeded at first, capturing Savannah in December, then turned their sights to South Carolina. In May 1780, Clinton led a siege that captured Charleston, where more than five thousand American defenders surrendered. In August a British force crushed an American relief army under Horatio Gates at Camden, South Carolina, and British opinion sensed victory. In 1780 the North experienced currency inflation; bitter winter cold; war weariness; mutinies in the Continental camps at Morristown, New Jersey, in May; and in September the treason of Benedict Arnold in his failed attempt to allow the British to take West Point.

But the British forces detached from New York were already spread thin and had little hope of significant reinforcements from home. Clinton pardoned southern rebels in exchange for oaths of allegiance, which enraged Loyalists and reignited guerrilla warfare as the regular redcoats moved away. Local rebel forces crushed a small army of their Loyalist neighbors at King's Mountain in western North Carolina in October 1780. Washington detached a force of Continentals into the South under Nathanael Greene, one of his most trusted subordinates. Greene confronted the aggressive British commander, Charles Cornwallis, and outmaneuvered and outwitted him. The frontier Virginia rifleman, General Daniel Morgan, defeated Loyalists under Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781, and Greene and Cornwallis fought to a savage draw at Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina during March. Francis Marion, a South Carolina militia officer, contributed to these successes in the South by disrupting British supply lines, supplying intelligence, and suppressing Loyalist activities.

YORKTOWN

After this point, organized British strategy broke down against a rising tide of irregular conflict, reflecting the Appalachian South's complex late colonial settlement history and ethnic composition. Benedict Arnold, finally given a command by the British, entered Virginia to support the teetering Cornwallis, who took command of Arnold's men and moved east to the Chesapeake coast, on the peninsula between the James and York Rivers. Washington, still occu-

pying the Hudson Valley and hoping for a decisive clash with the British in New York, learned that a French fleet in the West Indies would operate along the mainland coast. Seizing the initiative in August 1781, he joined with a French army in Rhode Island, under the Comte de Rochambeau, and made a forced march to the head of Chesapeake Bay. General Clinton, in New York, belatedly realized Cornwallis's jeopardy and sent a fleet to his rescue. The French fleet got there first, however, and sealed the mouth of the bay. Washington's and Rochambeau's forces were ferried down the Chesapeake to the York Peninsula, where they besieged Cornwallis's force at Yorktown. On 19 October 1781 Cornwallis surrendered, ending the last realistic hope of successfully ending the rebellion by military means.

Thus, the British Empire in mainland North America ended a few miles across the peninsula from the site of the first permanent English colony at Jamestown 174 years before. The Revolution had become a global war with France by then, however, and while that contest dragged on, the rebels remained in limbo. Occasional British successes at sea against French fleets revived hope that the colonies might be restored. Washington returned to New York and New Jersey and, with a diminishing army in chronic financial crisis, resumed watching the British headquarters in New York.

BACKCOUNTRY AND INDIAN WARFARE

Intramural conflict among civilians in the backcountry South, having been ignited by the presence of regular armies there, flared long after they departed. Some of the war's least noticed, but enduringly important, combat arenas were in the interior of both the North and the South. In 1779 Washington decided to put an end to native resistance on the northern frontier by sending General John Sullivan of New Hampshire northwest from Pennsylvania into the Finger Lakes region of New York State. Supported by other columns launched from the Mohawk and Allegheny valleys, Sullivan's forces conducted a burn-and-destroy mission aimed at native agricultural subsistence systems. Forty towns were burned and an exhaustive quantity of foodstuffs captured or destroyed. While no one could claim victory in the episode, and while raiding continued along the northern frontier, the attacks significantly weakened the ability of the Iroquois to play a meaningful part in the postwar American Republic. From Kentucky in 1778, George Rogers Clark led frontier forces west into the French-settled, but British-controlled, Illinois country, where he captured old colonial towns

and harassed pro-British Indians. These and other interior campaigns and conflicts did not tip the military balance of power in the war, but they showed the direction for the American military after the war.

FUTURE ISSUES

In 1783 the Treaty of Paris was signed and the last redcoat soldiers left America. The newly independent nation faced its first military problems in learning how to dismantle a small, poor, core Continental Army whose privates had not been paid for years and whose officers were disgruntled. That problem was solved by a combination of creative paperwork and citizen-soldier virtue, but the American government proved as reluctant as it was fiscally unable even to have a real national army. Deciding how to balance conflicting needs for security, liberty, and thrift occupied the imaginations of the best political actors and thinkers who emerged from the experience of the Revolutionary generation. Many of the same problems, in different combinations and guises, continue to haunt Americans today.

See also **Bunker Hill, Battle of; Canada; Continental Army; Continental Congresses; Lexington and Concord, Battle of; Saratoga, Battle of; Treaty of Paris; Trenton, Battle of; Valley Forge; Yorktown, Battle of.**

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Wayne Bodle

Military Leadership, American

In 1775, the year of revolution, the Constitution's clear delineation of military authority was still twelve years in the future. An untried political body, the Continental Congress, combined what would later be defined as executive and legislative authority. Revolutionary leaders had a profound fear of a standing army, a permanent establishment maintained by government and supplied by public treasury. They believed it was the path to tyranny and well knew that throughout history tyrants arose from the ranks of successful military leaders. Yet to win the war Congress had to create a standing army and appoint men to lead it. The tensions between political beliefs and military necessity seriously impaired the rebels' war effort.

ORGANIZING FOR WAR: THE FIRST APPOINTMENTS

In June 1775 Massachusetts delegates asked the Continental Congress to accept responsibility for the New England militia who were blockading the British in Boston. Congress agreed and appointed George Washington as the army's commander in chief. Congress also created the ranks of major general and brigadier general to serve as Washington's senior subordinates.

Congress commissioned all officers, but individual states actually nominated candidates up to and including the rank of colonel. The states chose men who were prominent leaders in their local communities. The basis for their selection was experience, the ability to raise men, and political reliability. These qualifications did not necessarily equate with military talent or even competency. In addition, each state was anxious that it receive its "quota" of senior leaders.

The first set of appointments demonstrated the importance of political considerations. Congress named Artemas Ward of Massachusetts first major general. Ward had an excellent record as a militia administrator and was an experienced politician. Because Massachusetts supplied the most men to the so-called Boston Army, it was politically prudent to make him the senior major general. There was less



Washington Reviewing the Western Army at Fort Cumberland, Maryland. A detail from a painting of President Washington by Frederick Kemmelmeyer, c. 1795. © FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS.

consensus regarding Washington's recommendation that Charles Lee be the second major general. Lee had served as an officer in both the British and the Polish armies and was politically reliable. However, his arrogant personality offended many. Only the staunch backing of John Adams confirmed Lee. Horatio Gates was another former British officer with the right political connections. Gates filled the position of adjutant general with the rank of brigadier general. Congress hoped that his staff experience would provide Washington with strong administrative assistance.

Trouble came when northern delegates observed that, although Virginia had yet to enlist a single Continental soldier, Virginians held three of the army's four top positions. A furious political scuffle ensued. Each colony strongly promoted its own favorite sons, with men being nominated and confirmed largely on the basis of which colony they represented. Congress even doubled the number of major generals to appease New York and Connecticut.

Philip Schuyler belonged to one of New York's leading families. He had served as a major in the

French and Indian War, specializing in logistics. Schuyler's combination of political connections, extensive business interests in the Albany area, and friendship with Washington made him a logical choice to command the northern army on the Canadian–New York border. Also a French and Indian War veteran, Israel Putnam was appointed because of an impasse among the Connecticut delegation. Putnam was an early, vocal leader of the Connecticut Sons of Liberty, but he was fifty-seven years old and wore his years hard. Ultimately, his status as a folk hero trumped doubts about his age.

Having dealt with the politically tricky business of creating major generals, Congress tackled the challenge of selecting brigadier generals. Again politics reigned supreme. Three were granted to Massachusetts (Seth Pomeroy, William Heath, John Thomas), two to Connecticut (David Wooster, Joseph Spencer), and one each to New York (Richard Montgomery), New Hampshire (John Sullivan), and Rhode Island (Nathanael Greene). Congress gave little regard to these men's seniority within their respective colonial establishments. This proved a serious

blunder as rank-conscious officers quarreled with one another about who deserved to command what. Joseph Spencer of Connecticut went home when he learned that his former subordinate, Putnam, was senior to him.

The newly appointed brigadiers all had military experience of some kind. Many had fought in the French and Indian War although none had particularly distinguished himself. When making its first selections, Congress had tried to bridge the gap between provincial jealousy and Continental unity. The result was a mixed bag of military leaders. Some had been promoted beyond their capacity. Others lacked either the physical or moral courage necessary for high command. The sixty-nine-year-old Massachusetts brigadier, Seth Pomeroy, lacked the physical stamina required for field service. Among the most egregious displays of ego, Charles Lee believed that because of his service in the British army he deserved the highest appointment. He proceeded to undermine Washington's standing with Congress. Eventually, Washington replaced Lee after his notable blunders at Monmouth (28 June 1778).

Under British rule American officers had little chance to gain military experience at the higher command levels. Consequently, Congress had to choose among men who had yet to prove themselves. Not surprisingly, many were unequal to the challenge. Yet among the original appointments were several rough gems. Greene developed into one of the best American strategists. Montgomery showed brilliant potential before his death at Quebec (1 January 1776). Heath, through his stewardship of the vital Hudson Highland post, became one of the few generals Washington could entrust with independent command.

The wrangling associated with the selection of only thirteen generals dissuaded Congress from selecting the hundreds of field-grade officers necessary to lead the army at the regimental level. Instead, Congress decided merely to confirm the colonies' recommendations. Like the generals, the field-grade officers needed time and experience to learn the art of command. On 8 December 1775 Congress created a standing committee, composed of one member from each colony, whose job was to review applications for field-grade officers and to report on their qualifications to the full Congress. Thus Congress, although it had the power to appoint and promote all officers above the rank of captain, carefully weighed the preferences of the thirteen states when evaluating officers.

As the war progressed the power to select field-grade officers became subsumed in a greater political debate. Congressmen recognized that they were setting a precedent by laying the foundation for an American army and defining that army's relationship to civil rule. Those who wanted a stronger central government wanted more congressional control over the army. Those who wanted to preserve the autonomy of the colonies, and later the states, wanted to retain the power of selection. This debate interfered with the purely military requirement to put the best men in leadership positions.

By the start of 1776, new Continental regiments from the southern and middle colonies had formed. Congress organized four administrative departments: Southern, Middle, Northern, and Canadian. It placed a major general in charge of each department, with Washington retaining his position as commander in chief. Because the expanding war effort required more general officers, Congress elected six more brigadiers: John Armstrong and William Thompson of Pennsylvania, James Moore and Robert Howe of North Carolina, Andrew Lewis of Virginia, and Lord Stirling of New Jersey.

In the summer of 1776, the main army under Washington comprised 31,000 officers and men, its peak strength for the entire war. On 9 August 1776 Congress promoted Heath, Spencer, Sullivan, and Greene to major general and added six more brigadiers. Unique among the original brigadiers, Wooster was passed over for promotion—Congress's punishment for the brigadier's quarrelsome conduct in Canada. In addition to the Continental generals, the militia, which composed some 57 percent of the Main Army, came with their own brigadiers. The states had the power to select officers for the militia.

GENERALS FROM ABROAD

When the Americans revolted against British rule, the conflict attracted a host of European military men. Some sincerely sympathized with the rebel cause; others were mere mercenaries who saw better opportunities for promotion in America or impoverished minor nobles seeking to restore their fortunes. Unfortunately, neither American diplomats in Europe, most notably Silas Deane, nor congressmen could evaluate a candidate's true military experience and capabilities. Armed with letters of introduction of dubious validity, European officers swarmed the halls of Congress demanding high-ranking positions. Too often Congress obliged. For example, Congress angered several rank-conscious American generals by elevating Thomas Conway, an Irish veteran

of the French army, to the position of inspector general with rank of major general. To make matters worse, Conway was an opinionated officer and a severe critic of Washington's leadership. Congress later defused the volatile situation by backing Washington over Conway when the latter challenged Washington's leadership during the so-called Conway cabal in the winter of 1777–1778.

Overall, Washington considered very few of the foreign officers useful. Most prominent among the exceptions was Friedrich von Steuben, a Prussian veteran who had served with Frederick the Great. Steuben began his service as an unpaid volunteer, reporting to Washington at Valley Forge in February 1778. Steuben introduced a new drill system and began personally training the Continentals. Washington recommended and Congress approved his promotion to major general with the position of inspector general. Because of Steuben's invaluable contribution to American military proficiency, he is recalled as the "the first teacher" of the American Army. Another foreign officer who served with distinction was the Marquis de Lafayette, a wealthy young French nobleman whose idealism brought him to America to volunteer. Congress commissioned him major general without command in July 1777. Washington took an immediate liking to the nineteen-year-old. Lafayette behaved gallantly and was wounded in battle at Brandywine, in Pennsylvania, on 11 September 1777, establishing his reputation among Americans.

The second tier of useful foreign officers includes Johann Kalb, known as Baron de Kalb, a remarkable Bavarian soldier who died gallantly at Camden, South Carolina (16 August 1780); the Polish nobleman Casimir Pulaski, a fiery, quarrelsome cavalry leader who received a mortal wound during a foolish cavalry charge at Savannah (9 October 1779); and the Frenchman General Louis Duportail, who taught the rebels the science of military engineering. Another Pole, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, also provided useful engineering expertise when planning the Delaware River forts, fortifying the heights at Saratoga, and planning the defense of West Point. He received a brigadier general's brevet in 1783.

PARTISAN LEADERS

The Revolutionary War featured relatively few formal battles in the European style. Instead the war was fought by means of innumerable outpost battles, ambushes, and raids involving partisan operations. Rebel partisans provided American leaders with useful military intelligence while making life

for the British outside of their own picket lines insecure and dangerous. By threatening British supply lines, the partisans largely restricted the British to coastal enclaves and fortified positions. One of the first successful partisan officers was Ethan Allen. Allen achieved national reknown when he led the "Green Mountain Boys" against Fort Ticonderoga in May 1775. Later in the war in the Northeast partisans were active in the Lake Champlain valley during the Saratoga campaign and made the area around New York City a ravaged no-man's-land.

It was in the South that American partisan leaders demonstrated a particular aptitude for guerrilla warfare. After the fall of Charleston in May 1780, Francis Marion kept the war alive through his partisan operations in the coastal swamps and forests of lower South Carolina. In the disputed backcountry, three great partisan leaders, Thomas Sumter, William Davie, and Elijah Clark, fiercely resisted British occupation. Sumter was a wealthy South Carolina planter. Although sometimes careless of routine security and guilty of poor tactical judgment, he fought seven set battles against the British and Loyalists. His tenacity made his name a rallying cry for the rebels throughout the Carolinas. Davie was a prominent North Carolina lawyer who outfitted a mixed cavalry and infantry force at his own expense. A skilled swordsman, Davie led his partisans with dash and courage and is reputed to have personally slain more foes with his saber than any other American officer. Clark was a prosperous Georgia farmer. Although overshadowed by more flamboyant leaders, Clark proved a steady and effective guerrilla leader and almost single-handedly kept the rebel cause alive in Georgia after the British conquered the state.

ASSESSING THE LEADERS

Because militia made up such an important part of the rebel force, the ability to use them effectively was crucial. Not all senior officers had this talent. Washington mishandled them during the New York campaign. Gates suffered a rout at Camden when his ill-positioned militia broke on first contact. Yet under the command of generals who understood their weaknesses and strengths, militia provided vital service. One week after receiving a militia commission as brigadier general, John Stark raised 1,492 militia, some 10 percent of all men on New Hampshire's list of enrolled voters. He then led them to victory against German professionals at Bennington, Vermont (16 August 1777). Daniel Morgan's fight talk before battle at Cowpens, South Carolina (17 January 1781), perfectly addressed his militia's anxiety.

His brilliant tactical placement led to overwhelming victory. Greene followed Morgan's tactical notions regarding the use of militia to inflict serious losses at the pyrrhic British victory of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina (15 March 1781).

On the formal battlefields, energy, drive, and the determination to win or die separated the top tier from the rest. Benedict Arnold possessed these qualities and contributed enormously to rebel success from the war's start through to the decisive action in New York at Saratoga (19 September 1777). When Congress failed to reward Arnold adequately, the sting of thwarted ambition led him into treachery and treason.

When the war began rebel officers gained leadership positions largely on the basis of their political rather than military credentials. Even those men such as Washington who had a lengthy service record were untried at the higher command levels. In the first two years of war, military blunders very nearly undermined the patriot cause. Then, with fortunes at low ebb, Washington conceived and led his brilliant counterstrokes at Trenton (31 December 1776) and Princeton (3 January 1777). But for these victories there would have been no army to win the decisive battle at Saratoga in the summer of 1777 or the final triumph at Yorktown in 1781.

From 1777 on American military leaders displayed increasing competence. Experience nurtured latent talent while combat exposed the cowards, drunks, and weak leaders. The commander in chief learned which men he could trust and placed them in positions of responsibility. By delegating authority to capable subordinates, Washington could attend to higher strategy. Washington gained the strategic insight that as long as he could maintain an effective Continental force, the British could not win the war. Despite the incessant problems created by having too few men and weapons, insufficient supplies, and widespread hunger and disease, he consistently displayed composure and an unwillingness to accept defeat. Washington and the rebel cause became synonymous. Although not a great strategist and an even poorer battlefield tactician, Washington truly was the indispensable leader of the American Revolution.

See also **Army, U.S.; Militias and Militia Service; Saratoga, Battle of; Trenton, Battle of; Washington, George; Yorktown, Battle of.**

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James R. Arnold

Naval War

In 1775 Britain had the largest navy in the world and as recently as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) had defeated both the French and Spanish navies. The Americans had no navy. Thus the Royal Navy could sweep American merchant ships from the oceans, bringing economic pressure to bear on the rebellious colonies. The British could also transport military supplies and troops to North America, move them at will along the coast, and extract these forces if necessary.

At the beginning of the war Continental leaders were divided about the wisdom of sending out ships against the British, but in October 1775 they voted to outfit two vessels to intercept transports carrying British troops and military supplies. Congress also established a Naval Committee to oversee this activity. It purchased merchantmen for conversion to warships and in December 1775 authorized construction of thirteen frigates (five of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight, and three of twenty-four), to be built by March 1776 as commerce raiders. Progress was slow and only the *Randolph*, *Raleigh*, *Hancock*, and *Boston* and a few smaller warships were able to get to sea in 1777.

In February 1776 the commander of the fledgling Continental Navy, Commodore Esek Hopkins, set sail with a motley collection of small warships. On 3 to 4 March, in the only successful large American fleet operation of the war, Hopkins captured Nassau in the Bahamas, securing guns and supplies. During their return voyage, on 6 April the Americans fell in with the British frigate *Glasgow* and its tender but took only the tender.

For the first two years of the war the British were able to move by sea at will. In March 1776 they evacuated Boston, which the Continental militias had blockaded from the land. In July 1776 Admiral Lord

Richard Howe's fleet landed 32,000 British troops on Staten Island to begin the New York campaign. British naval control of the Hudson River brought the surrender of Fort Washington in November 1776, with 3,000 prisoners, 100 cannon, and a large quantity of munitions. The British again used their navy to land troops to capture Fort Lee, New Jersey. Continental commander General George Washington then withdrew what remained of his army across the Delaware.

The British had planned a secondary offensive from Canada to isolate New England. To meet this threat, Brigadier General Benedict Arnold supervised construction of a force of gondolas and galleys on Lake Champlain. Although the Continentals were defeated in two naval battles on the lake on 11 and 13 October, Arnold delayed the British sufficiently that they postponed their offensive.

The British also conducted naval operations in the American South. In June 1776 Admiral Sir Peter Parker sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, with an expeditionary force under Major General Sir Henry Clinton. Poor British planning and a stout Patriot defense from Fort Sullivan repelled them. Several British ships grounded, and accurate American fire led to destruction of the new frigate *Actaeon*.

Some American captains, notably John Paul Jones and Lambert Wickes, also carried the war to the British Isles and attacked British merchant shipping. Jones also won the most spectacular engagement of the war, the sanguinary 23 September 1779 contest between his converted French East Indiaman *Bonhomme Richard* and the British frigate *Serapis*. But for the most part the Continental Navy accomplished little. The navy continually suffered from a lack of experienced captains, inadequate funding, and the attractiveness of privateer service.

Eleven of the thirteen colonies also raised navies. These were limited to very small craft, many of them barges, employed primarily in coastal defense and along rivers. The state navies had little impact on the war.

The Americans did experiment with new types of weapons. On the night of 6 to 7 September 1776 they employed inventor David Bushnell's primitive one-man submarine, the *Turtle*, in an unsuccessful attempt to attach a mine to Admiral Howe's flagship, the *Eagle*, in New York harbor. The Americans also sent floating mines against British ships but with little effectiveness.

American privateers were, however, highly successful. This type of combat fit well with the decen-



tralized and individualized character of the colonial military effort. During the years 1776 to 1783 Congress authorized 1,697 privateers with 55,000 crewmen and mounting 15,000 guns. State-sanctioned privateers added another 1,000 ships.

For the first two years of the war, the Royal Navy had the resources to combat most privateers,

but after 1778 colonial privateers took advantage of the reduced British naval presence off the American coast and their ability to use French bases. During the war, colonial privateers took some 2,200 British ships valued at £66 million. Insurance rates for British shipping increased 30 to 50 percent, adding to pressure on the British government.

British naval weaknesses, including numerous ships in poor repair, were not apparent as long as the nation was fighting a weak naval power, but the entrance of France into the war on the side of the colonies in 1778 dramatically changed the situation. The French had spent a decade rebuilding their naval strength and their fleet approached that of the British in size. This forced the British to defend both their home islands and empire, and they did not have the resources to do both. In 1778 France had some sixty ships of the line, a number of which were better ships than those of the British. The Royal Navy had seventy-three ships of the line at sea or in good repair. When Spain entered the war in alliance with France in 1779, it added another forty-nine ships of the line. The Dutch were drawn in a year later. What had been a localized struggle now became a world war with the North American theater only a secondary one for the British navy. Worse, Britain had no continental allies, and the French could focus on the war at sea. The British were forced to fight in the Channel, in the Caribbean, off North America, and in the Mediterranean, and they lacked the resources to be everywhere successful.

It could have been worse for the British. French and Spanish attacks on the British Isles and on Gibraltar foundered on a combination of inept admirals, intra-allied squabbles, and effective actions by outnumbered British forces. In the Western Hemisphere the French first concentrated in the Caribbean, where they seized a number of British-held islands and even threatened Jamaica.

French expeditions to North America were at first hesitant and unsuccessful. Vice Admiral Charles Hector Comte d'Estaing demonstrated a lack of aggressiveness off Delaware, New York, and Rhode Island in the summer of 1778. D'Estaing allowed British Admiral Howe with numerically inferior forces to drive him off. Still, the French managed to land ground troops in America under General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau.

In July 1779 Commodore Dudley Saltonstall led an attack by Massachusetts on a British fort at Bagaduce (Castine) on the Penobscot River in Maine. With seventeen warships and twenty-four supply vessels,

it was the largest colonial naval expedition in the war and the largest American amphibious assault until the Mexican-American War. A British squadron from New York arrived on 13 August; all the American ships were destroyed, and five hundred men were killed or taken prisoner.

In 1778 the British had shifted their military operations to the American South. In December 1778 they took Savannah and by early 1779 had secured Georgia. In 1780 General Clinton took advantage of the departure of the principal French fleet for France and assembled 14,000 troops for the largest British offensive force since 1777, landing it south of Charleston that February. Charleston capitulated on 12 May with the loss of 5,466 officers and men, 400 cannon, and half a dozen small warships. It was the greatest military disaster to befall the Patriots during the war.

The French naval presence was decisive in 1781. Admiral François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, sailed north from the West Indies and blockaded what remained of Clinton's Charleston force that had moved to Yorktown, Virginia, on the Chesapeake Bay. Washington and Rochambeau, meanwhile, brought troops down from New York to contain the British on land, while de Grasse blockaded the bay. Although the Second Battle of the Chesapeake of 5 September 1781, fought between twenty-eight French ships of the line and nineteen British ships of the line under Admiral Thomas Graves, was tactically indecisive, de Grasse achieved a strategic victory in that he was able to continue the blockade of Yorktown. At the same time d'Estaing arrived with additional ships and heavy siege guns, whereupon Graves returned with his ships to New York. Blockaded by French and Continental Army forces by land and sea, more than eight thousand men at Yorktown surrendered on 19 October. This British defeat brought the fall of the government in London and a decision to seek peace. The British had lost naval control of the coast for a brief period at this decisive moment. In the Battle of the Saints in the West Indies on 12 April 1782, Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney's British fleet defeated de Grasse and the French fleet, but it came too late to affect the war's outcome.

Meanwhile, the Continental Navy had all but ceased to exist. Of fifty-three ships in the navy during the war, only two frigates—the *Alliance* and *Hague*—were in service at war's end. Despite its failings, the navy had captured or sunk almost two hundred British ships, carried dispatches to and from Europe, transported funds to help finance the Revo-

lution, forced the British to divert naval assets for the protection of commerce, and helped to provoke the diplomatic confrontation that brought France into the war. Nonetheless it was the French naval intervention that had made possible the conclusion of peace in 1783.

See also **Naval Technology**.

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Prisoners and Spies

Prisoners in the Revolutionary War suffered unnecessarily from the bitter political debate over their legal status that the British and Americans carried on throughout the conflict and also from administrative mismanagement and neglect on both sides.

PRISONERS: NUMBERS, FACILITIES, AND TREATMENT

The records are incomplete, but the best scholarly estimations are that the British captured 15,427 American officers and soldiers and as many as 8,000 American sailors (both from the navy and from privateers). In addition, the British seized many American sailors and impressed them into naval service. The number of British, German, and Loyalist prisoners in American hands is even more uncertain. The available evidence suggests that the overall prisoner totals were roughly equal between the two sides.

Both the British and Americans made large hauls of prisoners for which they were not fully prepared to care. The British took about 1,200 in Canada dur-

ing 1775-1776; 4,430 in the New York campaign of 1776; about 1,000 in the Philadelphia campaign of 1777; 453 at Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778; and about 4,700 in South Carolina during 1780. The Americans captured 918 at Trenton, New Jersey, in December 1776; about 5,800 at Saratoga, New York, in October 1777; and about 8,000 at Yorktown, Virginia, in October 1781.

The British established local prison facilities wherever their operations required, but New York City served as their main detention center in America from 1776 to 1783. Although a variety of buildings in the city were used, most American soldiers were confined in three multistoried stone sugar houses, while their officers usually were allowed to lodge at their own expense in private homes in the city and on nearby Long Island. American seamen were imprisoned in obsolete warships and transports stripped of their rudders, masts, and rigging, most of which were anchored in Wallabout Bay on the Brooklyn side of the East River. The highest number of army prisoners held at New York at any one time was 4,430 in December 1776, and for the prison ships it was about 4,200 in 1778. Sailors captured in European and African waters were sent to one of two prisons in Britain—Mill Prison near Plymouth and Forton Prison near Portsmouth—where the combined inmate population peaked at about 2,200 men in 1779.

Survivors of the British prisons accused their captors of imposing excessive and deliberate suffering, but the scholarly consensus is that while their sufferings were often severe, they were seldom the result of cruelty. The hardships endured by American prisoners, Larry G. Bowman says, were caused principally by British inattention and haphazard organization, a desire to minimize costs, and the limitations of eighteenth-century technology and medicine. Prisoners received only two-thirds of the barely adequate food ration issued to British soldiers and sailors, while bedding and winter clothing were not regularly supplied at all. The worst conditions existed on the twenty-two known New York prison ships, most notoriously the *Jersey*, where overcrowding, poor ventilation, and unsanitary handling of food and human wastes resulted in an extraordinarily high death rate from disease.

For want of adequate resources and organization, Americans did not treat prisoners significantly better. Most captured British and German soldiers were sent to interior parts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia to be quartered in log barracks inside wooden stockades. The troops taken at Saratoga,

however, were initially marched to Cambridge, Massachusetts, because the convention that British general John Burgoyne (1722–1792) and American general Horatio Gates (1728–1806) signed on 17 October 1777 allowed them to sail from nearby Boston to Great Britain with a promise not to serve again in North America. Realizing that sending them to Britain would free other troops there, in Ireland, and at Gibraltar to come to America, Congress avoided implementing the terms of the convention. In late 1778, therefore, the Convention Army, as it was called, was sent to a prison camp near Charlottesville, Virginia.

The prisoners' hardships were prolonged by the failure to negotiate a general exchange of all captives until the last months of the eight-and-a-half-year war. Although both sides agreed that trading prisoners made good sense for practical and humanitarian reasons, the seven meetings that they held on the subject between March 1777 and September 1782 ended in stalemate over the political issue of American independence. The Continental Congress insisted on negotiating a formal written exchange agreement—a cartel—while the British ministry refused to let the matter be discussed on grounds that cartels could be negotiated only by sovereign nations, not by rebelling colonies. While classifying captive Americans legally as rebels, the British nevertheless treated them as prisoners of war in practice. On the local level, British commanders reached informal agreements with their American counterparts to permit some humanitarian aid—food, clothing, and money—to be sent to prisoners, and they also arranged numerous partial exchanges. It was not until the eighth prisoner exchange meeting in May 1783, however, that the way was cleared for the release of all captives.

SPIES: THREE CASES

Apprehended spies were not treated as prisoners of war; rather, they normally were hung without trial. The discovery in September 1775 that Dr. Benjamin Church (1734–1778), director of the Continental Army hospital, had tried to send a coded letter containing information about American forces to his brother-in-law in British-occupied Boston caused Americans much consternation because of Church's prominence and because the Continental Congress had not explicitly made spying a capital crime. Although Congress took that step in November 1775, Church could not be sentenced to death retroactively. After being confined in various jails, he was permitted in January 1778 to go into exile. His ship was lost at sea on the way to the West Indies.

The American martyr spy, Nathan Hale (1755–1776), was hung by the British without much ado at New York on 22 September 1776, but his bravery in the face of death earned him lasting fame. A captain in a Continental ranger regiment, Hale volunteered in response to a request from George Washington to go to Long Island to obtain information about British dispositions. He was caught in civilian clothing with drawings of fortifications and freely confessed his mission to British general William Howe (1729–1814), who ordered his execution. Hale's famous last words regretting that he had but one life to give for his country were based on either a passage in the popular play *Cato* (1713), by Joseph Addison (1672–1719), or a quotation from the English Leveler John Lilburne (1614?–1657).

British major John André (1750–1780), unlike Hale, had considerable experience in intelligence work but died a similar death. As adjutant general at New York, André managed all correspondence with British secret agents in America and with American General Benedict Arnold (1741–1801) about his proposed betrayal of the strategically important fortress at West Point, New York. After meeting with Arnold near Haverstraw, New York, on 22 September 1780, André became trapped behind American lines. Changing into civilian clothing and using an assumed name, he was captured by American militiamen the next day with incriminating papers in his boots. A court of inquiry determined that André was a spy, leaving General George Washington no choice but to deny the personable young officer's request to be shot a soldier and to order him executed in the usual way for spies by hanging. André was executed at Tappan, New York, on 2 October 1780, dying, like Hale, with remarkable composure.

See also Crime and Punishment.

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Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution

In the late colonial period, slavery pervaded British North America. It was legal in every colony. Along the seaboard south of Delaware, African bondage was central to society and the economy. But slaves could hardly follow the North Star to freedom, as they later did, for slavery was only becoming more entrenched in the northern colonies. Slaves were a vital element of the workforce in such cities as New York and in the countryside of New York, northern New Jersey, and parts of Pennsylvania. As evidenced by sporadic flight and revolt, black colonists valued freedom and spoke its tones amongst themselves. But they had little opportunity of acting on this desire.

The American Revolution gave them the openings they needed. Its rhetoric provided them a language with which to appeal to whites for freedom. And the competing armies and dislocations of the war offered them chances for flight. The path of flight was fraught with great risks, and not all who took it gained liberty. But the Revolution expanded the freedom of black Americans beyond anything previously imaginable.

LANGUAGE OF FREEDOM

As white colonists began demanding liberty from British tyranny in the 1760s, their slaves saw that they now spoke a common language. To be sure, not all slaves found appeals to libertarian rhetoric fruitful. Patriots in Charleston protested the Stamp Act in 1765 by surrounding the stamp collector's house chanting "Liberty! Liberty and stamp'd paper." In short order, a group of black Charlestonians alarmed the city by raising their own cry of "Liberty."

This application of Revolutionary rhetoric did not secure these slaves their freedom, but others were

more successful in the heady atmosphere of the Revolution. In 1776 a slave man named Prince rowed George Washington across the Delaware River. In 1777, as his master, Captain William Whipple of New Hampshire, again went off to fight the British, he noticed Prince was dejected. When Whipple asked him why, Prince responded: "Master, you are going to fight for your *liberty*, but I have none to fight for." Whipple, "struck by the essential truth of Prince's complaint," immediately freed him (Berlin and Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom*, p. 283). Whipple was unusual in his haste, and a slave rowing Washington across the Delaware illustrated some of the ironies of the Revolution. But Whipple was far from alone. In Massachusetts, for instance, African slaves and their white allies brought freedom suits against the slaves' masters. They argued that the egalitarian language of the 1780 state constitution rendered slavery unconstitutional. A series of judges ruled in their favor, bringing slavery to an end in Massachusetts by the middle of the 1780s. In other Northern states lawmakers rather than judges abolished slavery in the midst or wake of the Revolution. In 1777 Vermont's constitution enacted gradual emancipation; in 1780 Pennsylvania did so by statute, as did Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784, New York in 1799, and finally New Jersey in 1804.

Nor was the effect of Revolutionary ideas confined to the North. In 1782 Virginia passed a law giving slaves easier access to manumissions by reducing restrictions on their masters. In the decade following the act, Virginia masters freed roughly ten thousand slaves. So liberalized did Maryland's manumission laws become after the Revolution that some slaves reversed the traditional assumption that African descent conferred slave status by suing (sometimes successfully) for their liberty on grounds of descent from at least one white person.

OPENINGS FOR FLIGHT

When the war of words became a protracted military conflict, slaves took advantage of the chaos of war. Most chose flight over revolt, partly because commanders on both sides offered freedom in exchange for their services.

On 7 November 1775, faced with a solid Patriot phalanx in his colony, Virginia's royal governor, Lord Dunmore, proclaimed that any slave or indentured servant who could bear arms would secure freedom by doing so for the crown. Dunmore's proclamation set slaves in motion up and down the seaboard seeking freedom with the British.

The slaves who sought out British lines took enormous risks. There was always the possibility of recapture and reprisal by masters. Moreover, most British soldiers were hardly abolitionists and did not welcome fugitives who had no military usefulness, such as family members fleeing alongside young men. Sometimes they sold runaways, in a number of cases to loyal planters to keep the latter's allegiance. British commander Lord Charles Cornwallis mercilessly abandoned the black laborers who had dug his trenches at Yorktown, driving them out to face their masters when food ran low during the siege there. Such unreliability made the decision to flee to the British perilous.

But tens of thousands of slaves, especially in the Lower South, judged some manner of flight worth the risk. Whether by death or flight, South Carolina masters lost an estimated twenty-five thousand slaves during the eight years of the war. Georgia's prewar slave population was about fifteen thousand, of which an estimated ten thousand decamped. Thousands left the new nation along with evacuating British troops to an uncertain, but free, future.

Especially in the North, other black colonists chose the Patriot militias and the Continental Army as their route to freedom. The slaveholding commander George Washington was initially loath to admit black troops. But in response to troop shortages, Dunmore's proclamation, and the urgings of some of his subordinates, Washington abruptly reversed course late in 1775, favoring their recruitment. Congress did not follow his lead, but after 1777, when it imposed troop quotas on the states, towns and states from Maryland northward created black battalions. They had no trouble filling them with slaves eager for freedom. Black northerners thus helped all Americans win their freedom even as they seized their own. The chaos and opportunities of the war may have eroded northern slavery even more than the ideology of the Revolution.

But it was the combination of ideas and openings on the ground that gave the American Revolution its significance for slavery. In particular, it struck a death blow to slavery in the North. It thus not only gave thousands of black people freedom in the short term, but created a haven for fugitive slaves of future generations. Northern abolition also laid the groundwork for the Civil War by making the institution peculiar and sectional. For this reason alone, the Revolution might be said to be second only to the Civil War in importance for the history of American slavery and abolition.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.**

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Matthew Mason

Social History

The American Revolution destroyed a monarchy and established a republic. It transformed republicanism from a failed idea to an enduring reality. It sundered one empire and began another. The Revolution worked itself out over the whole space from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from Florida to the St. Lawrence. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 defined that zone as "British." The Treaty of 1783 defined it as "American." The differences were enormous.

An economy of provinces and regions centered on London yielded to one of states and regions linked to one another. Uncertain boundaries gave way to definitive lines on maps. The Revolution began slavery's destruction. It also fostered slavery's expansion. It reshaped the use of private property, opening the way to full-blown capitalism. It replaced uneven "subjection" with equal "citizenship," but it left well over half the population with lesser rights or virtually no rights at all. Individuals and whole groups challenged their situations, and many improved their lives. But for others the Revolution brought loss and frustration.

CONSERVATIVE BEGINNINGS, TRANSFORMING CONSEQUENCES

The Revolution began among white colonial males who wanted only to conserve a good situation. They believed they were Britons who happened to live outside the “Realm” of England, Scotland, and Wales. They accepted British authority and prospered under British protection. They had access to British markets and could afford British goods. Their British liberty was a tissue of unequal privileges. But they believed that it set them and all Britons apart. They had no problem reconciling their liberty with the unfreedom of others, including the slavery of captured Africans and their American-born descendants.

Beginning in 1763 Britain insisted that colonials were incapable of running their own societies. The surface issue was taxation by Parliament, supposedly acting for all Britons everywhere, rather than by local assemblies speaking for local communities. Beneath that issue lay a sense that the colonial economies needed to be subordinated and that colonial people were inferior. Colonials resisted and Britain retreated twice, repealing the Stamp Act in 1766 and most of the Townshend Taxes in 1770. As ordinary white colonials they found their own voices and asserted their own interests.

After Bostonians destroyed East India Company tea at the end of 1773, Britain decided to make the colonials submit. Instead of that, colonials brought down the whole structure of British power, beginning in rural Massachusetts in the summer of 1774 and culminating with the Declaration of Independence. During the collapse many more individuals and groups found their chances to assert themselves. Not all chose the American side. From New England to Georgia both elite and plebeian white men divided. Many slaves saw that their own best chances lay with the king, whose officers welcomed and armed them. So did native communities, who knew the rebels threatened their land. Yet some black people and some Indians joined the American side, insisting that its claims about equal freedom applied to them. White women began to find their own voices. Abigail Smith Adams’s insistence in 1776 that her husband, John, “remember the ladies” is only the most famous instance.

WAR AND TRANSFORMATION

The new order was born in war. The colonials had to organize and fight it themselves, though direct aid from France, indirect aid from Spain, and loans from the Netherlands proved vital. They fought the war everywhere except the New England interior. Despite

patriotic images of embattled farmers springing eagerly to arms, most regular soldiers were the sort of people for whom society had little place. These included white men with no civilian prospects, slaves who substituted for masters to gain their own freedom, and even Deborah Sampson, who disguised herself as Robert Shurtliff and served undetected for more than a year.

For most of the war the supply service was a shambles. But meeting the army’s needs forced producers, merchants, and supply officers into a single structure, from which the American national economy began to emerge. One problem was localism, including people’s firm belief that good communities were small and protected the needs of their own people first. The constitutions of four states allowed embargoes on exports and control over prices and supplies. Other states acted on that principle, particularly when inflation beset continental and state currencies in 1778 and 1779. By forbidding the states to interfere with “obligations of contract” explicitly prohibiting states from levying import or export taxes, and giving Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce, the U.S. Constitution ended such practices, at least in theory. The needs of a national capitalist economy, not of local communities, would come first.

When the war ended the army had to be paid. So did creditors within America and abroad. One source of revenue was to tax imports. States did so until the Constitution took effect; thereafter tariffs would be federal. But land was more important in the long run. The Treaty of 1783 ceded “sovereignty” to the United States, including the exclusive right to “extinguish” the title of Native Americans to their ancestral lands. Some states claimed sovereignty over Indians “belonging” to them. The lines of authority and claims of sovereign right overlapped. Aware of the new situation, Indians resisted losing their lands, both by legal means and by force of arms. Not until the Indian Removal Act of 1830 and the many “trails of tears” that it caused did the United States consider the job done. Even at that, Indian claims persisted, to be revived in a later day.

Nonetheless, what Indians had held as tribal commons became public treasure. From public domain, in turn, it became private property as governments sold it off. One goal was to pay off soldiers. Another was to establish a realm of independent farmers, good citizens who could take part in public life without fear. Another, never openly stated but very real, was to enrich privileged men who could buy large quantities and sell it off at good prices.

Under both federal and state auspices, the land would be surveyed, divided, and secured. Many colonial-era landholders had seen their property in family terms, to be passed on to sons and sometimes daughters. But in the new order land became potential capital, to buy, “improve,” and sell if the price became right.

A CAPITALIST ORDER

White people surged west to make the land their own, taking slavery with them in the South. A quarter of all the Africans brought to the British colonies and then United States—about 170,000—came during the Atlantic slave trade’s final years, between 1783 and its closing in 1808. Thereafter a domestic trade flourished, taking slaves from the Chesapeake states and the Carolinas to the emerging Deep South. Some even came from the North, sold by masters and mistresses before gradual abolition could free them. These people’s forced labor turned Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw land into the Cotton Kingdom.

American agriculture, in the North and South alike, sought markets. Cotton found its greatest market in England, but northern mills wanted it too. In the Northeast the consequence was rapid urbanization and industrialization. When the wars of the French Revolution, including the War of 1812, finally ended in 1815, free white migrants began crossing to America. By 1825 it was clear that New York would be a world metropolis. Philadelphia and Boston changed from regional ports to centers of industry and capital. Villages turned into small cities, particularly along major trade routes. Improved roads, canals, railroads, and steamboats allowed people and goods to cross American space in days instead of weeks or months. After 1836 the beginnings of a telegraph system allowed news to travel instantly. Invention and innovation became prized American qualities. The Erie Canal (constructed 1817–1825) brought the Great Lakes Basin into New York City’s commercial hinterland. The first long-distance railroad in America linked Charleston and Hamburg, South Carolina. The eighteenth-century colonies had been prosperous, at least for white settlers. But the early Republic saw a burst of creative energy that no colonial, not even the farsighted Benjamin Franklin, could have predicted.

EQUALS AND UNEQUALS

The biggest problem the Republic faced was the terms on which people belonged to it. For white men the answer was equal citizenship, defined by the right to vote and to seek public office. The initial state consti-

tutions, adopted between 1776 and 1780, held on to old-order beliefs about the need for voters and office holders to have property, sometimes in large quantities. They were republican, resting on their citizens’ consent, more than democratic, resting on open participation. South Carolina, Rhode Island, and a few other states held on to property qualifications well into the nineteenth century. But most states abandoned them by about 1820, or weakened them to the point of meaninglessness. European visitors like Alexis de Tocqueville and Charles Dickens believed that America had become truly democratic. As far as white males were concerned, the observation was close to correct.

Even among them, however, social class meant very real distinctions. A genuine elite of white men had created the United States Constitution in 1787, and most of them expected to rule the new order. Initially they did. From George Washington to John Quincy Adams, traditional “gentlemen” filled the presidency and most other high offices. Thereafter, national power fell into the hands of professional politicians such as Martin Van Buren, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, and James K. Polk. But class continued to count. In the industrializing, urbanizing North a new reality of owners and lifetime workers jibed uneasily with the belief that all men were equal. Tenant farming on great holdings remained a reality of northern agriculture. In the South the slaveholding planter class and plain-folk farmers inhabited different worlds. What united them all was that they were white.

Slavery and racism had been simple facts in the colonial period, when nobody presumed human equality. For a Republic of supposed equals, however, they were major flaws, in the North as much as in the South. The Revolution did begin slavery’s destruction. Vermont abolished it in 1777, at the very moment of its own separation from New York, and Massachusetts followed six years later. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which laid out the process by which “territories” could turn into new states, forbade slavery north of the Ohio River. But the remaining northern founding states went slowly. New York adopted a gradual abolition act in 1799 and ended all slavery on 4 July 1827. Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey adopted gradual abolition acts between 1780 and 1809, but a few aging blacks remained in slavery in those states until 1840. As late as 1850 there were still three hundred blacks in New Jersey classified as servants for life.

Quick or slow, slavery's death in the North had many consequences. Free black communities emerged, their people determined that slavery itself should end. But white "democratization" in the North was accompanied by black exclusion from many job markets, and even from public places, justified by unashamed racism. Blacks voted in most of the northern coastal states, but the newer states to the west—Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois—would not enfranchise blacks until after the Civil War. Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which allowed blacks to vote in the early national period, would take that right away from them in the Age of Jackson. New York restricted black voting with high property requirements at the same time that it was abolishing such requirements for whites. In the South slavery weakened and free communities did emerge, especially in the cities. Black people in the South did struggle for freedom, by legal means, escape, and revolt. But in large terms slavery became the South's "peculiar" institution, a source for white southerners of profit, identity, and danger alike. By the 1820s southerners were defending slavery as a positive good, rather than saying they regretted it.

The Revolution changed the lives of American women, opening possibilities that the colonial era barely imagined. The likes of Abigail Smith Adams, Deborah Sampson, and the writers Judith Sargent Murray and Mercy Otis Warren raised questions about women's place in republican society. So did novelists, who used their fiction to imagine a better world.

In the cities, particularly, it became increasingly possible for a woman to be economically free on her own terms, particularly if she chose not to marry. "Ladies Academies" began providing demanding schooling. But colleges and professions remained closed. A married woman's property became her husband's. Like Indians, whom the Supreme Court would define as "domestic dependent nations," and like black people, whom law and custom excluded where they did not enslave, women belonged to the new Republic more in the sense of being possessed by it than in the sense of being members of it. The unsatisfactory short-term result was an ideology of "republican motherhood" that valued women's role in training sons as full citizens. But like the problems of class and race, the social meaning of gender was on the new Republic's agenda, however much the Republic's white masters tried to ignore it.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Policy, 1787–1830; Boston Tea Party; Class: Overview; Emancipation and**

Manumission; Embargo; Equality; Fiction; Inventors and Inventions; Land Policies; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Parenthood; Property; Railroads; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Tariff Politics; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Technology; Townshend Act; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; Women: Rights.

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Edward Countryman

Supply

When the Continental Congress assumed the task of prosecuting war against Great Britain it faced the challenge of reconciling the political culture of revolution with a necessity to adapt imperial methods for providing manpower, equipment, and supplies for American military forces. This tension resulted in an ill-managed administrative system characterized by divided authority and responsibility between various congressional committees, state authorities, and military leaders who often worked at cross purposes to meet the military needs. This organizational conflict was manifested at the lowest levels in the regiments, where soldiers then, as today, could not fight unless they were properly supplied with food, weapons, and clothing.

At the beginning of the Revolution, the Americans lacked domestic sources for most provisions ex-

cept food and forage. Military transportation did not exist and there was no central control of supply within the colonies. The Continental Congress sought to provide for the army but organizational difficulties and lack of money resulted in American forces having just enough supplies to remain operational. The American economy was primarily agricultural and manufacturing was inadequate to supply large forces with ammunition, clothing, cannon, tents, shovels, and other items required for life in the field. Throughout the war, however, the Americans obtained some supplies by capturing them from the British. Another source of supply was aid from France, but American ships had to run a British navy blockade in order to deliver their cargoes. The most critical challenge throughout the war was transportation, because the road network was primitive and many areas had no roads at all. When supplies could be obtained, they often sat in storage depots due to lack of transportation to move them where needed.

In 1775 the Continental Congress authorized the quartermaster general and commissary general departments to provide the necessary food and supplies to the army formed at Boston. The quartermaster had responsibility for the procurement and distribution of supplies other than food and clothing as well as for the movement of troops and maintenance of wagons and boats. Major General Thomas Mifflin served as the first quartermaster general but quickly became frustrated by having to beg Congress and the states to provide funds, materials, and food. During operations in 1776 and 1777 the fighting consumed tons of munitions, food, and forage, and much more was lost when the British overran American positions. Horses died of wounds and wagons broke down under hard use and enemy fire. On 8 October 1777, Mifflin quit his position because of his conflicts with Congress and the bureaucratic frustration of trying to make the supply system functional. As a result, when the American army went into camp at Valley Forge in the late fall of 1777, the soldiers suffered severe shortages of food and clothing, mainly because of the breakdown of transportation.

In spite of these difficulties, some important shipments of French arms, munitions, and clothing, along with supplies captured from the British, were forwarded to the army at Valley Forge. General George Washington took a personal interest in all supply matters and authorized impressments of civilian provisions, but with proper receipt for later payment. In 1778 Washington urged Congress to appoint Major General Nathanael Greene, one of his more able officers, to replace Mifflin. Greene reorga-

nized the quartermaster department to more adequately manage the funding, purchasing, and storing of supplies and equipment. By 1780 the department had over three thousand personnel to oversee logistics operations in the areas of clothing, food, forage, and transportation, which resulted in more regular deliveries to the army. The pressure on Greene may have eased somewhat as the Continental Army became a seasoned force and accepted the supply problems as routine. The regiments learned to make do with less of everything and gradually found ways to get more out of what they had.

More than anything else, the shortage of money continued to hinder operations, and Washington often had to dismiss troops from the field or encamp them in dispersed areas to reduce the regional logistics burden. Lack of money also led to pay and enlistment grievances demonstrated by several troop mutinies in 1781. In May 1781 Congress appointed Robert Morris, a Philadelphia merchant and Pennsylvania delegate in Congress, to the new post of superintendent of finance, and his actions greatly influenced supply matters. He believed that if the country could mobilize enough funds and credit to keep the army in the field, the British would eventually quit. Morris even pledged his own personal funds to arrange for flour shipments to the army. By mid-1781, when the Yorktown campaign began, the supply situation of the Continental Army had greatly improved. Morris successfully gathered provisions and equipment, made transportation arrangements, and managed the finances that paid for it all. From a logistics perspective, the coordination of material, financial, transport, and other supply resources was almost perfect at Yorktown.

In spite of all the difficulties, procurement of supplies occurred, transportation lines remained open, enough imports got through, and every supply crisis passed. The Continental Army had enough supplies to get the job done, and they contributed to the American victory.

See also **Valley Forge.**

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Steven J. Rauch

Women's Participation in the Revolution

While generations of historians virtually ignored the role of women in the American Revolution, hordes of schoolchildren grew up on the exploits of Molly Pitcher and Betsy Ross. Recent scholarship reveals that the folk wisdom of the elementary school classroom has some merit.

TRADITIONAL ROLES AND REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS

Women played a number of important roles in the American Revolution (1775–1783). The outbreak of protest against British policy in the mid-1760s quickly evolved to include women. Although limited by tradition to roles within the household, women's roles in the household economy combined with an emerging revolutionary consciousness to produce organizations calling themselves the Daughters of Liberty, the female counterpart of the Sons of Liberty. The boycotts of British goods that emerged as part of the colonial strategy to produce a change of policy in Parliament hinged on women's participation. The nonimportation of products such as tea and English fabric could not succeed unless American women provided substitutes. Women displayed their political preferences by eschewing tea in favor of coffee or local herbal teas. More important were the activities of the traditional sewing circles. Long an opportunity for women to gather while producing for the household economy, the boycotts infused these social gatherings with a political purpose. Women's sewing circles, a traditional form of female socializing, became essential to the radical Whig cause because of their ability to replace needed goods with homespun.

The Whig leadership in many colonies recognized their contribution by urging husbands to encourage their wives' efforts, and in some colonies Revolutionary organizations endorsed the boycotts and encouraged both men and women to sign Association manifestos proclaiming their refusal to consume British goods. In some cases women issued their own petitions. Perhaps the most famous of these was dated 25 October 1774, when fifty-one women of Edenton, North Carolina, signed an Association which pledged that "we, the Ladys of Eden-

ton, do hereby solemnly engage not to conform to the Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea." At the outset of the conflict, Anne Terrel wrote to the *Virginia Gazette*, exhorting the wives of Continental soldiers to support the war effort through boycotts and prayer as their husbands supported the "glorious cause of liberty."

NEW ROLES

In some colonies, women went beyond the confines of the sewing circle, participating in riots and mass meetings. This was particularly true for artisan women, whose role in the streets had been established by custom and gender-determined economic practices. Rioting was a traditional Anglo-American form of political protest, and women played an important role in it and in other street activities. After the first shots at Lexington and Concord in 1775, women were important participants in organized protests. Hannah Bostwick McDougall of New York, for example, organized parades in an effort to free her husband from arrest. Other protests took on more violent overtones. This was particularly true of the many food riots led by women during the Revolution. Chronic food shortages caused by wartime conditions led some merchants to hoard needed supplies and hike prices. Such efforts were met with active opposition. While many of the food rioters were men, the central role played by women in the household economy of the eighteenth-century American home often placed women in the vanguard of mob protest. Women's participation, clearly shows involvement at the popular level, with women equating fair prices with support for the Revolution. Women's participation was not isolated to popular street protest. Elite women also supported the cause. In 1780 Elizabeth DeBerdt Reed, a member of the Philadelphia elite, and Sarah Franklin Bache, daughter of Benjamin Franklin, organized a women's fundraising organization for the Whig cause. George Washington responded to the organization by requesting that instead of providing money for his soldiers, women produce clothing for them. They responded with over two thousand linen shirts by the end of 1780.

WOMEN IN THE ARMY

Women directly supported the war through service in the army. Although women posing as men violated both law and custom in eighteenth-century America, a number of women secretly ignored this taboo and fought with Revolutionary forces. Deborah Sampson (or Samson) was among the most fa-



A Continental Soldier. Thousands of women accompanied the Continental Army as cooks, laundresses, nurses, and guides. This 1779 woodcut shows an American woman armed for battle during the Revolution. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

mous women who saw combat. Assuming the name Robert Shurtliff in 1782, Sampson served in a light infantry unit of the Continental Army during the waning months of the war, suffering two wounds before her honorable discharge in 1783. Most women served the military in conventional ways that did not violate standard gender roles. Both the British and American armies had substantial complements of women in their ranks. Women performed many of those tasks considered outside of men’s domain, laundering and mending clothing, preparing food, nursing the sick and wounded, and even bringing supplies to soldiers during combat. Such were the circumstances that led Mary Hayes to become known as Molly Pitcher following the Battle of Monmouth (1778) in New Jersey. The essential role that women played in supporting the soldiers eventually led Washington to set an unofficial quota of one woman for every fifteen soldiers in Continental Army regiments. Such “women of the regiment” drew regular rations (any children they brought drew half rations) and were subject to military disci-

pline. In the southern theater of operations, the British employed substantial numbers of African American women, who served in virtually every department of the army. Additional women traveled with the Continental force in unofficial capacities. The wives of officers, enlisted men, and refugees often accompanied the force during campaigns.

VICTIMS OF CONFLICT

Many women were caught between the two sides during the conflict. The destruction of property occasioned by the war left many women destitute and homeless. Perhaps typical was the treatment described by South Carolinian Eliza Wilkinson. She feared the worst with the approach of British cavalry, and indeed the soldiers ransacked her home, looting every thing of value. While most armies fighting in the Revolutionary campaigns respected certain rules of war, violence and rape were not uncommon occurrences. Such risks led many women to flee at the news of an approaching enemy army.

Loyalist women were subject to much the same treatment. Continental forces practiced systematic destruction of property and rape of Native American women during their campaigns against the Iroquois in upstate New York. Loyalist women lacked the organizational structures that helped to unify their Whig sisters, and the former often found themselves abandoned by their husbands or stripped of property. In some instances, Whig legislatures passed legislation to strip Loyalists of their property. Women’s status was further complicated when husbands and wives took different sides during the Revolution. Due to laws of coverture, under which the wife was “covered” or legally subordinate to her husband, wives often discovered that they had no legal claim to property in the event of abandonment by a spouse.

A NEW STATUS FOR WOMEN?

Women embraced the concepts of Whig liberty from the earliest stages of the Revolution, but these views were filtered through uniquely feminine lenses. Membership in organizations such as the Daughters of Liberty and participation in boycotts had fostered a sense of virtuous sacrifice on behalf of the cause. Prior to the war, women’s perspectives on Revolutionary ideology were scarce. Although Mercy Otis Warren published fictional satires of British officials before the war, they did not reveal a specifically female viewpoint. But during the conflict American women were clearly expressing their own distinct conceptions of liberty. Nowhere was this clearer than in the 1780 manifesto, *Sentiments of an American*



The Birth of the Flag (1912). Elizabeth “Betsy” Ross, shown here in a painting by Henry Mosler, was operating a Philadelphia upholstery shop with her husband when he died in 1776 guarding an American weapons cache. The Continental Congress later asked the young widow to design a flag. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Woman, which called upon women to support the quest for liberty through boycotts, household production, support for the troops, and virtuous self-sacrifice. In many ways, *Sentiments* captured the dilemma of the American Revolution as it applied to women; prevailing gender roles limited them to the position of helpmate in the struggle for liberty. Many women recognized this conundrum and sought greater rights for their gender. But aside from the extension of the franchise to New Jersey female heads of household in 1776 (a right revoked when universal manhood suffrage was granted in 1807), real political gains were few and far between. Despite efforts by Abigail Adams and Judith Sargent Murray to advance women’s liberties, the women’s revolution generally stopped at the door of their household. Despite the limited changes in political status, the Revolution did produce some changes in legal status.

Women gained greater independence from husbands, greater access to and ability to control property, and greater availability of divorce. The struggle for women’s liberty did not end with the American Revolution; it was only beginning.

See also **Law: Women and the Law; Women: Rights.**

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REVOLUTION, AGE OF The American Revolution marked the beginning of what has been called the Age of Revolution. What began as a protest over taxation in an extended empire exhausted by seven years of warfare against Catholic France gradually turned into a crisis that altered all political and social relationships not only in the British Empire but throughout the Western Hemisphere and northwest Europe, in what is now called the Atlantic world. The American Revolution profoundly influenced revolutionary rebellions in France, Haiti, Poland, Ireland, and eventually Latin America, while creating intellectual ferment in a dozen other societies in the Atlantic basin.

ROOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The British Empire emerged triumphant from the long and desperate struggle against France known as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). France was expelled from Canada, frustrated in its designs in Germany, and largely stripped of its influence in India. Britain's triumph had been fueled by a sophisticated fiscal-military bureaucracy that funded its forces by means of deficit spending. In 1763 these debts began to come due, and the British ministry rightly believed they could not be borne by the home islands' heavily taxed populations. This conclusion, reached with no malice toward British Americans, led to the Stamp Act and the subsequent eruption of a ten-year-long protest movement.

The ideological core of that movement and the society that began to emerge from it in 1776 has been described alternatively as liberal, republican, or based on natural rights philosophy. It was in fact a fusion of a number of clearly identifiable strains of political thought. Initially, at the center of this thought lay

the desire to restrict the central state's power by means of actual representation, in which representatives would be voted into office by distinct and geographically definable electorates whose interests they would serve.

The deterioration of the empire's political situation after the Boston Tea Party, the resulting Intolerable Acts, and the Quebec Act, which seemed to establish Catholic government in Britain's new Canadian colonies, led to a fundamental shift in the ideological structure of provincial thinking. What had begun as an effort to preserve the British constitution, as provincials understood it, became a movement for the establishment of an independent republic. With this shift in thinking came universalist views of human rights and human nature that profoundly challenged the assumptions of monarchical Europe and for that matter the slaveholding patriarchy of the American provinces themselves.

This challenge to preeminent beliefs and social structures were based on the regenerative and even utopic qualities of republicanism and natural rights thought. This thinking encouraged Americans in the restructuring of political institutions. The republican state governments that appeared between 1776 and 1780 reflected this republican utopianism and amounted to a radical experiment in self-government. Three of the states, Pennsylvania, Georgia, and what became Vermont, adopted constitutions that provided for unicameral (single) legislatures, rather than legislatures with upper and lower chambers; these state constitutions proclaimed a radical egalitarian vision of republican citizenry. Upper chambers like the colonial councils were deemed unnecessary, as were governors as they had existed in the empire. The designers of the unicameral governments threw over institutional hierarchy because, they believed, it would allow a few in power to block the collective will of a free republican citizenry. All, or at least all white male property holders, were now considered brother citizens and thus equal. Even those new states that maintained the bicameralism inherited from the colonial period weakened the governors and upper houses, established annual elections in many cases, began to do away with multiple office holdings, initiated the process of abolition in the North, and proclaimed the sovereignty of a republican people free from historical restraints of royal patriarchy and deferential traditions. Based as they were on the startling notion that human nature could be molded into a better, more virtuous form under the right, revolutionary circumstances, these governments reflected and furthered the utopian and

universalist ideals within revolutionary thought. It is these impulses that gave the American Revolution its transatlantic appeal.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE BRITISH ISLES

European intellectuals who had been studying classical history and philosophy throughout the eighteenth century now saw these ideals put into effect in a new and revolutionary society. Their fascination took on a real political force, with drastic consequences in a number of societies. The improbable, if not miraculous, American victory against a world superpower only enhanced the notion, as a contemporary put it, that the American Revolutionaries were to be “the Vindicators of the Rights of Mankind in every Quarter of the Globe.” The spread of revolutionary republicanism to France greatly amplified their impact in the Atlantic world and northern Europe. After 1789 political unrest came to define life in that huge expanse. Clearly, part of what drove this unrest was knowledge of republican revolutions in America and France.

The explosion in France that began in 1789 profoundly affected all Western societies and indeed beyond. Large numbers of French subjects participated in the American cause on their own account; hundreds of French officers and tens of thousands of men fought with the formal French expeditionary force that aided the American cause after 1778, and French intellectuals studied American Revolutionary principles in reading clubs, Masonic lodges, and salons. Those who had fought in America discussed the American Revolution with friends and neighbors; American writings including the state constitutions were published in French and other languages, allowing the European intellectual caste to discuss them; and Americans themselves visited Europe and spread word of their revolutionary accomplishments. Perhaps the most famous and influential of these “visitors” was the English-born author of *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine, whose *Rights of Man* (1791) became a central text in the defense of the French Revolution from its all too numerous critics. Paine explicitly linked the French and American revolutions in his dedication of the English-language version to George Washington, whose “exemplary Virtue” in defense of freedom had helped create the preconditions where “the New World” might by its example “regenerate the old.”

In America initial near-universal support for the French Revolution eventually gave way to acrimony and disagreement. In 1794 the Massachusetts Con-

stitution Society declared that on the French Revolution’s success “depends not only the future happiness and prosperity of Frenchmen, but in our opinion of the whole world of Mankind.” The Charleston Society of Charleston, South Carolina, petitioned the Jacobin Club of Paris for membership, which the Frenchmen quickly granted. By then, though, the radical turn of that revolution, signaled by the execution of America’s former ally Louis XVI, had fractured the American body politic severely enough to lead to the rise of the first party system. The French example was blamed for much disorder in America, including the Whiskey Rebellion and the appearance of the party system itself, still seen as an undesirable development in a republican society.

The bitter struggle between the Federalists and the Democratic Republicans that dominated American society in the latter half of the 1790s was in large part driven by the question of the degree to which, if at all, the American Republic should support revolutionary France. Jefferson and his supporters among the Democratic Republicans urged assistance to a sister republic as part of a broader goal of global republicanization, whereas Washington, Hamilton, and the Federalists urged strict neutrality and leaned toward Great Britain in terms of commercial policy as manifested in Jay’s Treaty. The resulting controversies almost led to civil war in America.

In Britain response to French developments quickly took on reactionary tones and led to a rallying around George III and the royal family. Although the new revolution across the Channel initially had support in some circles, the revolutionary excesses after 1792, the repudiation of Christianity, and the outbreak of war between revolutionary France and the remaining European monarchies (including Britain, which declared war against revolutionary France in 1793), steered British opinion onto a decidedly conservative path. English and Scottish intellectuals who embraced Enlightenment ideals recoiled at the bloodshed across the Channel.

However, the rejection of the radical egalitarianism associated with the American and French revolutions was not universal in the British Isles. In Ireland religious and national resentments, combined with admiration for the French, encouraged a widespread but failed uprising in 1798, the so-called Year of the French. Despite the bloodshed and anticlericalism in France, support for republicanism and revolutionary France was strong among Belfast Presbyterians, who, together with other groups, formed the United Irishmen in 1791 with the goal of establishing an

Irish revolutionary republic. By 1797 the United Irishmen had 100,000 members.

A rebellion near Dublin in May 1798 was put down by British authorities, led by the same Lord Cornwallis defeated by the French and Americans at Yorktown in 1781. Soldiers of France's revolutionary army landed in county Mayo in August 1798 in an effort to pry it from English control, but the effort came too late. Dissent continued for years thereafter, and a republican underground came into being that would exist in various guises in Ireland thereafter.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN POLAND AND NORTHERN EUROPE

To imagine the effects of this republican intellectual upheaval as limited to America and France, or even America, France, and the British Isles, would be a serious error. A fourth nation, Poland, also erupted into a violent upheaval, one that would be used by its neighbors as an excuse to dismember it. Perhaps the least known (to Americans) of the republican revolutions, this unrest grew directly from the American and French examples and again involved soldiers who fought in the American war. In 1791 the Polish assembly ratified the Constitution of 3 May that in effect turned the nation into a constitutional monarchy. Prussia and Russia dismembered the Polish nation in 1792 by means of military invasion. In 1794 Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who had served with distinction in the Continental Army in the southern campaigns, entered Poland and issued the Act of Insurrection, calling for a free and republicanized Poland. His rebellion was crushed by the Prussians in October 1794, and he was forced to flee to America. Republicanism, democracy, and various forms of constitutional monarchy became subjects of current discussion in intellectual and political circles throughout Northern Europe in this same period. By 1781 the constitutions of all thirteen states had been translated into Dutch, and intellectuals associated with the so-called Patriot party cited the Massachusetts constitution of 1780 in their calls to reform the government of the Netherlands in 1785. In the German-speaking nations of central Europe, a mixture of German newspapers and French, English, and German-language pamphlets carried both information about the course of events in the American rebellion and the principles of the Revolutionaries to German readers. According to one German writer, "during the American Wars, the only talk in Europe was about liberty." As in France and the Netherlands, the intellectuals of otherwise tradition-bound societies found a source of fascination and endless debate in American developments, which seemed an experi-

ment in the enlightened ideas then afoot in learned circles in Europe. Little did they know that the end result of the embrace of these ideals in France and elsewhere would be a defeated Prussia and Austria dominated by the emperor Napoleon. Significant republican intellectual and political ferment even spread to Scandinavia, where a wave of change and reform took place and was directly linked to the earlier republican ferment in America.

THE CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

The impact of republicanism in the Caribbean and Latin America was no less profound. The most immediate reaction occurred in the French-owned part of the island of Saint Domingue, in what became Haiti. There, the oppressive plantation system dominated by a small group of white planters who exploited hundreds of thousands of African slaves to provide sugar and coffee to European markets was destabilized by the spread of revolutionary ideals from Paris. Although the initial meeting of the French National Assembly did not directly attack slavery in the French Caribbean, it did raise the question of political rights for mulattos, which became the first crack in the edifice of slavery. Soon the *blancs* began fighting among themselves, some resisting revolution, others wanting a cautious revolution, still others pushing for a radical revolution including some or full political rights for the mulatto population. Finally, in August 1791 the explosion came. A huge servile rebellion, eventually involving hundreds of thousands slaves, drove the planter class from the island. Attempts by French, British, and Spanish forces to intervene failed, and Haiti was established as a free republic, much to the horror of slaveholders in the United States and elsewhere.

The continuation of republican revolutions in the nineteenth century in Latin America and Europe, the actors in which repeatedly invoked the American example to justify their own actions, speak to the profound alteration in world politics that began in the 1770s. From this period forward, movements proclaiming the ultimate sovereignty and welfare of a disembodied "people" were seen as legitimate challengers to the monarchical and oligarchic orders that dominated western society.

See also **America and the World; Americans in Europe; Boston Tea Party; British Empire and the Atlantic World; Classical Heritage and American Politics; Constitutionalism: Overview; Constitutionalism: American Colonies; Democratic Republicans; European Influences: Enlightenment**

Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; European Responses to America; Federalists; Founding Fathers; Haitian Revolution; Intolerable Acts; Jay's Treaty; Paine, Thomas; Philosophy; Revolution: Diplomacy; Revolution: European Participation; Slavery: Slavery and the Founding Generation; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World; Whiskey Rebellion.

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REVOLUTION AS CIVIL WAR: PATRIOT-LOYALIST CONFLICT

The American Revolution was not simply the uprising of united American colonists fighting for independence against a British Empire unified in its desire to impose its will upon the colonies. Instead, the war involved the complex internal squabbles of a diverse population, with allegiances often hinging on uncertain circumstances. In a civil war, hostile action erupts between two groups

(usually fielding conventional armies) within the same country, groups whose claims to political power and identity have proven irreconcilable. By this standard, the American Revolution often partook of the characteristics of a civil war.

OUTLINES OF THE CONFLICT

Historians who have focused on the political ideology and religious beliefs of the colonists have illustrated several points of divergence among Americans. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Low Church Anglicans (who sought a Church of England independent of state apparatus), those who sought to foster America's economic independence, and those who supported westward expansion tended to side with the Patriots. Many of these groups eagerly participated in the revolutionary movement, with its ideas about representative government, popular sovereignty, and religious and political liberty. While these supporters of the rebellion might be found throughout the British Empire, they were concentrated most heavily in New England, the Chesapeake, and interior lands stretching southward from Pennsylvania.

Loyalism tended to flourish among High Church Anglicans (who sought greater fusion of church and state), employees of the crown, strategists who sought to limit American expansion, civilians who depended upon British military protection, and those who supported British mercantile policy. These groups were more common in the Lower South and the middle colonies, though they were significant minorities in New England and the Chesapeake as well. The British also found allies among the inhabitants of Canada and the Caribbean, important Indian tribes such as the Iroquois and Cherokee, and thousands of southern blacks who believed that the British Empire held a greater promise of freedom.

There were numerous exceptions to these generalizations; nevertheless, this broad split represented significant ideological and denominational rifts within the British Empire. Such divisions were evident on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, and they helped to raise the stakes in the minds of many Americans about the consequences of this civil conflict.

THE CHAOS OF INTERNECINE WAR

The American Revolution resembled a civil war most clearly in the sphere of military action. In some areas, civil war was less apparent because one side or another predominated. In much of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New England, rebellious Americans successfully suppressed Loyalism, just as the British effectively squelched any pockets of sympathy for

the Patriots in Canada and elsewhere. On the other hand, both sides waged an often bloody civil conflict in many other places: the coastline, the Lower South, New Jersey, New York, and the lands west of the Appalachian Mountains. The Revolutionary War was not merely the unanimous uprising of Americans against a distant and monolithic British Empire, but something more divisive and complex.

Any civil war polarizes the two warring sides; in addition, civil war also creates gray areas and gray loyalties of various kinds. Apathy, hesitation, self-interest, and pacifism abounded, particularly in a war where English-speaking Protestants were fighting one another. (On the other hand, many focused on the participation of blacks, Indians, Hessian mercenaries, and French allies as a reason to fight for one side or the other.) Many Americans simply wanted to be left to their own devices. Patriots often tried to shock these fence-sitters into commitment by requiring loyalty oaths. Yet thousands of Americans clung to a desire for neutrality—during an early British siege attempt on Charleston, South Carolina, in 1779, a group of civilian leaders asked Great Britain to grant the city neutral status.

Perhaps a fifth of all people in the thirteen rebellious colonies were Loyalists, and as many as nineteen thousand Americans may have enlisted to fight for the crown. Some Americans found themselves aligning or collaborating with whichever party was more powerful in the area where they lived. Loyalism and Patriotism might spring from vengeance, resentment, fear, coercion, local disputes, opportunism, or short-term financial incentives in addition to broader ideological or economic reasons for supporting or opposing Great Britain.

British leaders could never decide whether to prosecute a relentless, destructive war or adopt a more conciliatory posture. Many Loyalists and British officers gained reputations for advocating a “fire and sword” approach toward fighting the Americans, while the Americans themselves occasionally destroyed Indian and white settlements, including large cities such as Norfolk, Virginia, during the course of the war. On the periphery of armed conflict, both sides engaged in ambushes, raids, plunder, brutality, banditry, depredations, and the settling of private scores. Cooler heads on both sides deplored such actions. Many Patriots believed that irregular war undermined the new nation’s claims to civility, while some supporters of the crown hoped to reconcile the rebellious element in America. This conciliatory attitude clashed with more aggressive ap-

proaches, and Great Britain’s inconsistent policy hindered its war effort.

The role of the Loyalists in the American Revolution has been both underestimated and overestimated. On the one hand, the presence of Loyalists and neutrals demonstrates how tenuous the rebels’ influence might have been in North America had the British been willing and able to exert their full military might. On the other hand, Great Britain never took full advantage of the inchoate mass of Loyalists and their military potential. After 1778, when the British began attempting to mobilize Loyalists more fully, they leaned too heavily on these scattered groups of supporters, undermining any chance of military success. Through its initial hesitation, Britain failed to drive North America into full-blown civil war. Through its subsequent miscalculations, the British ministry failed to prosecute a civil war effectively.

The American Revolution pitted neighbors and families against one another as surely as any civil war. Military exigencies and deeper sources of disagreement fractured North America during the course of this long and bloody conflict.

See also **Loyalists; Revolution: Military History.**

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REVOLUTION OF 1800 *See* **Election of 1800.**

RHETORIC Rhetoric is the art and theory of persuasive speech and argument. A branch of scholarship that dates back to the Greek democracy, rhetoric has long been associated with service to public life and civic engagement. It is best symbolized by the idealized figure of the orator, who represented the finest characteristics of a culture and who, through eloquent speech, articulated the culture's public affairs in a manner that reflected its values. Classical rhetoricians believed that public language must be educated and refined but also approachable, free of jargon, and designed for the nonspecialist, a belief that was continued into the early national period in the United States.

During the early American Republic, rhetoric became an essential aspect of higher education for lawyers, politicians, and ministers, who formally addressed the public. In addition, male and female students at all educational levels studied rhetoric because, educators believed, it enhanced the civic engagement of the young. Whereas later in the nineteenth century rhetoric would come to have negative connotations, Americans during the early Republic felt that rhetoric taught youth to be proper members of a democratic public. The pedagogical emphasis on instruction in rhetoric reveals the extent to which the United States at that time remained a culture powerfully reliant on oratory and orality.

The Stoic philosophers of ancient Greece are credited with having caused rhetoric to be considered a significant branch of philosophy. They thought that knowledge from philosophy and other disciplines was, by itself, inert and therefore in need of rhetorical persuasion to propel it into effective use in the arena of human affairs. Early American public-speaking manuals particularly celebrated the Roman orator Cicero (106–43 B.C.) as a model of eloquence and incorruptible morality and suggested that his oratory had helped to protect the Roman republic from tyranny. Americans also idealized Quintilian (35?–? A.D.), a Roman teacher posthumously famous for his writings on rhetoric in *Institutio Oratoria* (*The Orator's Education*), for his advancement of polished speech and personal integrity.

Although most refer to it as an “art,” rhetoric was generally understood as a body of rules to be learned by students. According to classical practice, rhetoric was divided into five parts, each of equal importance: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. This formula meant that the orator treated the logic of an argument or the development of an idea as standing on equal ground with matters

of style, such as the verbal flourishes and metaphors or the orator's vocal inflections and gesture. The orator must master all of these “parts,” so the reasoning went, in order to fully engage and persuade an audience. By the mid-eighteenth century, educational institutions came to rely on classically inspired works like *A System of Oratory* (1759) by the British rhetorician John Ward, which relied heavily on the ideas of Cicero and Quintilian. Ward's *System* became the most popular text on rhetoric in American colleges until the end of the century.

Americans' eighteenth-century embrace of the classical model of rhetoric represented a sharp break with seventeenth-century American practice, which idealized a far less elaborate, plain style of delivery and made a firm distinction between “style” and “substance.” This earlier view was best expressed in the rhetorical theory of Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) of the University of Paris, whose writings were imported by instructors at Harvard and other American colleges during the seventeenth century. Ramus considered logic to be the central characteristic of a good sermon, and rhetoric to be only so much verbal display. As Americans moved away from Ramistic rhetoric and toward classical rhetorics, they came into line with current European and especially British public speaking and scholarship.

This shift also reflected much broader cultural changes toward an emphasis on public opinion and the engagement and persuasion of audiences. With an upsurge in the popularity of evangelical religion and participatory politics, Ramistic rhetoric—which paid little attention to adapting a speech to specific audiences or situations—now appeared out of step with a dynamic and complex society. In keeping with these developments, American colleges began to shift in focus from primarily training ministers to providing a liberal education for men with other professional intentions, such as the law or commerce. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, colleges placed rhetoric at the center of instruction and emphasized its public and civic characteristics. Students took rhetoric in all four years, participated in daily oral disputations and oral examinations, and usually culminated their degrees with a public oration before an audience of local dignitaries. Students also formed extracurricular debating societies to further develop these skills. Such a focus within higher education reflected not only the growing sense that all well-educated men must be adept at oratory but also that they must learn to persuade diverse audiences. Neither was this a movement limited to the privileged or highly educated; in most American cities and towns

after the Revolution, groups of noncollegiate young men formed debating societies to practice skills in argument and delivery.

The new emphasis on gauging one's audience and respecting public opinion did not fundamentally change the long-standing hierarchical relationship between an orator and his audience, but it did provide new political possibilities in the American colonies. Public speaking became a key art form for Americans before the Revolution, when oratory helped to galvanize the American public and to establish an argument for independence. Annual speeches commemorating the Boston Massacre of 1770 and the fiery oratory of Patrick Henry helped to create a convincing narrative of intolerable British tyranny. Americans came to see oratory as so important that, after the Revolution, when constructing buildings for Congress and for state governments, architects added galleries from which visitors might enjoy legislative address and debate. In turn, Americans learned to associate their leaders with fine oratory and to criticize them when they failed to live up to the public's standards.

Alongside the growing importance of neoclassical rhetoric, two other important rhetorical movements arose and gained influence during the late eighteenth century. The first was the elocutionary movement, which taught adherents to convey ideas and emotions successfully to their auditors by focusing extensively on the delivery of public speech. Elocutionists provided methods for modulating one's voice, gesture, and facial expression in ways that were believed to capture emotions and "natural" expression. They argued that better training in graceful and persuasive delivery would correct the dry, logical argument that had limited the effectiveness of both secular and religious speech in the past. All forms of speech were seen to benefit from this instruction—from everyday conversations to formal public oratory—making this a far more inclusive movement than one directed solely at the high-born or to aspiring formal orators.

In part because of its seemingly universal applications, elocution became particularly influential at the American common-school level and in academies and was prescribed for both male and female students. Schools had long employed oral recitation as a fundamental aspect of daily lessons, but during the early Republic, recitation became strongly allied with elocutionary techniques to the extent that most schoolbooks contained instructions for vocal inflection and gesture reprinted from prominent elocutionary writings. Indeed, elocution was so ubiqui-

tous in childhood education that schoolbook compilers defined reading as an oral exercise, and "correct" reading as "founded upon the principles of elocution," as did Montgomery Bartlett in his *The Practical Reader* (1822).

The second rhetorical movement to become prominent in the late eighteenth century was belletristic rhetoric, which displayed a new concern with the aesthetic experience of persuasive speech. Belletristic theorists brought together rhetoric and the belles lettres (from the French for "fine letters"), a broad category often referred to as "polite literature" or "fine learning" and that encompassed a knowledge of philosophy, literature, history, biography, and linguistics. Influential Scottish writers such as Adam Smith and Hugh Blair advocated an elegant style of address that revealed the speaker's knowledge of literature. Many of the orators who came to the cultural forefront during the early nineteenth century and saw their speeches reprinted for broad dissemination, including Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, made use of this fine and lofty style. These speakers and their political contemporaries in the years leading up to the Civil War were so famous for their carefully wrought arguments and inspiring speech that this would later be called "the golden age of American oratory."

Both elocution and the belles lettres were rhetorical movements that were shared across the Atlantic; more distinctive to the American context was the middling oratorical style, or "democratic idiom," as the historian Kenneth Cmiel has termed it. This style married elements of the grander belletristic style with less formal aspects, such as colloquial language and folksy charm more common to ordinary people. As Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most popular speakers of the antebellum era, famously put it in 1835, "he is sure of popularity who can come down among the people and address truth to them in their own homely way and with broad humor—and at the same time has an upper current of taste and chaste expression and condensed vigor." The middling style of address indicated to listeners that an orator put on few airs about an elite background or education, yet retained the ability to elevate the thoughts and feelings of the audience.

One of the sources of this "democratic idiom" was the fiery religious oratory of the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century, when some of the most popular speakers were uneducated people with great skills in persuasive, direct address. Although this style would flower most fully in the 1830s, the contrast between it and the belletristic

style played an important role in the 1828 presidential election. John Quincy Adams, who had previously held the position of Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory at Harvard, ran against the plain-talking Tennessee lawyer and military hero Andrew Jackson. The candidates' supporters played up the great differences in style between the two men. So, although neither candidate ever electioneered on his own behalf, Jackson's election helped to usher in a new era of popular politics that eschewed refinement and elitism.

These changes in American political culture would eventually contribute to a fundamental shift in the common understanding of rhetoric. Rather than referring to public-spirited speech by the honorable orator, "rhetoric" came to connote the inflated, empty, and even deceptive words of speakers who had their own interests at heart. During the early American Republic, however, rhetoric remained associated with virtuous eloquence that galvanized the public to unified action toward the common good.

See also **Education: Colleges and Universities; Election of 1828; Political Culture; Revivals and Revivalism.**

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towns of Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren, and Bristol. Newport continued to prosper commercially, but Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay, began to challenge it for supremacy. This rivalry assumed political dimensions, and by the late 1740s a system of two-party politics developed, with opposing groups headed by Samuel Ward and Stephen Hopkins. Generally speaking, the merchants and farmers of Newport and South County (Ward's faction) battled with their counterparts from Providence and its environs (led by Hopkins) to secure control of the powerful legislature for the vast patronage at the disposal of that body.

By the end of the colonial era, Rhode Island had developed a brisk commerce with the entire Atlantic community, including England, the Portuguese islands, Africa, South America, and the West Indies. Rhode Island merchants outdid those of any other mainland colony in the lucrative slave trade. Though agriculture was far and away the dominant occupation, commercial activities flourished in Newport, Providence, and Bristol and in lesser ports. In 1774 the colony had 59,707 residents, who lived in twenty-nine incorporated municipalities (up from 32,773 in the census of 1748).

THE REVOLUTIONARY ERA, 1763–1790

Rhode Island was a leader in the American Revolutionary movement. Beginning with strong opposition in Newport to the Sugar Act (1764), with its restrictions on the molasses trade, the colony engaged in repeated measures of open defiance, such as the burning of the British revenue schooner *Gaspée* in 1772. Gradually Ward's and Hopkins's factions came together to endorse a series of political responses to alleged British injustices. On 17 May 1774, after parliamentary passage of the Coercive Acts, the Providence Town Meeting became the first governmental assemblage to issue a call for a general congress of colonies to resist British policy. On 15 June the colony became the first to appoint delegates (Ward and Hopkins) to the anticipated Continental Congress. In April 1775, a week after the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord, the colonial legislature authorized raising a fifteen-hundred-man "army of observation" with Nathanael Greene as its commander. On 4 May 1776 Rhode Island became the first colony to renounce allegiance to King George III. Ten weeks later, on 18 July, the General Assembly ratified the Declaration of Independence. During the war, Rhode Island furnished its share of men, ships, and money to the cause of independence, and helped to create the Continental Navy. Esek Hopkins (broth-

RHODE ISLAND Rhode Island grew significantly during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, both in size and population. A very favorable boundary settlement with Massachusetts in 1747 resulted in the annexation of Cumberland and the East Bay

er of Stephen, a signer of the Declaration of Independence) became the first commander in chief of the Continental Navy and Greene became Washington's second-in-command and chief of the Continental Army in the South.

The British occupied Newport in December 1776. An unsuccessful five-week campaign to evict them in July and August 1778 was the first combined effort of the Americans and their French allies. The highlight of that campaign was an American victory on 29 August in the Battle of Rhode Island—a ten thousand-man engagement that is the largest battle ever fought in New England. The British voluntarily evacuated Newport in October 1779, but in July 1780 the French army under Rochambeau landed there and made the port town its base of operations. It was from Newport, Bristol, Providence, and other Rhode Island encampments that the French began their march to Yorktown in 1781.

In 1783 the General Assembly removed the arbitrarily imposed disability against Roman Catholics (dating from 1719) by giving members of that religion “all the rights and privileges of the Protestant citizens of this state.” Most significant of several statutes relating to blacks was the emancipation act of 1784, a manumission measure that gave freedom to all children born to slave mothers after 1 March 1784.

Newport's exposed location, the incidence of Loyalist sentiments among its townspeople, and its temporary occupation by the British led to its decline. In 1774 its population was 9,209; by 1782 that figure had dwindled to 5,532. From this period forward, Providence—more sheltered at the head of the bay and a center of Revolutionary activity—and its surrounding mainland communities grew and prospered.

In 1778 the state had quickly ratified the Articles of Confederation, with its weak central government, but when the movement to strengthen that government developed in the mid-1780s, Rhode Island balked. Because of the state's individualism, its democratic localism, and its tradition of autonomy, it resisted the centralizing tendencies of the federal Constitution. Rhode Island declined to dispatch delegates to the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, which drafted the United States Constitution, and then delayed ratification until 1790. The ratification tally on 29 May 1790, thirty-four in favor and thirty-two opposed, was the narrowest of any state.

RHODE ISLAND IN THE NEW REPUBLIC, 1790–1830

During the early years of the Republic, the always romantic and sometimes lucrative China trade flourished, then declined, and finally expired in 1841. Rhode Island weathered both a major hurricane (the Great Gale of 1815) and a locally unpopular confrontation with England (the War of 1812). Providence evolved from town to city (1832), and its political party system experienced two phases of opposition: Federalists vs. Democratic Republicans (1794–1817) and National Republican/Whigs vs. Democrats (1828–1854). In two momentous changes, the state's economy transformed from an agrarian-commercial to an industrial base, and, after a long period of reform agitation and a serious political upheaval known as the Dorr Rebellion (1841–1842), government transformed from colonial charter to written state constitution.

In 1790 a cotton-spinning frame similar to those used in England was reconstructed and put to use in a mill at Pawtucket Falls on the Blackstone River. This marked the first time cotton yarn was spun by waterpower in America. The men chiefly responsible for this promising venture were Providence merchants Moses Brown, Smith Brown, and William Almy, and Samuel Slater, a young English immigrant with technical knowledge and managerial experience acquired in the cotton mills of his native land. By the late 1820s the processing of cotton displaced commerce as the backbone of the Rhode Island economy. From the mid-1820s onward, Irish Catholics came to Rhode Island in ever-increasing numbers to labor on public works projects, such as canals and railroads, or to work in the textile mills and metals factories.

For a century cotton production, woolens production, a base-metals industry, and the manufacture of precious metals, especially gold and silver jewelry, steadily expanded and dominated the state's economic life. Meanwhile agriculture declined, and many rural towns experienced a substantial emigration. With an 1830 population of 97,210, tiny Rhode Island was emerging as America's first predominantly urban-industrial state.

See also **Anti-Catholicism; Cotton; Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; New England; Providence, R.I.; Sugar Act.**

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Patrick T. Conley

RICHMOND Founded in 1742, Richmond became the capital of Virginia in 1780. The initial city charter allowed male property owners to elect a council, known as the “Common Hall,” twelve citizens who appointed the mayor from their membership. After the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in 1774, delegates to the Virginia Convention descended on Richmond to organize defenses and a provisional government. In support of independence, Richmond provided soldiers, guns, gunpowder, and ship rigging. In 1776 the Declaration of Independence was read publicly in Richmond, and in 1788 the Virginia Convention, meeting in Richmond, ratified the Constitution of the United States. Richmond’s population grew from 600 inhabitants in 1770 to 5,706 in 1820. Early settlers included Germans from Philadelphia seeking land and Scottish tobacco merchants, but after the Revolution, European immigrants arrived from Haiti, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. Settlers included Jews, who founded the Beth Shalome synagogue, and blacks, who made up around one-half the population.

Tobacco, coal, wheat, and black laborers were essential to Richmond’s economy. Tobacco was Richmond’s oldest economic sector; in the city it was warehoused, shipped, and manufactured into chewing tobacco. Between 1790 and 1830, coal output near Richmond grew from 22,000 to 100,000 tons annually. Richmond shipped coal to American cities, the West Indies, and Europe. As wheat became Virginia’s major crop, Richmond increased its production of flour and shipped it to South America and California. Richmond manufacturers produced iron, gunpowder, ceramics, beer, musical instruments, paper, cotton textiles, coaches, soaps, and candles. Black slaves worked not only as domestic servants, but also in the flour, tobacco, and coal mining industries. Free blacks dominated the skilled crafts, includ-

ing blacksmithing, coopering, masonry, and carpentry. At Richmond’s slave auctions, traders sold Virginia-born blacks locally, but also sold them south to cotton plantations. The foreign trade embargo of 1807–1809, the War of 1812, and the Panic of 1819 weakened Richmond’s industries and export businesses, which did not recover until the 1830s.

In the early national period, Richmond experienced technological and political change. Transportation and communication improved with the introduction of stagecoaches, canals, bridges, and steamboats. Politically, the Republican Party prevailed in the state as a whole, but Federalists dominated Richmond. In 1800, however, Jefferson carried Richmond in the presidential election. Operating from the capital, the Richmond Junto controlled Virginia’s Republican organization. The three-man junto, including Judge Spencer Roane, the newspaper editor Thomas Ritchie, and Dr. John Brockenbrough, made officeholders dependent upon their backing and, by influencing financial decisions, controlled the party’s purse strings. Junto members served on the boards of the Bank of Virginia and the Farmers Bank of Virginia, both based in Richmond.

In 1800 Gabriel Prosser secretly planned an insurrection involving thousands of other slaves in Richmond and throughout slaveholding areas of Virginia and North Carolina. Betrayed at the last minute, the conspirators delayed their plans, giving whites time to respond. Gabriel’s Rebellion forced whites to abandon naïve conceptions of blacks as contented within a violent slave labor system. In 1829 and 1830, delegates to a constitutional convention debated slavery and the low representation of nonslaveholding western counties in the state legislature and, ultimately, adopted a new constitution. In 1831 Nat Turner’s slave insurrection reignited these issues. When the Virginia General Assembly convened in Richmond, state legislators narrowly voted down a proposal to abolish slavery.

See also **Constitution, Ratification of; Gabriel’s Rebellion; Virginia.**

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Pamela C. Edwards

RIGHTS See **Natural Rights**.

RIOTS Between 1754 and 1829, Americans violently hammered out their new national identity. From the Regulator Movement in North Carolina in the late colonial period to labor strife in New York City in the 1820s, the inhabitants of what became the United States continually invoked violence to voice social and political discontent. As often as people rioted to reshape their communities, they rioted to preserve what rioters considered acceptable behavior. Whatever their goals, most people turned to rioting only when nothing else worked.

Authorities in North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries usually considered riotous any unauthorized crowd of several people that tried to establish its will through the use of force. Force included outright violence, including physical assault on a person or persons, and intimidation. Who authorities labeled a “rioter” depended on local circumstances; they preferred to prosecute leaders of riots. Although wealthy men led some crowds, leaders usually emerged from among the crowd. The rioters’ methods and aspirations did not fundamentally change from 1754 to 1829, but the Revolution qualitatively transformed rioting as participants used revolutionary language to legitimate new riots.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ERAS

In the late colonial period, (1754–1775), rioters drew on various traditions of violence. Many built on the European tradition of “rough music” to correct the sometimes deviant behavior of their neighbors. In a typical example of the rite in 1754, a crowd of women in New York City chased a Mrs. Wilson and pelted her with rocks for allegedly committing adultery. Other rioters looked elsewhere for models of ritual violence. In 1763 the Paxton Boys murdered several peaceful Conestoga Indians to protest the

Pennsylvania government’s refusal to fund a militia to protect farmers from attacks by hostile Indians. They used the same kind of stylized violence that Indians had utilized to kill white settlers.

During the Revolutionary era (1763–1789), crowds built on these traditions of violence when they protested political and social injustice. The Stamp Act protests illustrate that although elites sometimes led crowds, they withdrew their support when riots threatened their interests. In Boston during August 1765, Samuel Adams built on celebrations of Pope’s Day (5 November)—which commemorated an attempt to blow up Parliament in 1605—to protest the Stamp Act. Approximately two weeks after the crowd action he had organized, however, Adams called for the arrest of men responsible for another crowd action to protest growing disparities in wealth and power in Boston, a crowd that sacked the house of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Rural rebels of the same period, including land rioters in New York’s Hudson Valley and Regulators in North Carolina, invoked the language of the Sons of Liberty when they rioted, hoping to legitimate their struggles for political and economic equality by aligning with struggles against Parliament. Authorities, some of whom were Sons of Liberty, reacted harshly to these rural riots in large part because these rioters often rejected their leadership. Rioting against British imperial rule culminated in the Boston Tea Party in December 1773 when some Bostonians refused to pay a tax that provided funds to cover the costs of colonial government. The rioters disguised themselves as Indians, boarded three ships in Boston Harbor, and dumped three hundred chests of tea into the water.

During the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), crowds made demands for subsistence part of the movement for independence. In nearly thirty instances during the first four years of the war, men and women rioted to control prices of vital commodities such as bread. In uprisings reminiscent of European bread riots, crowds of mostly women delivered ultimatums to their victims, couching their demands in the language of liberty and independence. They then assaulted these allegedly disloyal and unpatriotic shopkeepers for refusing to lower their exorbitant prices or for stockpiling goods to create false scarcities so they could then raise prices. These rioters disguised themselves, blackened their faces, and like participants in the Boston Tea Party, dressed like Indians to avoid identification.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The drive for independence forever changed rioting in the United States by giving rioters a new language drawn from that politically, socially, and culturally transformative event. After the war, rioters combined Revolutionary rhetoric with a European tradition of violence to legitimate their often-violent attempts to determine either who would rule the nation or how the nation should be ruled. Rioters who took part in Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787), the Whiskey Rebellion (1794), and Fries's Rebellion (1798) all invoked Revolutionary language to address local, state, or federal abuses of power. Similarly, Gabriel Prosser legitimated his slave rebellion in 1800 with words drawn directly from the pens of revolutionaries such as Thomas Jefferson. Animosity toward Britain lingered and exploded when rioters in Baltimore in June 1812 destroyed the presses of a printer who opposed war with Britain.

In the 1820s native-born whites, worried that immigrants jeopardized their welfare, attacked their economic opponents throughout the country, especially in cities such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In 1824 and 1825, ethnically motivated violence marked New York and Philadelphia as riots broke out among canal workers, weavers, and dockworkers, with the latter destroying ships to force employers to meet their demands. Independence and liberty meant different things to these groups, but the words bore meanings forever attached to them in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1787.

From 1754 to 1829, riotous crowds utilized European traditions of violence to voice their discontent with their rulers, their material condition, or their sexually deviant neighbors. Rioters often tried to establish their brand of authority, or their notion of what society ought to be, by temporarily turning their world upside down and by using highly ritualized institutions to attack their opponents. Some of these rioters attacked victims and took over official institutions because they knew that officials would not address the rioters' grievances and that insurgents would not receive equitable treatment in any official proceeding such as a court. These crowds used the terror and violence of rioting to achieve their aspirations. The Revolution provided those who approved of rioting with a new language to express themselves and a new tradition to justify their violence. At the same time the Revolution inspired an egalitarianism that challenged hierarchy, it prompted many Americans to try to better their status or, at the very least, preserve their position. Some did so by rioting.

See also **Boston Massacre; Boston Tea Party; Fries's Rebellion; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Sons of Liberty; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress; Violence; Whiskey Rebellion.**

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ROADS See **Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes.**

ROMANTICISM The late 1790s through the 1820s constitute the early or introductory period of romanticism in the United States, when radically new ideas about literature, philosophy, and theology coming out of England and Germany were first transplanted to American soil. The published works of the English poets William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in particular their *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), proclaimed a self-consciously modern literary and artistic esthetic. Inspired by the social idealism of the French Revolution, Wordsworth and Coleridge celebrated unbounded creativity and individual genius over mundane pursuits, the primacy of feelings and intuition over the rational intellect, and an awe-inspiring, infinite Creation over the finite, mechanistic universe of eighteenth-century natural philosophy. Despite this early introduction, it would be a full generation before the more serious philosophical and theological aspects of romanticism bore mature fruit on American soil in the transcendentalist movement, in the "higher criticism" of the Bible, and in the abolitionists' "higher law" arguments against slavery.



Romantic Landscape (c. 1826). Thomas Cole's romantic view of the American natural scene was based on studies Cole made in the Catskill Mountains in upstate New York. © NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

The romantic fascination with the marvelous and mysterious found popular expression much earlier, however, in the “romance” (also known as the “historical romance”), a literary genre first introduced in the 1810s by Sir Walter Scott’s immensely popular *Waverley* novels. Scott’s richly woven Scottish narratives led some American critics to lament the absence in North America of a feudal past peopled by chivalrous knights and ancient ruins, or of mist-shrouded forests filled with gloomy shadows and ghostly apparitions. Other American writers, however, most notably Washington Irving (1783–1859) and James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), were inspired by Scott’s example to find in the nation’s rough-hewn frontier settlements, dwindling American Indian population, and mythologized colonial and Revolutionary eras subjects suitable for distinctly American romances.

American romanticism’s mature period is centered unavoidably in New England. It is important to note, however, the mid-Atlantic and Southern ori-

gins of many early American romantic writers and artists. Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), whose supernatural tale *Wieland* (1798) is considered the earliest American romance, was born in Philadelphia and spent most of his adult life in Pennsylvania and New York. Cooper’s *Leatherstocking Tales*, a series of five novels begun in 1823 with *The Pioneers* and continued over the next decade in *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Prairie*, *The Pathfinder*, and *The Deerslayer*, together with Irving’s *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1820), represent the coming of age of the American romance. Both Cooper and Irving lived nearly their entire lives in New York State. Edgar Allan Poe (1809–1849), born in Massachusetts, spent most of his life in New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond; the poet William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878), also from Massachusetts, lived and wrote in New York City. Washington Allston (1779–1843), considered the father of American romantic painting, was a native son of South Carolina.

The transition from the early, popular period of American romanticism to its mature philosophical and theological phase is best exemplified by the career of Edward Everett (1794–1865), a Massachusetts-born scholar considered by many contemporaries to be the foremost intellectual of his generation. While a student at Harvard College, Everett, like many of his classmates, first read about German romantic or post-Kantian scholarship in Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* (1813) and in the works of British writers such as Coleridge. After graduating with highest honors, in 1815 Everett accepted an invitation from Harvard to become the Eliot Professor of Greek Literature and negotiated a three-year preparatory trip to Europe. Traveling to Germany with his friend George Ticknor (1791–1871), Everett studied at the University of Göttingen under the direction of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, Germany's foremost scholar of the Hebrew Bible and the leading exponent of biblical "higher criticism." Ticknor returned home after a year abroad to assume the positions of Professor of Belles Lettres and Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures at Harvard. Everett completed his studies in 1817, making him the first American to earn a doctorate at a German university.

In January 1817, Everett published a long essay on Goethe in the *North American Review*, the first significant essay on German romantic literature to appear in an American periodical. Later, as editor of that journal from 1820 to 1824, Everett published a series of influential essays that celebrated the American romance as the first indigenous national literature. A lengthy review essay on Cooper's historical romance *The Spy* (1821) triumphantly asserted that "there never was a nation whose history . . . affords better or more abundant matter for romantic interest than ours." Everett's critical promotion of German romantic literature made a lasting impression on the rising generation of New England intellectuals, in particular the young Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–1882), who lauded Everett's intellectual influence as "comparable to that of Pericles of Athens." Everett, Emerson noted in his journal, was "the first American scholar who sat in the German universities and brought us home in his head their whole cultured methods and results."

After Everett's resignation as editor of the *North American Review*, the periodical's essayists slowly reversed their earlier positive interpretations of the American romance. Dismissing the genre as overly fantastic and cliché-ridden, critics applauded the novel's greater narrative and emotional verisimili-

tude. This portentous shift, which reflected the growing cultural influence of Boston's Unitarian intellectuals, set the stage for the emergence of transcendentalism in the 1830s and for the full flowering of American romanticism in the 1840s and 1850s. James Marsh (1794–1842), a Vermont Congregational minister, was the first American transcendentalist to respond critically to this transformation of New England culture. In a long "Preliminary Essay" to the first American edition of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* (1828), Marsh condemned the arid mixture of British empiricism and Scottish common sense philosophy that dominated American intellectual and religious life. "So long as we hold the doctrines of Locke and the Scottish metaphysicians," Marsh observed, we "can make and defend no essential distinction between that which is *natural*, and that which is *spiritual*." Breaking decidedly with the Unitarians' authorization of scientific naturalism and philosophical realism, Marsh argued that self-inspection, reflecting upon "the mysterious grounds of our own being," was the only means by which individuals could arrive at certain knowledge "of the central and absolute ground of all being."

Younger New England intellectuals such as Emerson, who rejected the "corpse-cold" rationalism of their parent's generation, quickly embraced Marsh's belief that Coleridge provided the philosophical framework for a spiritually reinvigorated religious experience. Fredric Henry Hedge (1805–1890), a student at the University of Göttingen in the late 1810s and a founding member of the Transcendental Club, wrote an 1833 essay on Coleridge that presented the first clear exposition by an American writer of Kant's *Critiques* and of the post-Kantian philosophies of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling. By 1850 New England was awash in romantic and transcendentalist philosophy and theology. Hedge's literary anthology, *Prose Writers of Germany*, was followed quickly by the monumental, multivolume *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, and reviews of British, German, and French romantic writers regularly filled the pages of the *Christian Examiner*, the *Dial*, the *Harbinger*, and other progressive literary and religious periodicals.

Several other important manifestations of mature American romanticism emerged in the antebellum period. In the 1840s perfectionist strands of romantic thought inspired George Ripley (1802–1880), founder of the *Dial* and a former Unitarian minister, to organize and head the utopian community called Brook Farm in Concord, Massachusetts. Similarly, the social reformers John Humphrey Noyes (1811–

1886) and Robert Owens founded, respectively, the Oneida Community in upstate New York and New Harmony in western Indiana. Theodore Parker (1810–1860), a radical Unitarian minister and a devoted student of German philosophy and biblical criticism, stunned Bostonians in the early 1850s with the assertion that an intuited higher moral law took precedence over the recently passed Fugitive Slave Act and the U.S. Constitution. Darker romantic impulses, in turn, drove the writers Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) and Herman Melville (1819–1891) to explore the more mysterious and irrational recesses of the American psyche and to produce the literary masterworks of the American Renaissance.

See also **Abolition Societies; Academic and Professional Societies; Bible; Communitarian Movements and Utopian Communities; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: The French Revolution; Fiction; Poetry; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

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Neil Brody Miller

fifty-two additional members had been elected from the North American British colonies, nineteen of them royal governors and hence in a position to encourage investigations in "natural philosophy." The remaining thirty-three were chosen because their interests made them likely to carry out such investigations. Winthrop—Connecticut's governor for eighteen years—satisfied both expectations. The telescope he gave to Harvard College made possible observations that were useful to Isaac Newton (1642–1727), and among his own contributions on subjects ranging from alchemy to zoology was a paper showing that maize, or Indian corn, is a nutritious human food.

Winthrop was in London seeking a royal charter for his colony when he was elected, but most other colonials were nominated by society members and elected *in absentia*. Since few of them could attend meetings, for ninety years these overseas members were treated like other Englishmen living forty miles or more from London; they were exempt from all membership fees. Beginning in 1752, however, the colonials also were assessed to help pay for the society's publication of its *Philosophical Transactions*. Colonial residents vied to put "F.R.S." after their names, and the society continued to welcome those qualified to contribute to its *Philosophical Transactions*, which printed at least 260 papers from the British colonies of North America prior to the American Revolution.

The most significant American contributor of the next generation was Cotton Mather (1663–1728), who sent his *Curiosa Americana* to the society over the course of twelve years (1712–1724) in the form of eighty-two letters. Mather's observations, both original and copied from ephemeral publications, were read to the society, although only a few were published in its *Transactions*. Many of his reports embodied the superstitions of his time, yet Mather did describe smallpox inoculation in Boston, of which he himself had learned from the *Philosophical Transactions*, and he was one of the first to study plant hybridization. He also differed from earlier colonial contributors by his willingness not merely to collect data, but to speculate on its meaning as well.

The Royal Society not only received and disseminated the observations of its members, but also guided research in directions thought to be rewarding. Resident members helped to provide supplies needed for experiments overseas. Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) was stimulated by the apparatus for demonstrating static electricity sent to Philadelphia by society member Peter Collinson (1694–1768), who had earlier motivated the plant collecting of the American

ROYAL SOCIETY, AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT John Winthrop Jr. (1606–1676), the first colonial American member of the Royal Society of London, was made a fellow of the society in the early 1660s, even before it received its charter. By 1783,

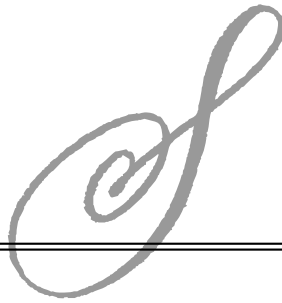
botanist John Bartram (1699–1777). In turn, it was to the Royal Society that Franklin submitted accounts of his experiments. After being read to the society, some of his letters were published in London's *Gentlemen's Magazine*, then collected in his 1751 pamphlet *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*. In 1753 the society awarded Franklin its highest honor, the Copley Medal, for his electricity studies. Transatlantic collegiality was further underscored when the reorganized American Philosophical Society, for which Franklin was the leading promoter, was established in 1769 in Philadelphia and patterned on the Royal Society of London.

See also **Botany; Franklin, Benjamin.**

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Charles Boewe



SABBATARIANISM Most early Americans regarded Sunday as a day of rest, but they disagreed about how best to observe the day. Some colonists, following popular custom dating back to the Middle Ages, passed the day with feasts, ales, dances, fairs, and sporting events. Puritans and the more pietistic colonists, in contrast, regarded Sunday as the biblical Sabbath, set apart for bodily rest and worship. Conflict between these traditions continued into the early national period, gaining increased urgency as Americans debated the duties of republican citizenship.

Like their Puritan forebears, Congregationalists and Presbyterians generally embraced covenant theology, insisting that liberty was a blessing enjoyed only by those people who faithfully obeyed the commandments of God. Assuming the binding force of the Mosaic Law upon Christians, they attached particular significance to the fourth commandment (on keeping the Sabbath), which they regarded as a sign of the perpetual covenant between God and his people. From this perspective Sabbath violations threatened the foundation of civil and religious freedom.

As the nineteenth century opened, ministers tirelessly decried the widespread desecration of the Sabbath. During the War of 1812, countless state and local morals associations appeared, often spearheaded by Congregational and Presbyterian leaders, to

lobby for strict enforcement of state laws against intemperance, profanity, and Sabbath breaking. From 1810 through the 1830s this Sabbatarian impulse came to focus with special intensity upon the U.S. postal system, which had routinely transported and delivered mail on Sunday since the origins of the Republic.

In 1809 Hugh Wylie, the Presbyterian postmaster of Washington, Pennsylvania, was excommunicated from his church for sorting and delivering the mail on Sunday. Wylie, who had acted in conformity with the orders of Postmaster General Gideon Granger, appealed this action to the Ohio Presbytery, the Pittsburgh Synod, and ultimately the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, only to have his excommunication upheld. Wylie had to choose between his job and his church. His dilemma prompted Congress in April 1810 to enact legislation requiring all post offices receiving mail on Sunday to be open at least one hour for delivery during the day.

Sabbatarians regarded this action as a violation of the “rights of conscience” and an improper expansion of federal power into the local arena. A broad coalition of ministers, including Boston Unitarian William Ellery Channing, joined in urging Congress to repeal the new postal law. Soon, however, evangelical Sabbatarians broadened their goals to include not only repeal but also legislation prohibiting even the

transportation of the mail on Sunday. During the following decade Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches sent hundreds of petitions to Congress demanding action to end Sunday mails.

Sabbatarian efforts intensified in 1826 when the Presbyterian General Assembly urged all members to boycott transportation companies that persisted in operating steamboats, stagecoaches, or canal packets on Sunday. The following year Josiah Bissell Jr., a Presbyterian merchant in Rochester, New York, launched a Sabbatarian stagecoach and canal packet company—the Pioneer Line—between Albany and Buffalo. Soon similar companies appeared in other parts of the United States. In May 1828 Bissell joined with Lyman Beecher, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, and several hundred other evangelical ministers and laymen, in founding the General Union for the Promotion of the Christian Sabbath (GUPCS), which spearheaded a second national petition campaign against Sunday mails and worked to transform American attitudes toward the Sabbath.

The Sabbatarian war on Sunday mails had less appeal than most other evangelical crusades of the era. Many Christians believed that in an expanding capitalistic society, transportation of the mail on Sunday constituted a reasonable and even necessary public service. The petition campaigns failed to gain congressional support, while the boycott of non-Sabbatarian businesses sparked deep resentments in many communities and helped to generate an anti-Sabbatarian backlash, especially in western states and inland commercial centers like Rochester. Anti-Sabbatarians, who tended to identify with the emerging Democratic Party, rallied around U.S. senator Richard M. Johnson from Kentucky, who in 1829 gained national fame for his widely reprinted report denouncing the petition campaign as an unconstitutional effort to transform Congress into a sectarian religious body.

Despite the failure of the petition campaign, the Sabbatarian movement helped generate the persistent devotion to the Sabbath that continued to characterize American society right through the Civil War era. Moreover, many Sabbatarian leaders later entered the ranks of the abolition movement, where they applied to the antislavery cause tactics first employed in the fight against Sunday mail. Sabbatarians like U.S. senator Theodore Frelinghuysen from New Jersey, former president of the GUPCS, helped to establish the Whig Party and shape the moralistic ideology that characterized Whiggism.

See also **Reform, Social.**

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James R. Rohrer

ST. LAWRENCE RIVER Flowing 750 miles northeast from Lake Ontario to the Atlantic Ocean, the St. Lawrence River shapes the fate of the peoples on both of its shores. The river, despite its difficult rapids, has long served as a vital transportation conduit for trade, migration, and exploration. Long before European colonization, the river provided fertile hunting and fishing grounds for members of the First Nations. In 1535 Jacques Cartier officially named the river and claimed the area for France. Seventy-three years later, Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec City and settled Montreal in 1611. With these settlements, the river functioned as a barrier between New France and Great Britain.

On its waters, empires have risen and fallen, wars have been fought, and peace has been negotiated. Access to the river helped the British secure victory in the French and Indian War (1756–1763). It allowed the British to scale the cliffs outside Quebec City in 1759, destroy New France, and claim the area for Britain. In 1776 Americans sailed down the St. Lawrence in an attempt to capture British Canada. With the American Revolutionary victory, the river became the border between parts of the new Republic and British Canada. During the War of 1812, President James Madison attempted to annex British Canada by sending a fleet of ships, under the command of General James Wilkinson, down the St. Lawrence River. The Long Sault Rapids prevented Wilkinson from proceeding. On 13 November 1813 he anchored his ships; British and Mohawk warriors soundly defeated his men in the Battle of Crysler's Farm, giving the British control of the river. With the American defeat, the St. Lawrence continued to act as a buffer

and a trade conduit between the Republic and British Canada.

The war highlighted the need for an effective navigation system. Attempts at canal and lock building began and failed as early as 1689. In 1819 the Erie Canal in New York State drew trade away from the St. Lawrence. In response, work began on the La-
chine Canal, which was completed in 1821. Serious modifications continued until the completion of the St. Lawrence Seaway, a system of canals, dams, locks, and channels connecting the Great Lakes, in 1959. In the 1820s the Underground Railroad moved human cargo from the United States across the river and into the freedom of British Canada. Vital trade and transportation continue along the St. Lawrence River.

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Cheryl A. Wells

ST. LOUIS St. Louis, known as the Gateway city, is located near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Its location made it the natural center of economic and political activity for the region as well as the logical starting point for the western expansion of the United States beyond the Mississippi. St. Louis served as the economic and political center of Spanish Upper Louisiana, the starting point for Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery, and the economic and social center of what would become the state of Missouri.

Settled in 1764 by Pierre Laclède, St. Louis was named for King Louis XV of France and his patron saint, Louis IX. Laclède was unaware that France had transferred its claims to the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River to Spain in 1762. Nevertheless, the region remained under French control until the Spanish governor arrived in 1766, after the French and Indian War (1754–1763). St. Louis then served as the seat of government for Spanish Upper Louisiana until the transfer to the United States in 1804.

The city was also the logical economic center for the fur and pelt trades up both rivers, but especially up the Missouri and its drainage. In fact, city resi-

dents were so caught up in trading with the Indians that they took little interest in farming. There were some efforts at agriculture and cash crops in the region, but St. Louis was primarily a commercial city.

In May 1780 the city was the site of one of the battles of the American Revolution. A small British force, along with a few Canadians and Native American allies, assaulted Fort San Carlos. The British were repelled, but the area was on guard for some time after. The conclusion of the American Revolution brought Spain a new, unwanted neighbor, the Americans. The Spanish sought to limit the threat of the Americans to their North American possession. In 1789 the solution was to allow the migration of non-Spaniards into the region on the condition they become Spanish citizens. This offer played a role in the shift of the ethnic makeup of the region away from French and to American, so that by the time of the Louisiana Purchase there was a significant American population already in the region. The city's population growth, not fast by modern standards, was nevertheless steady during the Spanish era, growing to approximately one thousand by 1800.

In 1800 colonial Louisiana was "returned" to the French by the Second Treaty of St. Ildefonso; but France never took effective control of St. Louis or Upper Louisiana. In 1803 France sold Louisiana to the United States. As quoted by William Foley in *The Genesis of Missouri*, U.S. Army captain Amos Stoddard described St. Louis as containing "upwards of 200 houses, mostly very large, and built of stone; it is elevated and healthy, and the people are rich and hospitable. They live in a style equal to those in the large sea-port towns, and I find no want of education among them" (p. 85).

In 1804 St. Louis served as the starting point for Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery. In 1803–1804 the corps' winter camp was outside of the city in Illinois, but both leaders spent significant time in St. Louis preparing for the trip. In 1806 it served as the finishing point of the expedition. Between 1807 and 1820 both Meriwether Lewis (1807–1809) and William Clark (1813–20) would serve the region as territorial governor.

St. Louis remained central to the new district of Louisiana, which was put under the Territory of Indiana in 1804. When Louisiana became a state in 1812, the region in which St. Louis lies was renamed the territory of Missouri. St. Louis's growth accelerated under the new U.S. government as the city's location continued to make it a trade center for the Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers. In 1810 the city had an estimated population of 1,400, out of an

approximate regional population of 20,000, and by 1830 the city's population had grown to approximately 5,000. The county's population, including slaves, grew from 5,677 in 1810 to 10,049 in 1820 to over 14,125 in 1830. Slaves made up 18 percent of the population of St. Louis in 1820 and had grown to about 20 percent by 1830. In 1820 St. Louis County was second, behind Howard County in both total population and slaves; by 1830 it was first. The free black population of St. Louis County made up about 2 percent in 1820 but was down to 1.5 percent in 1830.

St. Louis County would remain a significant commercial, cultural and political center throughout the territorial and early statehood period. The United States government's 1810 "Statement on Manufactures" showed the county as the heart of the Louisiana Territory's limited manufacturing capacity (with the notable exceptions of blacksmiths, shoemakers, and distilleries). As the West was opened, commerce accelerated in St. Louis, and the city became an important center for provisioning and preparing those heading out to the frontier. The arrival of the steamboat contributed to this activity. According to the 1820 census, over 45 percent of the people reported as being involved in commerce in the state of Missouri, as well as over 30 percent of those in manufacturing, lived in St. Louis County. The year 1818 saw the arrival of Louis William Valentine DuBourg, bishop of Louisiana and Floridas, making St. Louis a Catholic See city, as well as the founding of what became St. Louis University, the oldest university west of the Mississippi. When the Diocese of St. Louis was created in 1826 Joseph Rosati became its first bishop.

William Clark lost his 1820 bid to become the first governor of the State of Missouri to Alexander McNair as Missouri entered the Union as a slave state in 1821. The capital moved first to St. Charles and eventually to Jefferson City, but St. Louis continued as an important center of commerce and manufacturing in the state. Among the other significant figures with St. Louis connections were Thomas Hart Benton and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. In 1823 the city of St. Louis changed its form of government, moving from a board of trustees to an elected mayor.

See also **French; Fur and Pelt Trade; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Louisiana Purchase; Mississippi River; Missouri; Missouri Compromise; Slavery: Overview; Spanish Empire.**

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SALEM Settled in 1626 by a small band of English Puritans, Salem, Massachusetts, like most early New England towns, originally encompassed a broad geographic area that was later divided into numerous smaller communities. By 1754 the town encompassed about 8.5 square miles and was one of the most prosperous ports in New England. Salem's densely populated center, which took up less than one-eighth of the town's area, faced Salem Harbor. Surrounding the town core were farms owned by Salem merchants and professionals and smaller plots owned by or rented to Salem's numerous artisans and shopkeepers, who used these lands for grazing and planting.

In 1754 Salem contained 3,462 people. Subsequent censuses reveal that the population grew to 5,337 in 1776 and to 7,291 in 1790, when Salem was the new nation's sixth most populous community. The population reached 12,613 in 1810, when a combination of factors, including the outward migration of some of Salem's most prosperous merchants and the War of 1812, slowed commercial activity in the town. Thereafter its population growth tapered off, reaching only 13,895 in 1830.

During Salem's growth years, various developments in the Atlantic world, the British Empire, and the new nation influenced its economy. Originally the community engaged primarily in "codfish commerce," where fish caught off the New England coast and timber cut from nearby forests were shipped throughout the North Atlantic and the Caribbean in exchange for goods of the West Indies, Spain, France, England, and a variety of other trading partners.

Later Salem's economy underwent a series of transitions as a result of the French and Indian War, independence, and the War of 1812. During the French and Indian conflict, enemy privateers drove much of Salem's fishing fleet from the seas and seized many Salem merchant vessels, but war-generated demand created offsetting opportunities for the town's traders as well. By 1763 Salem's fishermen were back on the water and the town's population rose, although somewhat irregularly, until 1774. Even before the Continental Congress declared American independence, Salem merchants sent out privateers. During the war for independence the town ultimately supplied over 20 percent of privateering vessels from Massachusetts and about 10 percent of all such ships in America. Following independence, Salem developed a complex trade with Europe, Africa, South America, the Far East, and the West Indies.

Although some Salem families had French, German, or African roots, the town population remained rather homogeneously English throughout these years. The African American population was less than 4 percent of the town total in 1754, and less than 2 percent in 1830. In the later year there were only eighty-eight nonnaturalized aliens in town.

From the Revolution through the War of 1812 Salem experienced a variety of political divisions. Several wealthy landed families, which prospered from salaries and fees earned as civil officials, opposed independence, while the merchant, artisan, and seafaring classes in the town supported separation from England. Most Salemites embraced the Constitution, but during the early years of the nation, when party divisions emerged, both Federalists and Democratic Republicans developed strong followings in the town.

See also **China Trade; Shipbuilding Industry; Shipping Industry; Work: Sailors and Seamen.**

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SANTA FE Santa Fe, New Mexico, is the oldest established capital city in the United States. Founded in 1608 by Governor Pedro de Peralta on the site of a Native American ruin, the Villa Real de Santa Fe (the Royal City of the Holy Faith) served as the governmental, military, and cultural headquarters of the northern province of New Spain. In 1680 Native Americans living in pueblos in northern New Mexico revolted against the Spanish and drove them out of Santa Fe and New Mexico in the most successful uprising against European settlers in North American history. The Spanish, led by Don Diego de Vargas, reconquered Santa Fe in 1692 and reestablished it as the capital of New Mexico for Spain. In the eighteenth century Santa Fe remained on the periphery of the Spanish Empire, but Hispanics and Native Americans found ways to live peacefully in the capital. In 1776 Father Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Father Francisco Domínguez set off from Santa Fe to blaze an overland trail to Monterey, California. They abandoned their exploration in the badlands of Utah and returned to Santa Fe. In 1821 Mexico won its independence from Spain, and Santa Fe became the capital of the Mexican state of New Mexico.

According to the Spanish censuses in the eighteenth century, Santa Fe grew from a population of 1,285 in 1760 to 4,500 in 1799. As the capital of the colony, Santa Fe attracted settlers from Mexico as well as Native Americans from the nearby pueblos, from the Navajos and the Plains tribes, and from tribes in Mexico. Many mixed-heritage people also lived in Santa Fe.

From its founding in 1608 through the nineteenth century, Santa Fe served as the terminus of several important transcontinental trails. First, El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (the Royal Road to the Interior Lands) connected the colony with the rest of the world. The 1,500-mile (1,900-km) trail from Mexico City to Santa Fe delivered immigrants, priests, governmental officials, and goods to the city. Even though Santa Fe was the major city on the northern frontier of New Spain, authorities forbade trade with the other European settlements to the east. In the contest for colonial territories, Spanish officials used Santa Fe and New Mexico as a buffer between New Spain and the French, British, and then the United States territories. After Mexican Independence in 1821, Mexican authorities allowed trade with the east, and William Becknell, a bankrupt farmer from Missouri, opened up the Santa Fe Trail. In addition to bringing immigrants and trade goods to the city, the Santa Fe Trail also was the route of con-

quest taken by the United States Army during the Mexican American War in 1846. Santa Fe then became the capital of the United States territory of New Mexico in 1850.

See also **Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Mexico; New Spain; Spain.**

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Jon Hunner

SARATOGA, BATTLE OF In 1777 the British high command attempted to win the Revolutionary War by seizing control of Lake Champlain and the Hudson Valley, isolating the Patriot movement in New England. General John Burgoyne led an army of over 8,000 men (4,000 British regulars, 3,000 Brunswickers under Baron Friedrich von Riedesel, 650 Canadians, and 500 Native Americans) from Canada into upstate New York.

Burgoyne began well and captured Fort Ticonderoga on 5 July. Things broke down quickly thereafter. Though less than one hundred miles from Albany, Burgoyne's progress was slowed to a near standstill by rugged and dense terrain, the difficulties of transporting excessive equipment and personnel, and the efforts of American militia, who placed downed trees and other obstacles in his path. The brutal murder of Jane McCrea (ironically a Loyalist) by Burgoyne's Native American auxiliaries on 27 July drove thousands of enraged inhabitants to the Patriot army being organized by General Horatio Gates. By early August, Burgoyne was in serious trouble, as evidenced by the near annihilation of a detachment of nearly 1,000 Germans under Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum sent to Bennington, Vermont, for supplies. As Gates's army swelled to 11,000 and more, Burgoyne appealed to Sir William Howe in New York City for assistance. But Howe had left New York to capture Philadelphia. To compound matters, Howe inexplicably took the sea route to Philadelphia, allowing Washington to interpose the Continental Army between the two British armies. With no assistance from New York, Burgoyne at-

tempted to fight his way to Albany. At Freeman's Farm on 19 September and Bemis Heights on 7 October, Burgoyne was repulsed by forces under General Benedict Arnold and Colonel Daniel Morgan, losing almost 1,500 men to less than 500 for the Americans. By mid-October, Burgoyne was left with few supplies and no prospect of either escape or relief. Thus, on 17 October, Burgoyne surrendered his army of 5,800 men to Gates at Saratoga.

The victory at Saratoga convinced the French government that the United States might be an effective ally. The conclusion of the French alliance in February 1778 transformed the American Revolution into an international conflict, bringing the new nation a powerful ally and forcing the British to reconsider their military strategy.

See also **Revolution: Military History.**

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SATIRE Satire, the art of ridiculing human vice and folly, was arguably the most popular and politically important literary form during the Revolutionary and early republican periods. In fiction, drama, and particularly poetry, satire emerged during this time as a crucial means for shaping American social and political discourse, intervening in virtually every major controversy from the Stamp Act crisis to the War of 1812.

Befitting the political turbulence and fervor that characterized the era, early American satirists envisioned their works as weapons in a literary and ideological war to decide the future of the new Republic. During the Revolution, anti-British satires appeared regularly in newspapers or as broadsides, responding to specific events and depicting King George III and his supporters as villains or buffoons. The most prominent satirical writers of the Revolution included John Trumbull, author of *M'Fingal* (1776), a burlesque of a typical Tory magistrate, and Philip Freneau, who published dozens of burlesque portraits of the king and various colonial governors and generals. Satirists on the Loyalist side, meanwhile, employed comparable tactics against the Patriots, as in

Jonathan Odell's *The American Times* (1780), a vitriolic assault against George Washington, John Hancock, and other Revolutionary leaders.

As with much eighteenth-century American poetry, verse satire from the Revolutionary and early republican periods was highly allusive, even consciously imitative, of English Augustan masterpieces by Alexander Pope, John Dryden, and others. Still, the Revolutionary period introduced a number of uniquely American characteristics and themes. American satirists were especially drawn, for instance, to writing verse parodies of other printed texts such as newspaper articles or official government documents. During the war, broadsides proclaiming martial law or demanding the arrest of rebels were frequently answered by anonymous verse parodies, such as William Livingston's "Burgoyne's Proclamation" (1777), ridiculing not only the colonial official who issued the proclamation but the language of political authority itself. This capacity of satire to alter or subvert the meaning of other printed texts would, in turn, make possible the principal literary dynamic of the early national period: poets representing one political perspective would engage in satiric exchanges with poets from the opposing side.

After the Revolution, satirists weighed in on the numerous social and economic challenges facing the new United States, and soon individual authors were identifying themselves with specific policies and parties. During the debate over the Constitution, a group of poets later known as the Connecticut Wits (Trumbull, David Humphreys, Joel Barlow, and Lemuel Hopkins) collaborated on "The Anarchiad" (1786–1787), which ridiculed the the Articles of Confederation and its defenders as unable or unwilling to resolve the social and economic crises that arose. After the federal government was formed, writers suspicious of Washington's administration, including Freneau and St. George Tucker, commenced a satiric counterattack in the pages of Freneau's *National Gazette*. At the same time, a new assemblage of Connecticut Wits (Hopkins, Richard Alsop, and Theodore Dwight) collaborated on a series of satires directed against the emerging Jeffersonian party, particularly for their sympathy toward the French Revolution (see, for instance, "The Echo" [1791–1798] and "The Political Greenhouse for 1798"). The 1790s thus constituted the high point of verse satire in the early national period, with writers engaged in often bitter personal attacks over issues ranging from the Jay Treaty (1795) to the election of 1800.

Not all satire from this period was political; nor was it limited to poetry. John Trumbull's first important work, "The Progress of Dulness" (1772–1773), took aim at Yale College and New Haven society, while his friend Timothy Dwight ridiculed the theological doctrines of Deists and Universalists in *The Triumph of Infidelity* (1788). In drama, Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787) portrayed various American stock figures in a lightly satirical, though affectionate, light, while in fiction, Hugh Henry Brackenridge's early novel *Modern Chivalry* (1792–1797) responded with more caustic irony to the social implications of increasing democratization.

After the election of Jefferson, some Federalists, such as Thomas Green Fessenden in *Democracy Unveiled* (1805), continued the earlier strategy of unmasking Jeffersonian Democracy as a false ideology that primarily benefited demagogues and Southern slave owners. More generally, however, writers after 1800 turned away from the satiric ideal of literature as a means of political intervention and toward a contrasting notion of literature as refuge from the ruthless world of politics. Thus, although satire would live on in the 1810s and 1820s, it would appear chiefly in the guise of works written to entertain rather than to spur political action, as in the essays and stories of Washington Irving.

See also **Fiction; Humor; Newspapers; Poetry.**

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Colin Wells

SCIENCE The earliest scientific discoveries in North America were made by investigators sent from Europe, where they returned to publish their reports. Among them were such early explorers as Thomas Harriot (1560–1621) and Mark Catesby (1679?–1749) from England. Their mission was to explore the biosphere of a little-known part of the world, an enterprise for which Linnaeus, the great systematizer of the time, also sent from Sweden his

VENUS'S-FLYTRAP

Found only in nitrogen-poor bogs along the Carolina coast, this little insectivorous plant was brought to the attention of European naturalists in 1759 by Arthur Dobbs (1689–1765), royal governor of North Carolina. John Bartram made several unsuccessful attempts to supply his English friends with viable seeds of what he called the “little tipitiwitchet,” and finally a living plant reached John Ellis in 1768. Ellis, an English correspondent of Linnaeus, wrote that the leaf of the clever plant has “many minute red glands, that cover its inner surface, and which perhaps discharge sweet liquor, tempt the poor animal to taste them: and the instant these tender parts are irritated by its feet, the two lobes rise up, grasp it fast, lock the rows of spines together, and squeeze it to death.” Such apparent volition in the vegetable kingdom caused Charles Darwin a century later to call this plant “one of the most wonderful in the world.”

Ellis was wrong about the function of the red glands (they secrete digestive juice), and he got the commonplace white flowers wrong (they are in cymose clusters), but in Uppsala, Sweden, Linnaeus published his description and the scientific name he gave it. In 1768, in a letter to *The St. James's Chronicle*, Ellis wrote that “I shall call it *Dionaea Muscipula*, which may be construed into English, with humble Submission both to Critics and foreign Commentators, either *Venus's Flytrap*, or *Venus's Mousetrap*.” Today it is commonly called Venus's-flytrap.

Charles Boewe

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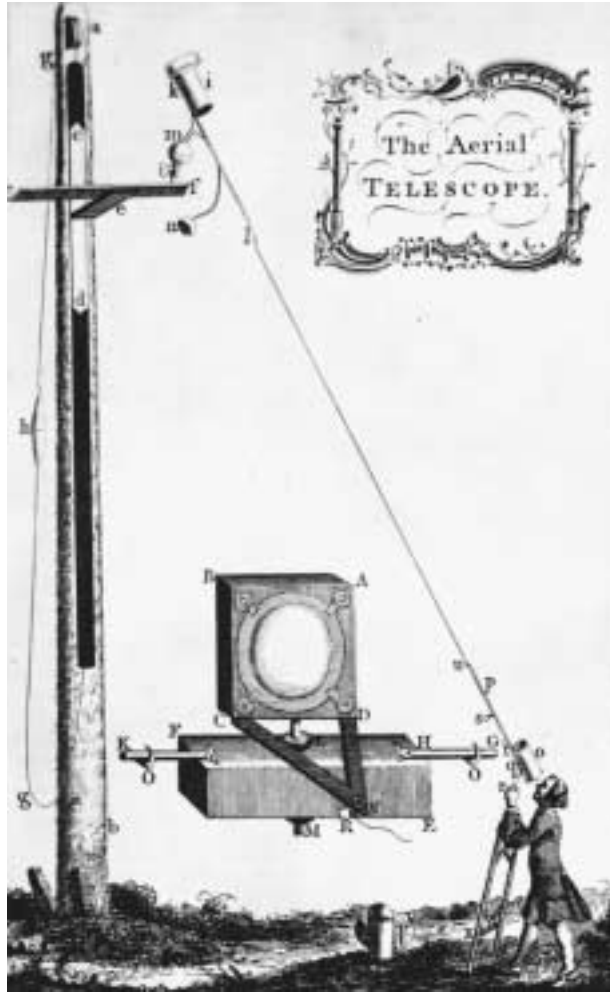
own emissary, Pehr Kalm (1716–1779). Dating from 1662, the Royal Society of London provided a natural focus for such information coming from the colonies in North America and elsewhere in the expanding British empire.

European interest centered on New World fauna and flora, especially on plants having economic or medicinal potential and, to a lesser extent, those that

might enhance gardens or diversify forests. By the eighteenth century, resident naturalists were available to carry out these tasks of discovery and collection. Most notable was John Bartram (1699–1777), whose garden near Philadelphia became the major depot for the exchange of plants between the new world and the old. Bartram supplied at least two hundred new plants to English gardens, and he received from England countless new fruit trees and flowers in return. With the financial assistance of an English friend, Peter Collinson, Bartram collected plants from as far north as Lake Ontario and as far south as Florida. Collinson also encouraged Bartram's correspondence with such luminaries as Buffon in France, Gronovius in Holland, and with Linnaeus himself. Collinson published extracts from Bartram's letters in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society and got him appointed Botanist to the King. Yet the time was not ripe for colonists to publish independent scientific papers. Even after independence, the Lutheran clergyman Gotthilf Henry Muhlenberg (1753–1815), who proposed a nationwide census of America's flora, continued to send his own botanical discoveries to Carl Willdenow for publication in Berlin.

Although the term “natural philosophy” originally included all varieties of scientific endeavor, by the eighteenth century a pragmatic distinction had been reached between natural philosophy (mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and, roughly, what physics includes today) and natural history (botany, zoology, and, to some extent, geology). Individuals might practice in both categories, but contributions in natural philosophy clearly brought them greater prestige. The centerpiece of the age was Isaac Newton's *Principia Mathematica* (1687), which expounded the theory of gravitation and required an exceptional grasp of mathematics even to understand it. Mathematics was the weakest area of learning in American colleges, both before and after the Revolution. One who tried to excel in both areas was New York's Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776), educated in Scotland and best known for his *History of the Five Indian Nations* (1745–1755). Colden mastered the Linnaean system of classification so well that his catalog of plants was published by Linnaeus in Sweden; but Colden's speculative theory about the source of gravitation, which he thought improved upon Newton, was scorned by Europeans and only puzzled Americans.

After several false starts, the American Philosophical Society was firmly established in Philadelphia by 1769 and the American Academy of Arts and



Aerial Telescope. A mid-eighteenth-century version of an aerial telescope, used to carry out astronomical studies.
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Sciences in Boston by 1780. These two professional organizations, as well as a few specialized societies such as those for the promotion of agriculture, gave new momentum to American science. By providing publication outlets they also began to perform locally what earlier had depended on the Royal Society's *Transactions* and other European learned journals. They made possible, especially in Boston and Philadelphia, greater attention to natural philosophy, which often required apparatus a lone investigator could ill afford.

The first important opportunity for a significant North American contribution to natural philosophy came with the 1769 transit of the planet Venus across the sun's surface, a phenomenon that would not occur again for 105 years. This rare astronomical event could be observed in entirety only in the Western Hemisphere. In all, twenty-two sets of ob-

servations were made in the British colonies, many of them reported both in the *Transactions* of the Royal Society and in those of the American Philosophical Society. Accurate measurements of the transit from widely separated observation points on earth were necessary for the calculation of the specific distances between bodies in our solar system, which had been known only as relative distances. For the observations in Philadelphia alone an impressive array of instruments was assembled, including four telescopes, a sextant, and the most accurate clock available. There David Rittenhouse (1732–1796) built an observatory for the event. Second only to Franklin as a natural philosopher, Rittenhouse went on to experiment in magnetism and optics. As an accomplished clockmaker, he also built mechanical models of the solar system called orreries.

Similar astronomical work was carried out by Harvard's Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, John Winthrop (1714–1779), scion of a family of natural philosophers. Winthrop not only enriched Harvard's mathematics curriculum by his introduction of calculus, but he also was a supporter of Benjamin Franklin's theory of electricity and the teacher of Benjamin Thompson (1753–1814). During the Revolution Winthrop remained a staunch Patriot, while his student Thompson, a Loyalist, eventually became Count Rumford in Europe, where his experimental work anticipated the replacement of the caloric theory of heat by the vibration theory. It remained for Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), whose experiments enabled him to explain electricity as a single "fluid" having a positive or negative charge, to become the first American scientist universally admired by Europeans.

EARLY REPUBLIC

Once it became an independent country, the United States could encourage science by financing it, though Congress long remained reluctant to do so. The first federal project of real consequence was the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806, for which Meriwether Lewis (1774–1809) was briefed by members of the American Philosophical Society on making scientific collections, while William Clark (1770–1838) was already an accomplished surveyor and map maker. Others had to describe and interpret the data they brought back, an effort attempted by several members of Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences, organized in 1812. After that, much of the early scientific exploration of the trans-Mississippi West was conducted by Europeans like the Englishman Thomas Nuttall (1786–1859). Like



Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, shown here in an engraving (1761) by James McArdell after a painting by Benjamin Wilson, became the first American scientist universally admired by Europeans. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Nuttall, some of them were financed by the private philanthropy of members of the Academy, who, in turn, expected to reap the intellectual benefits of their investment. There resulted a struggle between the field naturalists, who did the work and wanted credit for their own discoveries, and the sedentary naturalists, who controlled the press, the libraries, and the museums that were essential for the interpretation and publication of data discovered in the field.

Because of the paucity of college courses in the natural sciences, medicine long served as a training ground for naturalists, and the nation's earliest medical journal, Samuel Latham Mitchill's *Medical Repository* (which ran from 1797 to 1824) published more on natural history than it did on medicine. In 1818 it was joined by a periodical of wider scope, the *American Journal of Science*, edited by Benjamin Silliman at Yale, where he made that university a leading center for chemistry and geology. Mitchill (1764–1831) and Silliman (1779–1864) were the chief American advocates of the transformation of chemistry being carried out by Antoine Lavoisier in France that clarified the nature of combustion and introduced the terminology for elements and compounds still used today. However, Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), who had disputed Lavoisier, continued to defend the earli-

er phlogiston theory of combustion after he left England in 1794 and settled in Pennsylvania.

In geology William Maclure (1763–1840) published a geological map in 1809 that covered the nation up to the Mississippi River; it derived from his own fieldwork based on the surface collection of rocks. In 1822 Amos Eaton (1776–1842) had the advantage of the cuts made for the Erie Canal to attempt a stratigraphic analysis of a portion of New York State. Both geologists relied on the mineral classification scheme devised in Saxony by Abraham Gottlob Werner. Though geology remained tied to mineralogy, C. S. Rafinesque (1783–1840) suggested in 1818 that sedimentary strata could be classified by the fossils they contain. The chemical analysis of minerals had been advanced in 1801 by the invention of the oxyhydrogen blowpipe by Robert Hare (1781–1858), who later became a professor of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania. Like Rittenhouse before him, Hare also excelled in the construction of instruments for his experiments, including those for generating electricity.

Philadelphia and Boston remained the principal centers for scientific research. Also of great importance was the Lyceum of Natural History, established in 1817 in New York City, which changed its name to the New York Academy of Sciences in 1876 and survives as a general scientific society. Less enduring scientific societies were started in Albany, Charleston, Cincinnati, New Orleans, and St. Louis to channel professional interests as college curricula also broadened to include botany, zoology, geology, and the application of science to such utilitarian fields as surveying. The marriage of science and industry took place in 1824, for in that year was founded in upstate New York the forerunner of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute and in Philadelphia the Franklin Institute—both institutions designed to provide scientific underpinning for the advancing industrial revolution.

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Charles Boewe

SCULPTURE See **Art and American Nationhood**.

SECOND GREAT AWAKENING See **Revivals and Revivalism**.

SECTIONALISM AND DISUNION In early 1783 Alexander Hamilton wrote to George Washington, beseeching the retiring general to remain active in the public arena. The successful conclusion of the war had not secured the blessings of independence because the “seeds of disunion [are] much more numerous than those of union.” Only Washington’s ongoing efforts might offset the regrettable fact that the “centrifugal is much stronger than the centripetal force in these states.”

The belief that the perpetuation of the union was at once indispensable and problematic was common currency in the early republic. Indeed from the War of Independence to the end of the War of 1812, no subject was more productive of genuine concern or more likely to be contested than the threat of disunion. The best-known assertions of states’ rights and sectional interests in this period are the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (1798, 1799), the latter of which first employed the term “nullification” with

respect to federal laws, and the Hartford Convention (1814–1815), which was preceded by loose talk of secession by extreme Federalists. But other confrontations predictably gave rise to similar discussions of the differences that separated Americans from one another, culminating in suggestions of dividing the union into discrete, smaller, and more homogeneous confederacies. During the Revolutionary War, interstate quarrels were so frequent and so fraught with mutual distrust—especially on matters of food and supplies for the Continental Army, allotment of votes in Congress, apportionment of expenses in the Confederation, and disposition of land claims in the West—that friends of the union feared it might be a mere “Rope of Sand.” And each succeeding contest from the 1780s to the 1810s seemed only to confirm Hamilton’s assessment of the strength of “centrifugal” forces in America.

THE COLONIES

An examination of the “seeds of disunion” in the early Republic must begin with the colonial backgrounds of the Revolutionary states. By 1776 all of the rebellious colonies had developed separate identities and territorial claims that they had jealously nurtured over long periods. Having matured at different rates and along different lines, and with limited opportunities for interaction, the colonies were, as John Adams observed in the Second Continental Congress, “several distinct nations almost.” Furthermore, political and economic rivalries, some of which had been cultivated for more than a century, predisposed these colonies to competition rather than cooperation. Even when confronted by what appeared to be an imminent threat of French invasion in 1754, not a single colony would ratify the Albany Plan, whose principal purpose was the establishment of a defensive alliance. Not surprisingly, prominent colonial commentators and imperial officials alike subscribed to the conventional wisdom of the period, which assumed that deeply ingrained differences rendered the colonies incapable of forging a union, however necessary.

The long history of the colonies as independent entities dovetailed nicely with the Revolutionary generation’s distrust of power in the hands of weak human beings. Convinced that people were naturally selfish and therefore unable to resist the temptations of self-aggrandizement and avarice, the Revolutionaries were wary of surrendering superintending power to a distant authority. For radicals who had protested to no avail the actions of a parliament far removed from themselves, geographical proximity

was crucial in maintaining effective checks on rulers. They took to heart the maxim of the political philosopher Montesquieu that republics must be geographically tiny lest the public good be sacrificed to myriad conflicting private views. The federal structure created under the Articles of Confederation reflected this ideology. Small republics in isolation were easy targets of foreign invasion; a confederation of petty republics might combine the best features of internal harmony and external security. However, the league of friendship proved especially unreliable in meeting the challenge of discriminatory actions taken against it by Britain and Spain. In fact, the British exclusion of American ships from the West Indian trade in 1783 only aggravated existing fissures in the federal union. Some states contemplated separate retaliatory measures that targeted other states as well as foreign countries. Spain's closing of the Mississippi River to American traffic in 1784 further strained sectional relations after the Jay-Gardoqui negotiations produced a proposal for the United States to forgo navigation rights in exchange for Spanish commercial concessions.

Inhabitants of the western territories were particularly aggrieved by the support that John Jay—the confederation congress's secretary for foreign affairs—garnered in the North for his plan to occlude the Mississippi. Had they known of projections at the time pertaining to their permanent status in the Republic, their distress would have deepened. In Congress and in the federal Convention, northern representatives seemed to share an anti-West bias, which held that western frontiersmen, averse to work and addicted to fighting, were poor candidates for republican citizenship. Therefore, irrespective of the number of states that might eventually be carved out of the West, northerners asserted that the Atlantic states must control a majority of all votes in any future legislative assembly. Nothing came of these suggestions because a southern coalition, led by Virginia, refused to go along. Instead it welcomed the prospect of creating new states out of the western territories and admitting them into the Union as equal partners of the original thirteen. Unfavorable discriminations, it was argued, would be contrary to the logic of the Revolution. At least as important in determining southern opposition, however, was the assumption that emerging patterns of migration established an affinity of interest between the South and the West.

SLAVERY

An inventory of centrifugal forces operating in the early Republic would be incomplete without a con-

sideration of slavery. The entrenchment of the institution in the South in the century before independence was fundamental to the eventual alignment of the sections; that alignment, however, became fixed only after the War of 1812. To be sure, in 1787, when delegates from large and small states brought the business of the Constitutional Convention to a standstill over the issue of proportional versus equal representation, James Madison famously observed that the states were divided into separate interests not by their size but by “their having or not having slaves.” The ensuing debate over the three-fifths compromise, during which unyielding opponents and proponents openly broached the subject of disunion, seemed to substantiate Madison's contention. And yet the division between slave and free states was not as obvious as these actions might suggest. In 1790 all of the states save Massachusetts were slaveholding states. Although it is also true that the other New England states and Pennsylvania had recently enacted gradual emancipation laws, New York and New Jersey, each with at least 6 percent of its population enslaved, had not and would not for another decade.

The line of demarcation is clearer if a distinction is drawn between societies with slaves and slave societies. In the former, slaves were present but slavery was neither central to the economy nor paradigmatic of social relationships; in the latter, they were. Such a distinction undoubtedly underlay Madison's 1787 identification of five slave states: Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. But this division is not without ambiguity. An analysis of Convention votes reveals that Massachusetts was more often in agreement with Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia than it was with Connecticut, and Virginia more often in agreement with Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire than with South Carolina. The debate over the importation of slaves from abroad is especially instructive. No state was more spirited than Virginia in condemning the international slave trade, but South Carolina and Georgia, whose economies relied heavily on imported slaves, were quick to point out the self-interested motives of the Virginians. With a surplus of slaves, Virginia hoped to profit from a prohibition of slave imports, which would simultaneously increase the value of domestic slaves and stimulate a market for them.

A UNION OF OPPOSING INTERESTS

In the end, something of a paradox remains. If centrifugal forces were so numerous and evidently pow-

erful, why did the Republic not dissolve into its constituent parts? The answer lies in the combination of two interrelated circumstances that ironically exerted a kind of centripetal force on the nation.

First, although separating into sectional confederations appeared logical to many, there was no consensus on their composition. Few thought in terms of a fixed North–South split; instead, members of the Revolutionary generation most often singled out the New England states by designating them “Eastern,” as in east of the Hudson River, in order to differentiate them from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. And if there were two Norths, there were at least that many Souths. The Chesapeake and the Lower South, as noted above, did not form a consolidated interest in spite of their common status as slave societies. By adding to this compounded union the newer western and southwestern states, whose allegiance could not be taken for granted, the basis for a minimum of five regional confederations existed.

Second, the mutual distrust that afflicted the states tempered all talk of disunion, for it was commonly understood that the process of secession, once initiated, must lead to catastrophe by unleashing pent-up resentments. Each regional confederation would either succumb to internal divisions, leading to successive secessions into ever smaller polities that invited European encroachments, or become engaged in armed encounters, which in turn resulted in the creation of standing armies and ended inevitably in collapse under dictatorial rulers. In short, the very dissimilarities that made the persistence of the Union problematic rendered the prospect of disunion even more dubious.

All of this changed after the War of 1812, as sectional identities came to be articulated with greater clarity. Thomas Jefferson wrote in 1820 that the Missouri crisis awakened him “like a fire bell in the night” and sounded the “knell of the Union,” principally because “angry passions” had fixed a geographical line separating the sections that “will never be obliterated.” Although he attributed these “unworthy passions” to the sons of the revolutionaries, Jefferson’s own loyalty to states’ rights and the slaveholding class was by this time no longer in doubt. Even his enthusiasm for the University of Virginia was grounded in part on his belief that it was a needed antidote to the doctrine of national supremacy and “anti-Missourianism” that southern youths were otherwise exposed to at northern colleges. Jefferson’s transformation was reflective of two larger changes apparent in America by the 1820s. First, the presence or absence of slaves overrode all other variables, thus

allowing a consensus to be formed in determining the possible shape of rival confederations. Second, the South, now outside the mainstream of an increasingly democratic America, seemed destined to constitute a permanent minority in a political system dedicated to majority rule. Together these two conditions made secession and disunion more plausible than ever before.

See also **Federalism; Hartford Convention; Missouri Compromise; States’ Rights.**

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Melvin Yazawa

SEDUCTION Seduction is, most simply, a misleading, in the sense of leading astray. The word was used in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to denote misleading of various kinds and in various venues: social, political, and personal. Although in the 1600s and early 1700s seduction referred almost exclusively to religious error—being seduced by Satan, for example, or by the “diabolical”

Catholic Church—by the 1770s the word was used in secular arenas. In the years leading up to and including the American Revolution, political tracts referred to the “schemes” of Great Britain in terms of seduction. “To the Freeholders, and Freemen, of the City and Province of New York,” published in 1769, excoriates those English Lords of Parliament who succumb to the “sordid Seductions of Bribery” to consolidate their own wealth and privilege at the expense of Americans.

In the 1780s and 1790s, with the advent of new “American” novels of seduction, the term became most popularly, and lastingly, associated with the misleading of a woman by a man. Even these novels of intrigue, illegitimate pregnancy, and death, however, have been read by literary critics as metaphors of political power and deception. Of Samuel Richardson’s *Clarissa* (1747–48), one of the best-known English seduction novels of the eighteenth century, John Adams famously declared, “Democracy is Lovelace and the People are Clarissa”—a claim that puts representative government in the role of the seducer, and the common man in the role of the naive and vulnerable woman. Ideologically speaking, seduction can be said to represent anxieties about actions and emotions uncontained, as opposed to emotions organized around a central, and usually patriarchal, figure (God, parents, the state) who will keep order and balance through rule and hierarchy.

In its popular, interpersonal form, seduction and its dangers represented prevailing turn-of-the-century Anglo-American attitudes about gender. Women were considered the primary victims of seduction because they were deemed more naive, less worldly, and more impressionable than—but just as passionate as—men. Thus in his work of moral philosophy, *The Beauties of Sterne* (1788), the novelist Laurence Sterne condemned the seducer who, “Though born to protect the fair [sex],” plunges the “yet-untainted mind into a sea of sorrow and repentance” by his “alluring . . . temptations.” In submitting sexually to a man who had no intention of marrying her, the woman sacrificed her peace of mind, her reputation, and her chance for marriage to anyone. As William Paley, the British theologian and philosopher, made clear in his *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1785), these losses were compounded by the “injury” done to family and to the broader community. Under the laws of coverture (which declared all women legally subsumed in, or covered by, the rights of the man who took care of her), a seduced woman’s family suffered as they would if “a robbery [had been] committed upon their

property by fraud or forgery,” while the “public at large” lost the “benefit of the woman’s service in her proper place and destination, as a wife and parent.” Although seduction clearly and severely upset the social balance of the community, Paley complained, no criminal law provided for a male seducer’s punishment beyond “a pecuniary satisfaction to the injured family.” Paley’s critique became part of a mid-nineteenth-century movement in America to award women the right to sue their seducers.

Although in the mid-nineteenth century the “true” woman was one who was “passionless,” self-sacrificing, and morally superior to men, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries women were often depicted as particularly susceptible to the “passions”—to desires rooted in and fueled by one’s mental and emotional sensitivity to one’s own and others’ feelings. Though a potential good in itself, such sensitivity could lead the woman astray when it was manipulated by an artful and conniving man. Speaking from the male point of view, Samuel Johnson, the literary eminence of the second half of the eighteenth century, declared in *The Beauties of Johnson* (1787) that there is no thought more painful “than the consciousness of having propagated corruption by vitiating principles” in a woman who becomes, in consequence, “blinded . . . to every beauty, but the paint of pleasure; and deafened . . . to every call, but the alluring voice of the syrens [sic] of destruction.” Johnson’s sentiment is echoed in American literature for the next several decades, where novels of seduction depict the woman as equally the victim of male machinations and her own unguarded and powerful emotions.

Following Richardson’s lead, the first American novels took seduction as their theme. The subject had political as well as personal connotations: having rebelled against their “Mother Country,” England, Americans were now vulnerable to the seductive lure of liberty. Seduction novels, as they have become known, attempted to counter the dangers of unregulated freedom (and their own reputation as novels as being “fanciful” and “frivolous”) by inculcating in their readers a serious regard for social responsibility and respect for parental authority. To this end, they proclaimed their own brand of “female education” often couched in melodramatic and sentimental language designed to outspoke the romantic eloquence of the would-be seducer. The first American novel, William Hill Brown’s *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), and the two most popular novels of the age, Hannah Foster’s *The Coquette* (1794) and Susannah Rowson’s *Charlotte Temple* (1797) all share a basic element of

plot—innocent women who are ruined by seduction and who die as a result—and in each of the novels it is the strength of the woman’s emotions that lead to her destruction. In *Charlotte Temple*, the narrator tells us that when Charlotte’s secret suitor “earnestly in-treat[ed] one more interview,” Charlotte’s “treacherous heart betrayed her; and, forgetful of its resolution, pleaded the cause of the enemy so powerfully, that Charlotte was unable to resist.” Charlotte eventually runs away with her lover, Montraville, breaking her parents’ hearts; she becomes pregnant by him and, unwed, dies in childbirth. Charlotte is seduced not only by her lover, the novel consistently suggests, but by her own desire. This, of course, is the essence of seduction: the manipulation, on the seducer’s part, of the other’s weakness or desire to lead him or her astray. In the early Republic, such vulnerability spelled trouble not only for the woman herself, and her family and her community, but for the nation itself, which relied, both literally and symbolically, on the virtue of its women (particularly mothers). In the wake of revolution, seduction represented an unregulated passion that threatened to unravel the experiment in freedom that was America.

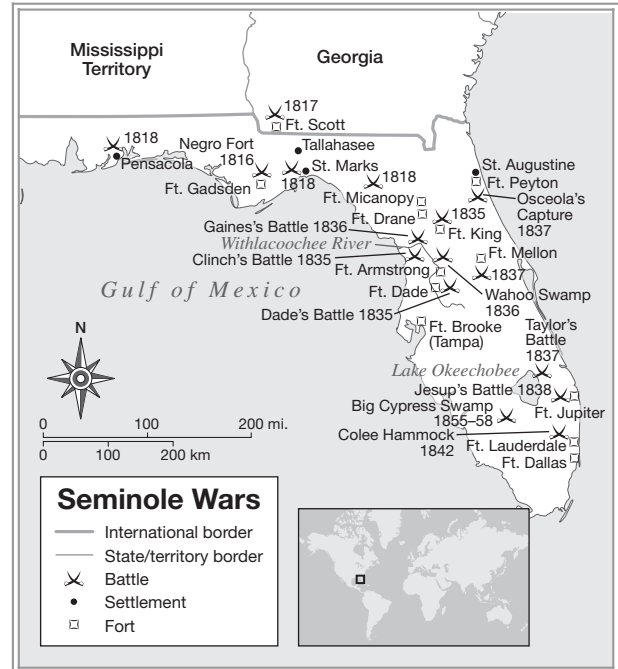
See also **Courtship; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Fiction; Marriage; Revolution: Social History; Women: Rights; Women: Women’s Literature.**

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Elizabeth Barnes

SEMINOLE WARS The first Seminole War, which began in 1817, was a continuation of tensions stemming from conflicts with the Creek Confederacy during and after the American Revolution and from the presence of runaway and freed slaves in border settlements in Spanish Florida. The Seminoles were a group of Muskogee- and Hitchiti-speaking tribes



living in towns along the frontier. They incorporated within their population the militant Red Stick Creeks, refugees from the defeat of the Creeks by Andrew Jackson in 1814. These Creeks refused to acknowledge the stringent land cession terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson (1814) and continued to occupy lands on both sides of the Spanish Florida–American border. Under the protection of the Spanish, and the British as well, the Seminoles took in not just Creeks, but slaves fleeing plantations, which infuriated their white owners.

From the American perspective, the situation was exacerbated by the continuing presence of British agents during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), notably Lieutenant Colonel Edward Nicholls of the Royal Marines. He armed the Red Stick Creeks and their African American allies but was prevented from using them by the British defeat at New Orleans and the Treaty of Ghent. Instead, Nicholls—recruiting two British expatriates and merchants, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister—kept up agitation amongst the Red Sticks regarding their ceded land and lands that part of the tribe had ceded to Forbes and Company and now wanted considered an illegal transaction. Many of the former slaves belonging to Nicholls’s force left with the evacuating British, but some stayed, increasing American anxiety that their armed presence would encourage slaves in the United States to revolt or flee.

Open warfare began when Andrew Jackson, acting on petitions from slaveholders, ordered his subordinate, Major General Edmund Gaines, to destroy what was called Negro Fort, a Seminole and freed slave settlement fortified by the British and located over the border in Spanish Florida on the Apalachicola River. The attack, which occurred on 27 July 1816, destroyed the fort, with refugees fleeing to join other Seminole communities. In October and November 1817, American officers at Fort Scott ordered the arrest of Seminole leaders living at Fowl Town, a settlement just north of the Spanish border; they were accused of being banditti and of threatening the Americans when they attempted to harvest timber. When the Seminole leaders refused, Fowl Town was destroyed in a series of raids. Survivors retaliated with devastating force, ambushing a transport boat on the Apalachicola River and killing fifty-one Americans, four of them children. Meanwhile, raids continued to be made by both the Fort Scott soldiers against Seminole towns and Native Americans against Georgia plantations.

Jackson replaced Gaines on 9 March 1818 and proceeded to invade Spanish Florida, sacking the town of Suwanee on 16 April. Although the Seminoles did not suffer high casualties, they were driven out of settlements and lost substantial amounts of stored food to Jackson's deliberate policy of destruction. Arbuthnot and Ambrister were captured by Jackson, court-martialed for treason for their role in encouraging the tribes, and executed. The international controversy generated by the execution of these British subjects was compounded on 24 May 1818, when Jackson seized Pensacola, deposed the Spanish governor, and forced the surrender of all those Seminoles who had fled there to Spanish protection. En route to Pensacola, Jackson looted and destroyed British plantations, Seminole villages, and Spanish property, even though he faced virtually no opposition.

In 1821 Spain implemented the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819 by leaving its Florida possessions, which placed the Seminoles, Creeks, and the former slaves allied with them at the mercy of Jackson and the American government. The British, also not wanting conflict, overlooked the deaths of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. Some Seminole leaders, under pressure, accepted a series of treaties promising annuities and a reservation and agreed to return runaway slaves. However, these treaties, which specified that the Seminoles would join with the Creeks and also placed a limit on the annuities, proved impossible for the American governor to enforce. That only some

tribal leaders had signed also gave rebellious Seminoles reason to feel themselves not bound by the agreements, which led to further conflicts beginning in 1835.

See also **American Indians; Florida; Transcontinental Treaty.**

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Margaret Sankey

SENSIBILITY Sensibility, declared the Scottish moralist Hugh Blair (1718–1800), is the "temper which interests us in the concerns of our brethren; which disposes us to feel along with them, to take part in their joys, and in their sorrows" (*Sermons*, p. 24). Blair, whose work on aesthetics and morality would later become staple reading for Harvard undergraduates like Ralph Waldo Emerson in the 1820s, took Romans 12:15 as his text for this particular sermon: "Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that do weep." But the social efficacies of sensibility were not confined to the religious realm. Drawing on John Locke's theory that early sense impressions ultimately determine character, writers and moral philosophers of the eighteenth century sought to place sensibility in a social context to determine its role in shaping an ethical, productive and happy citizenry. "Sweet sensibility!" writes the anonymous author of *The Hive* (1795), "Tis from thee that we derive the generous concerns, the disinterested cares that extend beyond ourselves, and enable us to participate [*sic*] the emotions of sorrows and joys that are not our own." Sensibility was, these writers averred, the emotional glue that held society together, countering the tendency to self-love. Blair's essay was published in New York and Philadelphia in 1790, and the Scottish common sense school of moral philosophy (including the earl of Shaftesbury [1671–1713], Francis Hutcheson [1694–1746], David Hume [1711–1776], Adam Smith [1723–1791], among others) to which he be-

longed was instrumental in defining American notions of sensibility and sentiment well into the 1830s.

Sensibility, the heightened awareness of the senses, both emotional and physical, became a popular subject not only for moralists, but also for novelists and poets in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The English author Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), about a man who travels through France encountering painful scenes over which he empathetically weeps, initiated a series of publications on the virtues of sensibility whose influence crossed the Atlantic. As the historian Roy Harvey Pearce discovered, diaries of Americans in the 1770s revealed men and women who self-consciously tried to imitate Sterne's hero. And the first American novels published in the 1790s took as their subject the joys, and the sorrows, of sensibility. The two—joy and sorrow—were, in fact, considered inextricable, since the generous nature that moves one beyond the self makes one susceptible to grief as well as to happiness. But in the emotional economy of the eighteenth century, such a trade-off was by and large represented as worthwhile. As Hannah More put it in her poem, *Sensibility* (1795), "Would you, to 'scape the pain, the joy forego, / And miss the transport to avoid the woe?"

By the end of the eighteenth century, the cult of sensibility had produced its share of critics and detractors, at first mostly British. Since, as Sterne and More implicitly suggested, even sorrow itself could become a source of pleasure, sensibility was considered, dangerously, a possible end in itself. Although ideally a vehicle to compassion and thus social harmony, extreme delicacy of feeling could devolve into emotional self-indulgence. Artificial feeling, rather than genuine and active care for another, threatened to make a mockery of sensibility. Moreover, delicacy of feeling was potentially at odds with "manly rigor." Though the true man was popularly represented in British fiction from the 1760s through the 1780s as someone capable of generosity and benevolence, writers began to worry about the effects of refined feeling on the human constitution. "The only ill consequence that can be apprehended from [sensibility] is, an effeminacy of mind, which may disqualify us for vigorous pursuits and manly exertions," wrote Vicesimus Knox in his *Essays, Moral and Literary* (1792). Women, who were believed already more susceptible to emotional instability than men, were particularly at risk in indulging their fantasies of feeling through such things as excessive novel reading. But the danger to society of overly

sensitive men posed an even greater threat. As Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's widely read *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) showed, along with a feminizing of the mind and spirit was the tendency of self-reflection to produce an unhealthy desire for solitude and an aversion to the pleasures and needs of the community. Sensibility, then, while denoting at first blush one's capacity for socialization, could—when indulged too freely—result in estrangement, melancholy, and finally, even madness or death.

American writers at the turn of the century acknowledged the dangers to the body and the body politic of, as one of them said, a "too great delicacy and sensibility." But by and large, the potential for sensibility to create a feeling of community and nationhood remained a grounding principle throughout the early national period. The death of George Washington in 1799 occasioned numerous discourses on the necessity of public mourning and the bond of "social sympathy" produced by mutual grief; in one funeral oration by Samuel Bayard, such grief was declared to be a confirmation of Americans' "sensibility as men." Critiques of such views of feeling and of justice based on feeling—in the writings of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), for example—would not be taught at American universities until the 1830s. Prior to that time, notions about the relationship between politics and sentiment were predominantly framed by mid-to-late-eighteenth-century ideas that confirmed the sensitive man, embodied in the artist or poet (Longfellow, for instance), as the true American, both in his own example of sensibility, and his ability to cultivate it in others.

See also **Emotional Life; Fiction; Romanticism; Sentimentalism.**

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SENTIMENTALISM Sentimentalism in arts and letters gained prominence in the eighteenth century as a particular rhetorical and literary style that sought above all to create a sympathetic connection between the author's object and audience. Sentimentalists emphasized emotion over reason and sought to ameliorate harsh Puritan morality with benevolence. Although sentimentalism pervaded various genres, it gained prominence in the English sentimental novel, a form imitated by aspiring American writers in the early Republic. A distinctive sentimental strain also ran through captivity narratives and Revolutionary rhetoric that aimed to unite the country behind the cause of independence. Sentimentalism remained a valuable rhetorical device in political rhetoric in the early nation, but increasingly in the nineteenth century it came to be associated with domestic rather than public life.

THE SENTIMENTAL NOVEL

The first sentimental novels to arrive in the colonies were those of the Englishman Samuel Richardson (1689–1761). In 1744 Benjamin Franklin published an edition of Richardson's *Pamela* (1740). Both *Pamela* and Richardson's *Clarissa* (1747–1748) were in demand at colonial lending libraries in the 1750s. *Pamela*, with its story of the reformation of a rake by a virtuous woman, and *Clarissa*, with its story of the ruination of a virtuous girl by a rake, became the two great formulae for the sentimental novel. The novels of Laurence Sterne (1713–1768), *Tristram Shandy* (9 vols., 1760–1767) and *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy* (1768), while not as popular as Richardson's, also found their way across the Atlantic. Sterne departed from Richardson's exaltation of domestic sentimental truths to explore a broader range of sensuous emotion.

These novels spawned many American imitations. The generation that survived the Revolutionary War demanded books, and as Parson Weems (1759–1825)—employed by a Philadelphia printing house to scout southern American markets in 1798—reported, they demanded mainly novels. From the 1780s to the 1810s, American writers, primarily women, produced scores of novels that followed the sentimental formula of Richardson and Sterne. Chief among these works were *The Power of Sympathy* (1789), by William Hill Brown (1765–1793), widely recognized as the first American novel, *Charlotte Temple* (American edition, 1794), by Susanna Rowson (c. 1762–1824), one of the best selling

sentimental novels of the period, and *The Coquette* (1797), by Hannah Foster (1758–1840).

These novels attracted a number of critics. Moralists, taking especial note that both the readers and writers of sentimental literature were women, charged that they corrupted moral sturdiness by encouraging romance and passion rather than revering the duties of marriage and child rearing. A wide range of republican critics such as John Trumbull (1756–1843), Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), and Noah Webster (1758–1843) all lambasted the novel as trivial reading that bloated the imagination and detracted from the seriousness of life.

Sentimental novelists both responded to and anticipated this criticism by casting their novels as didactic moral lessons. Writers advertised their stories as “based on true life,” a claim enhanced by their universal use of the literary device of letters and diary entries.

CAPTIVITY NARRATIVE AND REVOLUTION

While the American sentimental novel of the 1790s was based almost entirely on English models, the innovative form of the captivity narrative had evinced sentimental traits earlier. Mary Rowlandson (c. 1635–1711) wrote the first North American captivity narrative, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, in 1682, and its enormous popularity would result in multiple editions and countless imitations in the eighteenth century. Unlike the sentimental novel, Rowlandson's narrative was a spiritual story about salvation through faith. But by creating a sympathetic identification between the narrator and the reader, Rowlandson had anticipated one of the most important features of sentimental literature. This registered potently with the colonial divine Cotton Mather (1663–1728) who reported in his *Decennium Luctuosum* (1699) that he could not write of such narratives without weeping. By the 1790s, captivity narratives had accumulated many more sentimental characteristics. They focused on the sensational threat of rape and the drama of rescue, becoming far more secularly moral than spiritual. Notwithstanding their primary function as entertaining reading, these captivity narratives also negotiated difficult issues in colonial society, such as the possibilities of communication with Native Americans and the realities of an interdependent exchange economy.

As Michelle Burnham has argued in *Captivity and Sentiment* (1997), the captivity narrative's sentimental form transformed into a metaphor for the nation during the Revolutionary period and the early Republic. Mary Rowlandson's narrative went

through seven editions in the 1770s, and the title page of the 1773 edition included a picture of Rowlandson pointing a rifle at her would-be captors, who aimed rifles at her. This cross-pollination of literary and political themes was consciously designed to analogize Rowlandson's captivity by Indians to the colonial captivity by Britain. Numerous authors picked up this trope. In his *Common Sense* (1776), Thomas Paine (1737–1809) likened the rebellious colonies to an enraged lover whose mistress (liberty) had been ravished by Britain. Images such as these became commonplace in Revolutionary rhetoric that was often designed to rouse sentiment as well as appeal to reason. Similarly, Paul Revere's famous engraving of the Boston Massacre of 5 March 1770 affectively created a psychological representation that sentimentalized the cause for independence.

Sentimental rhetoric remained important throughout the early republican period. Andrew Burstein has argued that Americans developed a culture of sentiment that emphasized compassion in order to establish "a pattern of philanthropic mission, spiritual renewal, and global conversion" (*Sentimental Democracy*, p. xiv). Masculine sentimentalism became a dominant rhetorical style in abolitionist literature after 1790, invoking the "poor Negro" to create sympathetic identification between the reader and the subject. Americans recasting citizenship and virtue in a republican mold imagined citizenship as a sentimental tie of benevolence and goodwill that bound different men together.

SENTIMENTALISM AND DOMESTICITY

These uses of sentiment did not signal its dominance in arts or rhetoric, however. Critics regarded effusive sentimental displays as effeminate and weak, possibly threatening the vigor and discipline required for self-government. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, sentimentalism became increasingly associated with domesticity. Advice manuals, evangelical pamphlets, and women's magazines identified women as mistresses of the home, responsible for nurturing the sentimental ties that held the family together. This was in large part a reaction to the economic transformation of work in the early Republic. The growth of cities, decline of artisans, and growth of a middle class of bankers, professionals, and merchants forced men into a workplace outside the traditional boundaries of the home. In the process of redefining masculinity in the sphere of the competitive workplace, they relegated sympathetic virtues and sentimental truths to the domestic sphere of their wives.

See also **American Indians: American Indians as Symbols/Icons; Fiction; Romanticism; Sensibility.**

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SEVEN YEARS' WAR See **French and Indian War.**

SEXUALITY Sexuality, or the realm of human experience that encompasses sexual feelings and sexual expression, was in a period of transition in late-eighteenth-century America. Despite the prudish reputation of New England Puritans, there was no time when colonial Anglo-Americans were sexually repressed. They thought of sexual expression in marriage as legitimate and healthy. Throughout the eighteenth century, popular medical guides advocated regular sexual intercourse between married couples to keep bodies, minds, and marriages in a healthy balance. They envisioned particular attributes as sexually attractive: well-developed legs in men, ample breasts in women. But between the late seventeenth and late eighteenth centuries, profound changes took place, both in ideas about the relationship between sexual feelings and the self, and in customs surrounding sexual expression during courtship.

Before 1750 Americans imagined sexual feelings as "passions," fleeting and superficial. They did not

see such feelings as essential to personal identity. Unless kept within bounds, they could disrupt a healthy, stable, virtuous psyche. Moreover, early or excessive indulgence in sexual intercourse was thought to endanger physical health, especially for young men. Hence, parents closely supervised children's sexual behavior before marriage, courtships were short, and romance was discouraged. In popular literature, it was usually women who threatened men's stability by luring them into unhappy marriages, or demanding that men satisfy their insatiable lusts. Colonial writers portrayed women of color as particularly threatening and warned that intimacies with women of color would make white men more bestial, less civilized, and less European. Unbridled lust directed toward same-sex partners was thought to have the same destructive consequences as excessive passion toward the opposite sex.

Beginning around 1750, young people gained new control over their own marriage choices and, to a certain extent, new freedom to develop their sexual imaginations. Often with parental approval, they gained the ability to explore sexual desires within courtship through practices such as bundling and overnight visiting. Sexual experimentation became a normal feature of courtship, and in some American regions by the early 1800s more than 25 percent of married couples conceived their first child before marriage. Popular literature featured romantic heroines who expressed articulately their feelings about prospective lovers. Meanwhile, cultural changes also transformed ideas about sexual feelings within courtship. Sexual desire, when accompanied by deep feelings of love and mutual sympathy, became respectable, even ennobling—a civilizing rather than a destabilizing force.

Yet, at the same time, sexual feelings outside the context of courtship became increasingly differentiated from legitimate or "virtuous" desire. Novels depicted men who remained true to their fiancées as manly and men who seduced women without marrying them as base, foppish, and effeminate. White women who pursued their sexual desires in the context of virtuous courtship were admirable, but women of color (who were often legally forbidden from marrying white men) were brazen and lustful. Simultaneous changes occurred in the realm of homoerotic sex, and men who experienced sexual desires for other men were increasingly coming to be thought of as innately different from heterosexual men.

See also **Contraception and Abortion;**
Courtship; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood;

Manliness and Masculinity; Marriage; Parenthood; Seduction; Sexual Morality.

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SEXUAL MORALITY Sexual morality in the early Republic was sustained by biblical, legal, and customary injunctions that in theory restricted sexual activity to heterosexual, monogamous, lifelong marriage. In practice, such restriction was never fully successful, and parts of the country's population ignored or even resisted official norms. But a general presumption of the moral value of premarital chastity and postmarital sexual fidelity provided the basic framework governing normative private sexual conduct.

Biblical prohibitions on fornication derived from key chapters in Paul's First Corinthians, as in 1 Corinthians 6:18: "Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body." Adultery, that is, sexual congress between a married person and someone not the lawful spouse, found prominent denunciation in the Ten Commandments. Many of the early colonial governments imported these moral offenses into their legal codes, criminalizing fornication and adultery to a far greater extent than was the case in England. By the time of the American Revolution, however, legal prosecution of sexual offenses had gone into a steep decline. For example, the court at New Haven, Connecticut, prosecuted 112 cases of fornication in the 1730s, the all-time decade high, while in the 1780s only 3 offenses were tried in that court. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts averaged 72 fornication cases per year in the decade before the Revolution, but only a handful of cases came to prosecution in 1790.

DECLINE IN PROSECUTIONS

Available evidence indicates that fornication itself was not at all in decline, at least not before the 1790s. Indeed, a widespread and dramatic rise in premarital

pregnancy (measured as the percentage of first births occurring within the first seven months of a marriage date) can be tracked in towns with good vital registration data, which show a rise before and during the decades of the war with Britain and a gradual decline setting in by 1800. In some jurisdictions in New England, the proportion of brides pregnant on their wedding day approached 40 percent; since marriage ensued and regularized these prenuptial pregnancies, however, families and communities seem to have tolerated the deviation from biblical prohibitions on fornication. A popular courtship practice called "bundling," in which a courting couple was allowed nighttime privacy in bed together, likely facilitated the upsurge in early births. The new state governments, some with and some without fornication statutes, backed away from prosecuting consensual sexual acts, perhaps in response to this period of relaxed attitudes about premarital chastity, or perhaps in response to a growing sense of the importance of separation of church and state. Some churches took sexual infractions very seriously, bringing up unwed mothers and, less often, putative fathers for disciplinary action such as sanctions and fines. But the days of whipping fornicators were a half-century or more in the past.

RENEWED ATTACKS ON PREMARITAL SEX

Around 1800, a renewed emphasis on premarital chastity as the standard for respectable womanhood becomes visible in the historical record, not only in the decline of premarital pregnancy rates but also in works of popular fiction and in court cases arising over seductions. Two best-selling sentimental novels—*Charlotte Temple* (1790), by Susanna Rowson, and *The Coquette* (1797), by Hannah Foster—featured heroines ruined and reduced to death by unprincipled libertine men, and the theme of the seduced and abandoned woman emerged as a staple in light fiction published in literary and ladies' periodicals and eagerly read by rising numbers of literate females. A common plot line of romantic fiction placed a trusting, naïve young woman in the hands of a heedless rake whose promises of love and marriage mask his real intention, that of sexual conquest and satisfaction.

While the novels portrayed male rakes as unsavory characters, in real life libertine men benefited from a double standard of morality in which women alone seemed to suffer the consequences of illicit sex in the form of unwed motherhood and ruined reputation. Concern over sexual seduction and the victimization of young women became manifest in

growing numbers of legal suits for seduction, in which an aggrieved father or master of a seduced woman brought action under the civil law of torts against an alleged offender. In such cases, the plaintiff had to ground the suit on a claim for compensation for lost service or labor from the young woman. But starting around 1815, judges' opinions openly acknowledged that loss of service was a legal fiction and that the real injury addressed was the serious harm to the reputation of the girl and her family. Courts thus added momentum to the idea, gaining popularity in these early decades of the nineteenth century, that "respectable" women by nature had lower sexual energy than did men and could not easily be construed as aggressors or even equal partners in instances of illicit sex. Newspapers frequently publicized such suits, and the news that seduced women, always framed as victims, could collect damages ranging from five hundred to fifteen hundred dollars from judges and juries sent a message that a high price was now attached to white female virginity.

SLAVES AND THE WORKING CLASS

In many states, and universally in the South, interracial sex was restricted both by laws against fornication and interracial marriage and by religious injunctions against adultery. Yet sex across the color line was a common southern occurrence, and legal intervention rarely ensued. Careful local studies have found that interracial sexual activity was often a matter of wide community knowledge. The spectrum of interracial sex ranged from long-term, child-producing unions to coercive sexual assault. In view of the unequal power relations between free white men and enslaved black women, even the most benign and familial of these relationships contained inherent coercion. Clearly, for some white slave owners, sexual entitlement over slaves overrode legal and religious canons of morality.

Blacks in bondage were not subject to the dominant white culture's laws of sexual morality and were only subject to customs and traditions insofar as individual white owners insisted on them. Legal marriage was denied to enslaved couples, as was the expectation of lifelong monogamous marriage. Under these circumstances, slave communities developed their own codes of sexual morality, with distinct features such as a tolerant view of children born to mothers not yet settled into coupled relationships.

Working-class neighborhoods in the rapidly growing cities of the early Republic supported a bawdy culture of unruly sexual relations, where

bastardy, prostitution, self-marriage and self-divorce were not uncommon. City leaders erected almshouses and houses of refuge to contain and support unwed mothers judged to be worthy of public aid; prostitutes were notably excluded. Benevolent and church-based women's organizations targeted poor urban women with their messages of the value of chastity, domesticity, and religiosity. Yet exposés and studies of prostitution in the 1830s made it clear that the male clientele for prostitution was cross-class. The foundational elements of sexual morality—premarital chastity and marital fidelity—were thus far from monolithic.

See also **Homosexuality; Interracial Sex; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Sexuality; Women: Women's Literature.**

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because they sang, dance, and spoke in tongues in imitation of the practices of the French enthusiastic group, the Cevenoles, who had come to England in the early eighteenth century. In 1762 Lee married; she bore four children, all of whom died in infancy. Deeply troubled by their deaths, Lee believed they were punishment for her sins, particularly sins of the flesh. Sin had entered the world, according to Lee, when Adam and Eve had sexual knowledge of each other.

In 1770 Lee was acknowledged as the leader of the Shakers. The Shaking Quakers took to the streets of Manchester preaching a gospel of repentance, regeneration, and the celibate life, attacked the worldliness of the churches, and refused to take oaths or observe the Sabbath. They were persecuted for their beliefs, and Ann Lee was imprisoned in 1772–1773. She later stated that Christ had appeared to her in prison, telling her that she was Jesus Christ in the female form. In 1774 eight members left for America. Lee believed that it would be in the New World that her vision would take hold and that a chosen people awaited her arrival.

After a brief stay in New York City, Lee and her small band went north to Albany. In 1776 they established their first congregation at nearby Watervliet, New York, and began to attract other converts by their preaching and celibate lifestyle. In the Shakers' early days, they gathered for enthusiastic meetings, with Lee preaching the Shaker gospel throughout New England from 1781 to 1783. They had occasional conflicts with local authorities, who suspected the Shakers' pacifist tendencies and thought they were British spies. The Shaker societies that developed over the next century held several core beliefs: that Mother Ann Lee had ushered in a period of spiritual rebirth; that she was the manifestation of Jesus Christ in spiritual form; that salvation would come through the Shaker family; and that sexual intercourse was at the root of evil and a covenant with the devil.

There were five separate periods in Shaker history. The first (1774–1783) was characterized by Lee's messianic style and premillennial beliefs. In the second period (1784–1803), two elders, Joseph Meachem and Lucy Wright, became leaders of the sect, organizing new colonies, requiring the membership to sign formal covenants, and regularizing the sect's practices. During the third phase (1803–1837), the Shakers moved westward, establishing colonies in Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky under the guidance and direction of the central ministry at Watervliet. By 1826 nineteen permanent communities had been es-

SHAKERS The United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing (commonly called the Shakers) was organized in the United States in 1774 under the prophetic leadership of Mother Ann Lee (1736–1784), who had fled religious persecution in England. Lee, the daughter of a Manchester blacksmith, had little education and worked in a textile mill and an infirmary. In 1758 she joined a religious society formed by two dissenting Quakers, James and Jane Wardley. The Wardleys formed a group that was derisively known as the "Shaking Quakers"

tablished. At Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, for example, the Center Family Dwelling House contained forty rooms and took ten years to complete. In this period the communities were organized into "families" of thirty to one hundred members. Within each "family" there were deacons and deaconesses who oversaw the temporal work while elders and eldersses supervised the spiritual life. An additional layer of elders (two men, two women) led the community and reported to the elders at the lead ministry in New Lebanon, New York.

As the Shaker societies grew and the older generation of Shakers passed away, a fourth phase (1837–1848) of intense spiritual and religious revivals, known as "Mother Ann's Work," occurred in all the societies. This revitalization movement was part of the evangelical upsurge following the Second Great Awakening, a period of renewed religious revivals in the early nineteenth century. During this phase members conducted seances, made spirit drawings and paintings, and created songs and poems to exalt Mother Ann Lee's mission. However, revitalization proved to be disruptive for the Shakers. In the final phase (1848 to 1875), the Shaker societies began to lose members and found it increasingly difficult to recruit new ones, particularly males. Earlier they had been able to attract adult converts and accept orphans abandoned by their families. At their height in the 1850s, the Shakers had about four thousand members in over twenty separate colonies. By 1880 the membership stood at 1,850, by 1900 at 850, and by the mid-1930s less than a hundred, as many of the communities closed their doors.

See also **Quakers; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

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SHAYS'S REBELLION The event that became known as Shays's Rebellion stemmed from the widespread belief in western Massachusetts that the new state government was no better than the government of King George III. Thousands of western Massachusetts men had fought in the Revolution. But what had been accomplished? Power, in the judgment of the chief justice of Berkshire County, had just been shifted from one set of "plunderers" to another. Even clergymen who denounced Shays's Rebellion blamed it on the "venality" and unrealistic demands of the legislature.

Since 1782 town leaders had pleaded with the state legislature to address their concerns. Their petitions had been polite, deferential, and at times groveling, but again and again they had raised embarrassing questions. How, for example, were farmers to pay debts and taxes with hard money when no hard money was available? What about the "poor soldiers" who had actually fought the war? Were they to be taxed at outrageous rates to pay off a handful of government favorites who did nothing during the war? And where was the tax money going? To pay off a handful of Boston speculators who had bought up the state's war debt for virtually nothing? Why did honest men have to cope with so many layers in the court system? Was it just so that well-connected lawyers and court officials could collect fees at every step of the way? Why was there a state senate? Was it created to provide just another bastion of power for the privileged and well-born? And why was the government in Boston anyway? Was it to allow the mercantile elite to pass oppressive laws when distance and bad weather kept the people's representatives from getting to Boston?

Such thoughts had circulated in western Massachusetts for years, and each year the legislature ignored the complaints. So in the summer of 1786, roughly ten years after the Declaration of Independence, the selectmen of Pelham and a handful of other towns called for countywide protest meetings. The largest took place in Hatfield on 22 August 1786. The plan, according to one of the fifty delegates, was to list a set of grievances against the state government, call for a new state constitution, and then seize the county court, the one symbol of state authority, the following week. That they did. A week after the Hatfield meeting adjourned, hundreds of armed men converged on Northampton and stopped the judges from holding court. In the weeks that followed, other armed men prevented the courts from convening in other shire towns.

The participants in these court closings called themselves "Regulators," thus identifying themselves with the backcountry and the Revolutionary tradition that the people had a duty to rebel when their government got out of control. Needless to say, Governor James Bowdoin and the Massachusetts legislature rejected this idea. They deemed the rebellion "horrid and unnatural." At first the governor called on the militia to defend the courts. To his dismay, however, one militia unit after another refused to serve. Finally, in desperation, the governor and 153 Boston merchants hired a mercenary army under General Benjamin Lincoln to put down the uprising. As Lincoln's men marched west, the Regulators tried to seize the federal arsenal at Springfield on 25 January 1787. Had they succeeded, they would have been armed better than the state. But a militia unit under General William Shepard seized the arsenal first and turned its cannons on the insurgents, routing them and leaving four dead on the field. Ten days later General Lincoln caught up with the main rebel army at Petersham, surprised them at daybreak, and forced them to scatter, the leaders fleeing to Vermont, the rank and file returning home. Thus ended what state authorities came to call "Shays's Rebellion."

In calling the uprising Shays's Rebellion, Governor Bowdoin and his followers were clearly attempting to discredit the entire affair. As a rule, they blamed it on the down-and-out, and in many respects Captain Daniel Shays, a Continental Army officer from the small hill town of Pelham, fit the bill. His contingent was the largest, and he was a debtor. But he neither instigated the rebellion nor controlled it. He was just one of many veteran Revolutionary officers who led troops in battles of the uprising. Well over four thousand men later confessed to taking up arms against the state, and it is clear that most of them had been called to arms by someone other than Daniel Shays. Some were "hard-pressed debtors," like Shays, but others were clearly men of considerable wealth. Over half were veterans. Most marched alongside relatives and in-laws.

As for what happened to Shays and other participants who took part in the rebellion, for some, the immediate outcome was dire. The nominal leader, Daniel Shays, fled the state, lost his farm, and eventually settled in western New York. John Bly and Charles Rose, two minor rebels, were hanged, and sixteen others spent months anticipating a hangman's noose before being reprieved. Judge William Whiting, the chief justice of the Berkshire County court, had his judgeship taken away from him for

blaming the rebellion on the state's leadership. Similarly, State Representative Moses Harvey was kicked out of the legislature and forced to stand an hour at the Northampton gallows with a rope around his neck for blaming the rebellion on his fellow legislators. Hundreds of others had to cope with indictments filed by the state, or damage suits filed by neighbors, and some four thousand temporarily lost their right to vote, sit on juries, hold office, and work as teachers and tavernkeepers. Within a matter of months, however, most of these Regulators regained their former positions within their communities. Indeed, from their standpoint, they emerged victorious, as the new 1787 state legislature passed a moratorium on debts and cut direct taxes 'to a bone.'

The Massachusetts uprising had far-reaching effects. In Massachusetts, it ended the effort to pay off the state debt at the expense of backcountry farmers. For George Washington and other conservatives, it symbolized the unruliness of the backcountry in general. One of his key advisors blamed it on the "licentiousness spirit" prevailing among the people; another on the "leveling principle" that had captured the hearts of the poor and desperate. Were all men of property thus in danger? Was the Republic in peril? Nationalists seized upon such fears, pointed out the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation, and convinced Washington to attend the Philadelphia convention in May 1787 that dispensed with the Articles and wrote the Constitution. They also used the specter of Daniel Shays to get the Constitution ratified by the states. Shays's Rebellion and the Constitution have been thus linked ever since.

See also **Fries's Rebellion; Gabriel's Rebellion; Massachusetts; Militias and Militia Service; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Vesey Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion.**

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Leonard L. Richards



Construction of the *Philadelphia*. During the era of the Napoleonic Wars, war with either France or England appeared imminent, and a number of frigates were built in response, including the *Philadelphia*, shown under construction in Philadelphia in the late 1790s in this engraving by William and Thomas Birch. I. N. PHELPS STOKES COLLECTION, MIRIAM AND IRA D. WALLACH DIVISION OF ART, PRINTS, AND PHOTOGRAPHS, NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

SHIPBUILDING INDUSTRY The shipbuilding industry played a critical role in the economic and political development of early America. From the arrival of the first colonists to the formation of the new nation, America relied on the sea for subsistence, transportation, commerce, and communication. The necessity of maritime travel demanded a strong shipbuilding tradition.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT

The first vessels built in the colonies were small craft for local travel and fishing. Sponsors of the new colonies sent shipwrights from England to build ships, as most of the colonists did not know anything about their construction. While most vessels of the early

seventeenth century were small, a few larger ships were built for transatlantic crossings.

As the colonies grew, the need for supplies from England and communication with the rest of the empire increased. Different regions became known for specific exports. The southern colonies produced agricultural products like tobacco, cotton, rice, and indigo. The middle colonies, such as Maryland and Pennsylvania, exported flour, wheat, and corn. New England traded fish, furs, and timber, but initially British merchants did not actively seek these products. Without a desirable commodity, the New England colonies soon found difficulty in attracting English ships for trade. Specie, or currency, was hard to come by, and colonial merchants were unable to obtain credit from their British associates. With little

purchasing power, the colonists could not trade for manufactured goods from the mother country.

These difficulties in New England provided the impetus for the development of the shipbuilding industry; born out of necessity, it rapidly became an important facet of the economy. Several early building sites rose to prominence, including Salem and Boston in Massachusetts; New London and New Haven in Connecticut; and Newport, Rhode Island. Shipbuilding in the middle colonies lagged slightly behind, but it was well established in New York City and Philadelphia by 1720. In the south, where British merchants regularly sent vessels to trade for agricultural goods, the industry was much slower to develop and did not become significant until the late eighteenth century.

Local shipowners and merchants in Britain represented the major market for colonial vessels. Under the Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century, British merchants were only allowed to use English- or American-built ships for trade. Because of the ready availability of timber, American vessels were usually less expensive than those built in England, making them popular with British shipowners.

By the eve of the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), the colonial shipbuilding industry was well established. While values are difficult to determine because of the nature of available records, scholars have estimated that at least one-third of the British merchant fleet at that time was American built. Americans were selling approximately 18,000 tons (a measurement of vessel size or capacity) or £140,000 worth of vessels each year to Britain, out of a total production of about 40,000 tons per year.

SHIPBUILDING IN THE NEW NATION

The onset of the Revolutionary War meant major changes for the shipbuilding industry. Its fate was closely tied to the success of shipping and trade in general, so when British blockades and the dangers of war brought shipping to a near standstill, American shipbuilding suffered as well. After the Revolution, shipwrights soon found that their best market was no longer available; under the British Navigation Acts, American ships were now excluded from legal use by British merchants. To assist the ailing shipbuilding industry, the new American government implemented regulations, including tax breaks, that favored American-built ships. In addition, trade soon resumed between the two nations and reached an all-time high in 1807.

During the period following the Revolution and into the nineteenth century, Boston, New York, and

Philadelphia remained top shipbuilding sites. The development of larger shipyards in these cities allowed some builders to receive national attention for their work, including Henry Eckford, Adam and Noah Brown, Christian Bergh, Stephen Smith, Donald McKay, and Isaac Webb. Locations in the Chesapeake also began to rise to prominence, particularly Baltimore. In the South, shipbuilding remained a minor industry.

Critical developments for the industry during this period included the invention of steam-powered ships and the creation of a network of inland canals. Although side-wheel steamboats were in operation on the East Coast by the 1790s, their use did not become practical until Robert Fulton's designs of 1807. The western river steamboat, with its rear paddle wheel, was not commonly used until the 1820s. The utilization of steam power, which allowed vessels to travel upstream, and the construction of inland canals opened up the interior of the country to water transportation and provided a new direction for the shipbuilding industry.

At the peak of trade in 1807, political upheaval caused another major disruption in shipbuilding. In response to harassment by Britain, President Thomas Jefferson placed an embargo on all trade with that country, hoping to resolve the conflict by economic means rather than by force. When these measures failed and war was declared in 1812, dangers at sea and the dramatic decrease in trade brought the shipbuilding industry to a virtual halt. A few shipwrights were able to find work building privateers and naval vessels, but many remained unemployed. According to U.S. Bureau of the Census statistics, in the years preceding the war from 1801 to 1807, the shipbuilding industry was producing an average of 110,000 total tons per year. At an estimated value of \$55 per ton, annual sales would have averaged over \$6 million. During the war, annual production fell to a mere 30,000 tons.

The shipbuilding industry was quick to recover after the war, however, with an average of 100,000 tons being built each year through the 1820s. With most American cities located on the sea or on rivers, the nation still depended heavily on maritime activity for food, transportation, and trade. Western expansion made shipbuilding as essential as ever to provide steamboats, barges, and passenger ships to reach new regions of the nation. Shipwrights remained focused on small-scale carpentry and carefully handcrafted vessels, leading to a high demand for quality ships. By the end of the 1820s, the industry was

poised to begin the golden age of America's merchant marine from 1830 to 1860.

ORGANIZATION OF THE INDUSTRY

From the colonial period to the early nineteenth century, the organization of the shipbuilding industry remained fairly static. Most shipwrights built vessels only after receiving an order, although occasionally they built on speculation. To purchase a vessel, a colonial merchant chose a shipwright, and after they had agreed on the size and type of the ship, a written contract was signed. Payment was usually made in installments, with part of the cost paid up front as cash. To amass the total capital needed for the construction of a new ship, investors purchased shares ranging from one-half to one sixty-fourth of the vessel's cost.

After the contract was signed, the master shipwright would plan the vessel's design based on what the merchant wanted and then purchase the supplies. A variety of tradesmen were needed to complete a ship, including additional shipwrights, joiners, caulkers, painters, sawyers, carvers, and plumbers. For the most part, these tradesmen worked "freelance," taking temporary jobs as they became available. In some cases, trained free blacks and slaves filled some of these roles in the shipyard, most often working as caulkers. Escaped slaves, such as Frederick Douglass, could later use these skills to earn a living as free men. Work in the maritime industry, either on the wharves or at sea, provided free African Americans with a much greater degree of equality and pay than most other jobs available to them in the early nineteenth century. Shipwrights were trained by an apprenticeship, usually from four to seven years in length, followed by temporary work until the shipwright found a permanent position or had the opportunity to purchase his own yard. Entering the industry was relatively easy for the prospective master shipwright, as little capital was needed. The only requirements were a small plot of land located near the water, a set of tools, and the necessary timber for a vessel. Except for perhaps a small supply of seasoned wood, timber was usually purchased as needed for orders. Shipyards tended to be small throughout this period, and because vessels were built by hand, production was generally low. By 1820, a successful yard completed between two and five oceangoing vessels a year, measuring from two hundred to three hundred tons each.

See also **Foreign Investment and Trade;**
Shipping Industry; Steamboat;
Transportation: Canals and Waterways;

Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop.

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Kellie M. VanHorn

SHIPPING INDUSTRY The shipping industry was vital to the early American economy. Before the Revolutionary War, the colonies' annual exports averaged £2,846,000, while imports totaled £4,233,844. Only the South maintained a favorable balance of trade; that region mainly focused on growing and exporting its extremely lucrative crops: tobacco, rice, and indigo. The situation was different in the North. Though the middle colonies had a staple crop in wheat, merchants there still imported twice as much as they exported. New England's rocky soil did not permit a staple crop; the region had to import foodstuffs from other colonies, and its imports were triple its exports. Lacking the valuable agricultural products of the South, northern merchants turned to shipping and merchandizing services. Between 1768 and 1772 colonial shipping earnings averaged £610,000, a figure second only to tobacco exports, which had an annual value of £766,000. (This was followed by bread and flour, £410,000; rice, £312,000; fish, £115,000; indigo, £113,000; corn, £83,000; pine boards, £70,000; staves and headings, £65,000; and horses, £60,000.)

COLONIAL ERA

Philadelphia and New York City were the major ports of the middle colonies; merchants varied in

their income and prestige, but some of them, such as Stephan Girard and Robert Morris of Philadelphia and Peter Livingston of New York, were among the richest men in the colonies. Wheat was the main middle colony export, but merchants also dealt in flour, flaxseed, barrel staves, and meat, dividing their trade among Britain, southern Europe, and the West Indies. Like their New England counterparts, middle colony merchants (with the exception of Quakers) dealt in slaves. Early on, merchants used British-owned ships, but by 1770, three out of five ships clearing New York and three out of four in Philadelphia were locally owned, giving rise to an active regional shipbuilding industry.

Of New England's exports (which included livestock, salted and preserved fish, wood products, rum, and potash), 60 percent went to the West Indies, 19 percent to Britain and Ireland, 15 percent to Europe, and 3 to 4 percent to the African slave trade. Boston and Newport were the region's primary ports; secondary centers included Portsmouth, Salem, and Gloucester, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; and New Haven and New London, Connecticut. Such New England merchants as Thomas and John Hancock of Boston, the Tracy and Jackson families of Newburyport, and Robert "King" Hooper of Marblehead amassed substantial wealth and built palatial homes from their earnings in shipping.

In the Chesapeake, the main crop was tobacco, shipped primarily through Scottish and English factors employed by British merchants. By the 1770s Chesapeake farmers had diversified into wheat production and were exporting 100 million pounds of tobacco and 3,000 tons of flour and bread annually. The grain trade produced new settlements, including Alexandria, Fredericksburg, and Richmond, Virginia, and Baltimore, Maryland, which had become the nation's leading flour market by 1800. These cities did not approach northern urban centers in size, but they offered more commercial services than the small towns where tobacco factors worked.

In the Lower South the main port was the wealthy city of Charleston, South Carolina. Rice was by far the most valuable export; merchants shipped two-thirds of the crop each year to Britain and sold the remainder to southern Europe and the West Indies. Other products included indigo, naval stores, and lumber products, which went mainly to Britain, and grain and meat products, sold in small quantities to the West Indies.

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) profoundly affected American shipping. An influx of

money accompanied British troops to America. The House of Hancock in Boston, for example, owed much of its considerable fortune to supplying British forces during the war. However, with peace the general prosperity ended. In 1764 and 1765 Parliament imposed the Sugar and Stamp Acts, which attempted to tax the colonies to help pay for the war, and in 1767 they passed the Townshend Act, which imposed import taxes on tea, glass, lead, and paper. These actions prompted American merchants, some more willingly than others, to sign nonimportation agreements. The Tea Act of 1773 had a similar but even more devastating effect on shipping; when a group of Bostonians destroyed a valuable shipment of tea in protest, Parliament passed a bill closing Boston's port. This and other Coercive Acts (1774) prompted the newly formed Continental Congress to curtail shipping (except for the lucrative rice trade) to Britain and the British West Indies.

THE REVOLUTION AND AFTER

When war broke out officially in April 1775, American overseas trade shut down completely; later that year Congress authorized trade with the West Indies, and in 1776 trade resumed with other non-British areas. However, until 1778 British ships blockaded New England (except Boston) and middle colony ports; after 1778 the British moved the blockade south to Savannah and Charleston. Some American merchants gave up their ships to the fledgling American navy, but others turned to smuggling or privateering or ran blockades to trade with France, Spain, and Holland, though commerce never reached pre-war levels.

After the Revolution, the nation experienced numerous economic problems, some directly linked to the struggling shipping industry. Britain prohibited American trade with the West Indies, placed high duties on rice and tobacco, and declared American-built vessels (no matter who the owner) ineligible for imperial trade. Spain and France also withdrew or curtailed their wartime trade agreements. Moreover, now that America was no longer under Britain's protection, pirates from the Barbary States in North Africa harassed American ships and demanded bribes in return for safe passage.

American exports rose after 1793, when France and Britain went to war; both countries converted their merchant vessels to warships, and American shippers found markets for food and other supplies in Europe. However, trade came at the risk of losing ships and sailors to the French and British navies, as each side resented America doing business with the

other. (From 1798 to 1800 America and France waged a Quasi-War over this issue.) The problems of ship seizures and impressments continued when France and Britain resumed hostilities in 1803 after a two-year lull. In response, President Thomas Jefferson imposed the Embargo of 1807, which prohibited American ships from engaging in any foreign trade. The disastrous embargo particularly affected New England, where reliance on shipping was greatest; it was lifted in 1809 with certain restrictions. Continuing interference with shipping led America to declare war on Britain in 1812, and exports fell drastically until the war ended in 1815. (The crisis prompted some northern merchants to invest in manufacturing, especially textile and shoe production, to ease reliance on imports.)

Despite these interruptions, in the early nineteenth century American ships were involved in the China tea, California hide, international whaling, and cotton trades, as the shipping industry benefited from the technological, transportation, and managerial innovations that characterized this era. With the invention of the cotton gin, cotton became the South's major crop. Between 1793 and 1815, annual production rose from 3 million pounds to 93 million pounds; by 1840 cotton comprised half of all U.S. overseas shipments. New designs in ships meant increased efficiency and cargo space; capacity grew from an average 300 tons in the 1820s to 1,000 tons by the 1850s. As Americans expanded further west, new canals, turnpikes, and steam-powered riverboats streamlined the movement of farm products to eastern and southern ports. In 1818 New York's Black Ball Line introduced regularly scheduled transatlantic crossings, a move that helped New York surpass Philadelphia as the nation's premier port. By 1829 the nation was poised on the brink of a golden age of American shipping, symbolized by swift, tall-masted clipper ships and expansion into distant markets. The British development of an iron-hulled, oceangoing steamship signified that even more change was imminent, but until 1860 wooden sailing ships continued to dominate the industry.

See also **China Trade; Embargo; Foreign Investment and Trade; Merchants; Quasi-War with France; Shipbuilding Industry; Slavery: Slave Trade, African; Steamboat; Transportation: Canals and Waterways; War of 1812; Whaling.**

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Diane Wenger

SHOEMAKING Shoemaking was the most ubiquitous of all crafts in the new American nation. Since nearly everyone, including slaves, wore shoes, shoemaking was arguably the most typical manufacturing occupation in the early United States.

The craft of shoemaking occupied the lower reaches of the craft occupational hierarchy. Easily learned and requiring scant physical labor, shoemaking paid poorly and most shoemakers lived only a few steps above poverty for most of their lives. In times of widespread economic distress, shoemakers' families often joined the families of tailors and day laborers in the nation's poorhouses. Even the small handful of shoemakers who produced custom shoes and boots for the wealthy elite only earned a place near the middle of artisan incomes, making little more than a successful carpenter or stonemason.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the technology of shoemaking was little changed from what it had been in the Middle Ages. A skilled master shoemaker used a pattern to cut the pieces of leather that would come together as a shoe. This was the most critical part of the production process, for ill-cut pieces would ruin a shoe and make the costly leather into scrap. Once cut, the master formed the leather over a three-dimensional mold called a last, pulling and curving the leather into the shape of a shoe. The most skilled work completed, the master typically passed the cut and formed leather to a journeyman, who stitched the parts of the shoe together and then sewed the upper part of the soon-to-be shoe to the sole, using an awl to push heavy thread through the accumulated layers of leather. At this point the new shoe only needed finishing—

trimming, making holes for laces, and polishing. These tasks were left for apprentices or, more often, to family members. The kitchen tables of many shoemakers' homes were perpetually covered with half-finished shoes as wives and children worked on them at free intervals between their daily household chores.

Living at the margins of self-sufficiency, shoemakers were not surprisingly at the forefront of America's first labor movement. By the 1820s, a growing number of crafts had succumbed to the economic pressures of central shops and early manufacturing, which produced goods at costs well below what artisans could manage. While shoemaking would not be mechanized until the 1850s, the reorganization of labor in central shops posed a serious threat to the long-standing trade. Central shops were usually owned by master craftsmen or wholesale merchants, who used a simple division of labor to produce large quantities of shoes at reduced prices. Breaking craft traditions, shop owners either cut the leather shoe pieces themselves or hired a skilled master shoemaker to perform that critical task. The shop owner then hired semi-trained journeymen or apprentices, paying them weekly wages to perform routine tasks under their direction. By having their employees perform a small set of tasks repetitively and then passing their work on to the next worker, central shop owners were able to take advantage of the economies of divided labor to outproduce small, independent shoemakers using the traditional craft organization of labor.

In this way, growing numbers of would-be shoemakers became permanent employees in central shops. As these central shops proliferated, competition brought shop owners to push down wages in an attempt to remain solvent. Wage cutting thus became a way of life for workers employed in central shops. Still tied to the traditions of independence that lingered in the declining crafts, journeymen shoemakers soon began to protest the constant shaving of their wages by their employers. Reasoning that their labor was the bedrock of the new nation itself, a number of journeymen shoemakers, tailors, and cabinetmakers in America's largest cities began to organize, threatening to withdraw their labor entirely if livable wage levels were not maintained. For their efforts, in 1806 the leaders of Philadelphia's journeymen cordwainers society were arrested, tried, and convicted in the city's mayor's court for common law conspiracy in restraint of trade. The cordwainers' trial was the first labor law ruling in the new nation, and it established a precedent effectively outlawing

workers' organizations until it was overturned in 1842.

The 1806 trial ended the cordwainers' strike, but it was not forgotten in the ensuing years. When, in 1827 and 1828, William Heighton, a Philadelphia journeyman shoemaker, organized the nation's first citywide union, the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations (MUTA), overturning the precedent set by the cordwainer's case was one of his major concerns. In the face of legal threats, the MUTA and its shoemaker leadership fought a long and often successful battle with Philadelphia's employers and in the process set a model for union organization that would last into the twenty-first century. Thus, although the weakest of the new nation's trades, shoemaking established one of the most important and enduring legacies in the history of American labor.

See also **Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Factory Labor.**

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Ronald Schultz

SIBLINGS In the large households of early America virtually everyone had siblings, and they must have mattered a great deal, but this has not promoted the study of siblicity by family historians or scholars of the history of childhood. Lateral functional, affective, and power relations have been neglected in family narratives organized around the rise, dominance, and erosion of "patriarchal" systems of household government. Formidable problems of evidence help to explain this neglect, but the price paid in distorted understandings of the evolution of the American social structure may be considerable.

Everywhere historians look between 1750 and 1830, brothers and sisters are found shaping each others' lives and fortunes. Jane Martin was orphaned near Philadelphia in 1747. Her siblings scat-

tered through a network of foster families, but for five decades—as a disowned Friend, the separated wife of a Loyalist refugee, and a single mother and businesswoman—her life oscillated around that of her brother John. The emergence of Joseph Brant (1742–1807), the Mohawk warrior, as a leader of Iroquois resistance to colonial expansion was mediated by his sister, Mary, the wife of a British imperial official. Throughout his life, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) considered his younger sister, Jane Mecom, to be one of his closest allies. Charles Wollstonecraft was sent to America in 1792 by his English sister, Mary (1759–1797), to become a farmer. He remained her “favourite” sibling, although his subsequent career as a soldier in an army raised for the Quasi-War against revolutionary France might not have gratified her radical political sensibilities if she had lived long enough to know about it. In New England seaports like Salem, during the generation after independence and before the emergence of institutional merchant banking, strategic marriages between sets of siblings in merchant families provided capital and guarded against legal liability for members of small firms engaged in international commerce.

Anecdotal cases, alas, do not bodies of knowledge make, and most generalizations about sibling relations are based on little more. What systematic study has been done has paid more attention to southern societies than to northern ones, despite the wealth of demographic and genealogical data in the latter regions. There are hints that the practice of “putting out” northern children for socialization or apprenticeship purposes disrupted intragenerational ties, while the prevalence of orphanages and blended households intensified fraternal-sororal bonds in the South. Some scholars assume that there was an inherently oppositional tension between sibling and patriarchal dynamics. Relatively equal power among sibling cohorts, it is thought, allowed their members to interact in less deferential ways than those required between parents—especially fathers—and children, or husbands and wives, possibly helping to soften or even subvert long-standing imbalances of gendered power among adults.

Scholars may mistake snapshot data samples from particular times or places for evidence of either enduring structures or meaningful trends. Sibling dynamics under some circumstances may have facilitated the reproduction and intergenerational transmission of familial power structures that scholars call patriarchal, but under others undermined them. The absence of mature household heads or young

adult men from farms and shops caused by the Revolution—or by post-Revolutionary efforts to settle the trans-Appalachian frontier—may have begun processes of change by which the authoritarian family types experienced by Cotton Mather (1663–1728) and Abigail Adams (1744–1818) evolved into the more companionate ones familiar to the generations of Noah Webster (1758–1843) or Mary Todd Lincoln (1818–1882). These conjectures, speculations, and “may have beens,” while hardly congenial to the sensibilities of encyclopedic curiosity, show the need for historical attention to this subject. When stronger generalizations are found, it will be in studies that begin with cohorts of children being socialized in nuclear hearths, rather than with adult siblings already operating in their own separate worlds. The latter actors may generate more accessible and articulate evidence, but the former harbor the secrets of siblicity.

See also **Domestic Life**.

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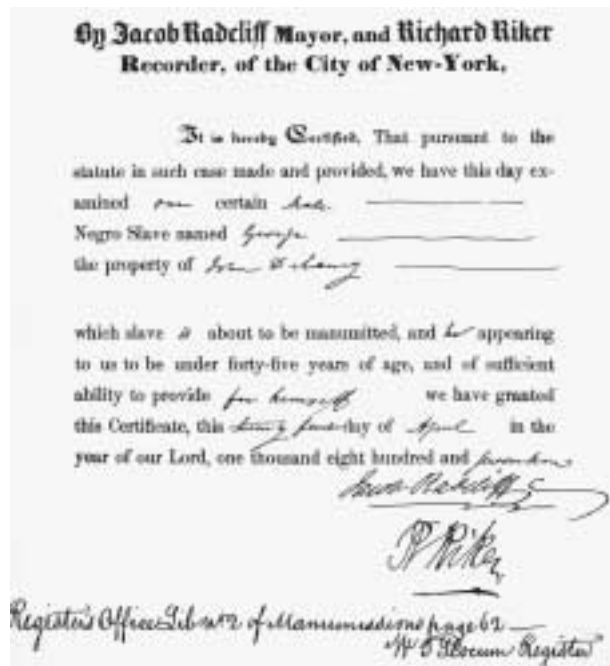
Wayne Bodle

SLAVERY

This entry consists of eight separate articles: *Overview*, *Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities*, *Slave Insurrections*, *Slave Life*, *Slave Patrols*, *Slavery and the Founding Generation*, *Slave Trade*, *African*, and *Slave Trade, Domestic*.

Overview

During the Revolutionary era an array of forces combined to strike a powerful blow against the institution of slavery. Foremost among them was a burgeoning and well-articulated, Quaker-led, religious attack on slavery. This religious opposition combined with the political philosophy of natural rights embedded in the Declaration of Independence, as well as a growing anti-British sentiment, increasingly associated with human traffic between Africa and Britain's colonies, to produce a Revolutionary philosophy that espoused not only freedom from British oppression, but also political and personal freedom



Certificate of Manumission. This document from the Recorder of the City of New York certified that a slave named George was freed in 1817. © BETTMAN/CORBIS.

for all Americans. The demands for freedom from British “enslavement” were not lost on those who were locked in slavery. During the political and military conflict, enslaved African Americans acted in ways that further loosened the bonds of slavery and forced a national reevaluation of the place of slavery in national life. What had appeared to be a smooth and unwavering development of human slavery was halted in some parts of the new country; in others it was stopped in its tracks. Where slavery did not end immediately or gradually, it would receive more legal and political support in the new nation than it had ever enjoyed under British supervision.

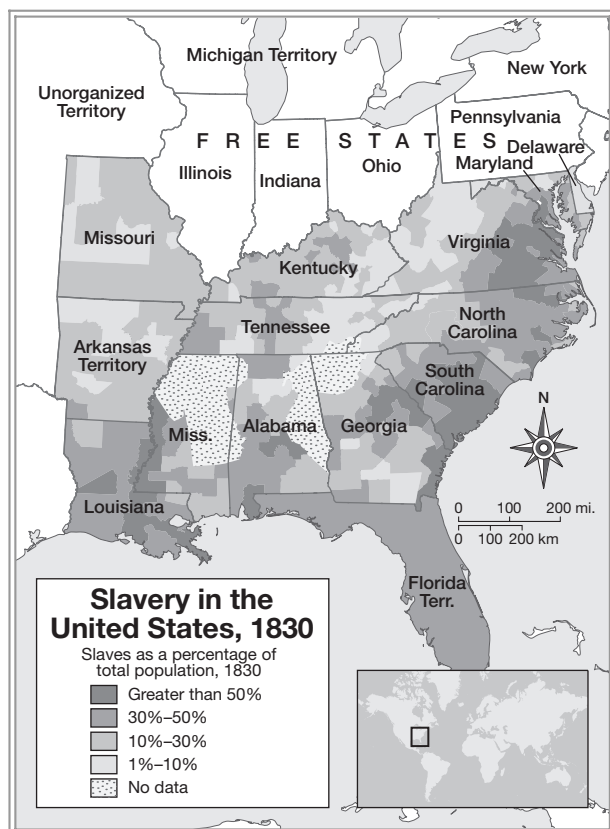
Resistance to British authority was intense in cities like Boston and Philadelphia, which were also centers of agitation against the international slave trade. Before the 1770s, few American voices had been raised against slavery, and those most frequently heard were directed not at domestic slavery but at the African slave trade. The quick and easy convergence of anti-British and antislavery sentiment brought thousands to the cause of antislavery. American patriotism, as Thomas Jefferson’s first draft of the Declaration of Independence had revealed, could accommodate a throbbing antislavery vein. The early activism of the Quakers and other religious groups, such as the Presbyterians in Pennsylvania, Methodists in the Chesapeake region, and Baptists in New

England, provided the physical and moral platform on which a more radical antislavery could be built. At the same time, however, Revolutionary agitation also came from planters in Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, as well as slaveholders with smaller holdings in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. Slavery was of course legal in all of the thirteen colonies when they declared independence from Britain, and the overwhelming majority of Patriot masters saw no contradiction between fighting for their own liberty and continuing to hold other people as slaves. Indeed, many masters would have said that their liberty was tied to their status as owners of property, including slaves.

Military leaders on both sides of the conflict soon recognized the benefits of recruiting enslaved African Americans into their ranks as soldiers, sailors, or ancillary workers. African Americans were equally quick at sensing an opportunity to win their freedom. Many slaves in Virginia answered Lord Dunmore’s call in November 1775 to join the British army to help suppress their Patriot masters. This was the first of many ironies attached to the status of slavery during the Revolution: freedom for slaves was as likely or more likely to come from the “tyranny” of Britain than the “liberty” of the American cause.

On the other hand, in New England hundreds of slaves and free blacks answered the call to fight the British, and in so doing helped destroy slavery in that region. Initially General George Washington was shocked by the black faces among his troops. A Virginia planter who owned a considerable number of slaves, he could not fathom the idea of arming black men. By the end of the war he had come to rely on his black soldiers. At Yorktown he relied on a mostly black unit to charge a key British position. Indeed, military necessity made armed black soldiers a common sight throughout the duration of conflict. In return for enlisting, slaves received freedom, sometimes freedom for their families, and a vague promise of more.

The war undermined slavery throughout the North. By the end of the war Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and what would become the fourteenth state, Vermont, had adopted constitutional provisions to abolish slavery. Pennsylvania had passed a gradual abolition act that would end slavery over a number of years. Connecticut and Rhode Island passed similar laws in 1784. In the next two decades New York (1799) and New Jersey (1804) passed similar legislation. The slow pace of abolition in those two states reflected both conservative politics



and a larger slave population. In 1790 New York had more than 21,000 slaves and New Jersey more than 11,000.

In the South thousands of slaves escaped to freedom during the war, while thousands more joined the British or, less frequently, the American Army, to gain their freedom. In 1782 Virginia allowed masters the right to free their slaves, and the state's free black population grew rapidly, from about 2,000 in 1780 to over 30,000 by 1810. For most southern slaves, however, the Revolution meant little. The rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness that southern whites claimed for themselves were not available for their slaves.

THE RISE OF SLAVERY

In 1790, 94 percent of the 698,000 slaves in the United States lived in what would emerge, in the coming decades, as "the South." In spite of this crucial demographic, the frequent denunciations of slavery by Southern political leaders suggested a general move toward the curtailment of human slavery. It soon became clear to antislavery Northerners, however, that the southern slaveholders' position on slavery and abolition was fundamentally at odds with their own. For Southerners, the "evil of its con-

tinuation had to be compared with the problem and consequences of its abolition" (MacLeod, p. 29). However powerful the moral or political impetus, pragmatic considerations predominated.

Leading Southerners, like Virginia's Patrick Henry, for example, were, as Henry put it, "drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them." A fellow slaveholder, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney of South Carolina, was adamant that "without them South Carolina would soon be a desert waste." These and other Southern states, having witnessed firsthand the fighting ability of their slave population, were uniquely concerned about the economic and social cost of emancipation. Supporters of slavery were soon equating emancipation with economic disaster, personal danger, and social chaos. Not surprisingly, the moderates in Southern legislatures were those who considered it unnecessary to reopen the African slave trade. There was little support for measures that would undermine rather than repair and strengthen the institution of slavery.

Although not completely absent in the South, antislavery sentiment took on a distinct hue. One of the South's leading antislavery supporters was St. George Tucker of Virginia, who advocated for equal justice for free black Americans yet like most slaveholders in the South supported black removal. If black people were to remain in the North it would be as second-class citizens; in the South, they had to be enslaved. The natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence would not apply in any meaningful way to the masses of black Americans, slave or free.

REVOLUTIONARY IDEALS AND ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REALITIES

In compromising their principles of human freedom in the new and egalitarian society, the founding fathers created a constitutional legal order that protected both black slavery and white male supremacy. The very principles that had propelled and supported the Revolutionary struggle and struck a body blow to the institution of slavery would succumb to the exigencies of nation building. Although the United States Constitution never mentioned the words "slaves" or "slavery," it acknowledged and protected the property rights of slaveholders. Among the several compromises was the federal ratio (Article I, section 2). Better known as the three-fifths clause, this provision counted slaves on a three-fifths basis in allocating representation in Congress and also in allocating votes in the electoral college. The three-fifths clause would give the South extra political muscle in

Congress and provide the margin of victory in the vote over the Missouri Compromise in the House of Representatives. More important, perhaps, Thomas Jefferson's electoral college victory in 1800 came from the presidential electors created by the three-fifths clause.

The federal ratio gave to the slave states a voting power in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college (ultimately responsible for the election of the president) far beyond that to which their free population entitled them. Effectively, every 20,000 free white persons with 50,000 slaves controlled the political representation equal to 50,000 free white persons outside the slave states. The anti-slavery promise of the Revolution was sacrificed in the name of national unity.

In addition to the three-fifths clause, the Constitution protected the rights of masters to recover runaway slaves through the fugitive slave clause, prohibited taxes on exports such as tobacco and rice (which Southerners viewed as a way of taxing slavery), and guaranteed that the national government would suppress insurrections and rebellions (which included slave rebellions). The Constitution prohibited Congress from ending the African slave trade for at least twenty years but did not guarantee an end to it after that. In the heated debate over this clause, Connecticut's Oliver Ellsworth explained that he would support the demands of the Deep South, because "What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the states are the best judges of their particular interest."

Most important, the Constitution created a government of limited powers, and those powers did not include the regulation of the domestic institutions of the states, which included slavery. As General Pinckney told the South Carolina House of Representatives, "We have a security that the general government can never emancipate them, for no such authority is granted and 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 the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia to write the Constitution, the Congress meeting under the Articles of Confederation passed the Northwest Ordinance, which prohibited slavery in the territories north of the Ohio River and implicitly allowed slavery in the territories south of the river.

When the new government was established under the Constitution, slavery was firmly entrenched in the nation. With a total population of

just under four million, the new nation had about 700,000 slaves, almost all of them concentrated in the states south of Pennsylvania.

PLANTATION SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH

In Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Virginia, plantation owners faced different demands. Tobacco farmers in the Chesapeake region of Maryland and Virginia increasingly turned to wheat as a money crop—the labor needs associated with growing this grain, when combined with liberalized ideas on slavery and freedom, sometimes led to a willingness to end the slave trade. During the mild agricultural depression of the 1780s and early 1790s, these sentiments grew as there actually seemed to be a region-wide surplus of black slaves. It was a different picture farther south, where the flight of tens of thousands of bondsmen to British and Spanish lines had caused a substantial decline in the number of black workers available to tend damaged and neglected plantations. Here, agricultural output suffered, causing the production of tobacco, rice, and indigo to fall well below prewar levels. In the rice and indigo regions of the Carolinas and Georgia, the desire to replace wartime slave losses and rebuild levees and rice irrigation canals triggered a demand to keep the African trade open.

In 1793 Eli Whitney of Connecticut, while visiting the Georgia plantation of Nathaniel Greene, made a simple refinement of the old roller gin and thus removed the main obstacle to large-scale production of cotton in the Southern states. The early spread of cotton was slow but steady as farmers made the adjustment from other more familiar staples. Between 1800 and 1808 the Deep South would import about 100,000 new slaves from Africa to help satisfy its seemingly insatiable demand for more laborers. The nation would gain another 30,000 slaves through the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. The closing of the African slave trade in 1808 shut off legal importations, although the nation would gain another 10,000 slaves with the acquisition of Florida in 1821. After 1808, however, cotton production in the United States was so widespread that planters demanded more labor, and an illegal African slave trade brought perhaps another thousand slaves a year to the nation. The high birth rate among slaves, as well as the last burst of legal importations, led to a growing slave population. Between 1790 and 1830 the slave population nearly tripled, from about 700,000 to over two million.

The expansion of cotton into the Old Southwest—Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisi-

ana—led to a huge migration of slaves and masters. Some slaves were moved west as their owners abandoned depleted land in the east for the rich soil of the Black Belt and the Mississippi Delta. Other slaves were simply sold away, marched west in chains to carve out plantations in the emerging Cotton Kingdom. Mississippi, for example, had about 3,000 slaves in 1800 and over 65,000 by 1830; Louisiana went from 34,000 slaves to 109,000 in the same period. Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas were the main sources of slave migration, and the main importing states were first Kentucky and Tennessee and later, with the opening of the West, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. So rapid was the expansion of cotton production, with its insatiable demand for black labor, that in a few short years parts of the South became unrecognizable. Many areas that only a generation earlier had been characterized by white family farms were drawn into cotton cultivation and slavery. One result of this change was a decline in the number of manumissions and the slow disappearance of antislavery sentiment in the region.

WESTWARD EXPANSION

Despite the constitutional agreement on slavery, the subject was never far from the center of most political issues. The slave rebellion in St. Domingue (Haiti) and the ever-present specter of slave rebellion at home struck a chord at all levels of American society. It gave the enslaved hope of their own liberation, buoyed the growing band of antislavers, and deeply disturbed slaveholders who imagined themselves surrounded by would-be rebels. The Gabriel Prosser slave insurrection in Richmond, Virginia, in August 1800 only added to the national tension and intruded in the upcoming elections. Southerners were quick to distinguish their man, Jefferson, who owned slaves, from incumbent President John Adams, who did not. Jefferson did not discourage this new development, authorizing his leading spokesman in South Carolina to point out his conviction that the Constitution “has not empowered the federal legislature to touch in the remotest degree the question respecting the condition of property of slaves in any of the states.”

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, Jefferson’s first major act as president, the United States more than doubled its boundaries, and once again the issue of slavery in the nation crept slowly to center stage. Of course, the South shared Jefferson’s excitement at the opportunity to extend the nation’s frontier so far, so quickly. Whereas slaveholders envisioned a “boundless agrarian empire,” most people in the

North had in mind an expanding nation of family farms, towns, and cities. Indeed, the years from 1810 to 1819 saw the population of the trans-Appalachian region more than double, and five new states joined the Union.

THE MISSOURI CRISIS

In 1790 some 47 percent of the nation’s population lived in the slave states. Excluding the slave population, the region constituted only a little more than a third of the whole. Thus, aided by the growing number of black slaves, a third of the nation’s white population controlled 46 percent of the seats in the House of Congress. By 1820 the region’s share was still a high 42 percent despite the decline in the relative size of the slave states’ white population. The near political parity was a direct result of the federal ratio, without which the slave states would have had a clear minority status and far less influence in Congress and the electoral college. In 1820 the slave states had twenty more seats in the House of Representatives than they otherwise would have had if their slaves had not been counted toward their representation. As Senator Rufus King of New York argued, under the unfair rule of slave representation, the vote of five Southerners was equal to that of seven Northerners in selecting both the president and members of the House.

On the eve of Missouri’s application for entrance into the Union as a slave state, the Senate had an equal number of senators representing free and slave states. Missouri’s entrance would tip the balance in favor of the slave states and so upset the equilibrium in the Senate. There was no obvious reason why the Southern politicians should have anticipated any difficulty with Missouri’s application. That the territory’s constitution protected slavery caused no great alarm. Slavery had been legal in Missouri under both the French and Spanish. As a part of the Louisiana Purchase, the United States government had guaranteed the preservation of slavery. Between 1803 and 1819, therefore, slavery had been a legitimate part of the American Missouri. Indeed, prior to 1819, Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Louisiana (1812), and Mississippi (1817) had all gained admission with little discussion. Even the recent admission of Alabama in December 1819 had presented few problems.

Missouri’s entrance caused such a stir in part because Missouri’s petition for statehood was the first attempt to allow slavery in a state that lay north of the implicit dividing line of the Ohio River established by the Northwest Ordinance. As Missouri lay direct-

ly west of Illinois, a free state created out of the Old Northwest Territory from which Congress had barred slavery in 1787, it appeared to some people that its admission as a slave state would take slavery beyond its traditional bounds. For the first time since the constitutional debates, supporters of slavery and its expansion would face a sustained attack on the institution. Southern politicians took a stand and made a public and passionate defense of their system of slavery; in so doing they deepened their region's commitment to the institution. For the second time, the slave states declined the opportunity to begin the process of gradually loosening their attachment to human slavery and chose instead to tighten their grip on what would become known as "the peculiar institution." The main element in the compromise reached over Missouri's entrance into the Union was that the nation would be formally divided into free states and slave states.

Slave rebellions, such as the Haitian Revolution abroad and Gabriel's rebellion at home, made Southerners increasingly fearful of any antislavery agitation. In the 1820s the forces for and against slavery became increasingly entrenched. The publication of the *Appeal* (1829) by David Walker, a free black man, encouraging the enslaved to rise up and throw off their chains, and radical abolitionism under the leadership of William Lloyd Garrison threatened the institution of slavery. When slave rebel Nat Turner led his band of the enslaved against their enslavers, Virginia's response was brutal. After a short period of postrebellion calm, Virginia legislators conducted a debate on the states' future attachment to human slavery not unlike those that had taken place four decades earlier in Northern states.

While Virginians argued over slavery, the political and moral center of Southern leadership and its defense of slavery shifted to South Carolina. Under the leadership of John C. Calhoun and a growing band of Southern nationalists, Southern slaveholders pursued a "positive good" defense, which originated in the 1820s, in an articulation of the general benefits of slavery. This defense would soon become Southern orthodoxy. In a desperate need to retain their influence in the national political arena and so protect their institution, Southern leaders would shift the battleground to the western territories and employ a new strategy: the geographical extension of slavery.

CONCLUSION

The ideology of revolution had a profound impact on the institution of slavery. It triggered the first na-

tional debate that pulled together nascent antislavery individuals and groups and witnessed the geographical fall and rise of the institution. Revolutionary ideology allowed religious folk to combine their Christian principles with the natural rights philosophy of the Declaration of Independence. This offered large numbers of the enslaved the opportunity to aspire to freedom and armed their supporters with a powerful new political weapon. Wartime cracks appeared in a system, which under the British government had not yet coalesced into a social system driven by racial subordination. What was the racial norm in regions of the South was largely unfamiliar in most areas of the North. Revolutionary ideology shook slaveholder and slave alike, sharply dividing the country. Indeed, by 1819, when the nation engaged in a second national debate on slavery, it could only agree to formalize the status quo and require supporters of slavery and its expansion to provide a positive justification for what they now considered a fixture on the American economic, political, and racial landscape. The new nation had drifted a long way from the lofty ideals of its Revolution.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Overview; African Americans: African American Responses to Slavery and Race; Antislavery; Articles of Confederation; Constitutional Convention; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Emancipation and Manumission; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Louisiana Purchase; Missouri Compromise; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Plantation, The; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion.**

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Larry E. Hudson Jr.

Runaway Slaves and Maroon Communities

From the beginning of slavery in colonial Virginia, slaves ran away from their owners for a variety of reasons. Some were dissatisfied with working conditions; others had been severely punished; others attempted to follow loved ones who were sold to distant locations; still others simply wished to take a break from the drudgery of bondage. Although the motives of runaways were as varied as slavery itself, the profile of those who ran away varied little over time. The great majority were young men in their teens and twenties. Because of the dangers and difficulties of taking children along, only about one in five was female. Most who ran away were described in advertisements as intelligent, cunning, active, bold, artful, friendly, or polite. Some were thought to have forged passes. They ran away during every season of the year and they ran off in every direction.

Beginning in the early years of Virginia and South Carolina slavery, and continuing after the colonial period, some African- and Caribbean-born slaves ran away to the woods, swamps, mountains, or dense forests near their plantations, where they established settlements. Called "outliers" or "outlying slaves," they sometimes absconded to negotiate concessions, such as improvements in food, housing, living conditions, work routines, and family visitation privileges, from their owners before they would return on their own. As time passed, it was rare that owners dealt with slaves by striking a bargain for their return. Although their numbers fluctuated over time, pockets of outlying slaves, in the Caribbean known as Maroon communities, were always a part of the region's landscape. During the 1730s some fugitives fled to Spanish Florida. In 1765 some forty runaways, including women and children, lived in a settlement with four substantial buildings in the swamp north of the Savannah River in South Carolina. In the Chesapeake region the terrain and majority white population made establishing runaway encampments difficult. One group of African-born slaves ran away to the mountainous backcountry. There men, women, and children attempted to recreate an African society on the frontier.

Over time, the main change in the population of runaway slaves was the decline in the number of African-born slaves. By the nineteenth century, most runaways were American-born and ran off alone. They often headed for the nearest town or city and hoped to blend in with other slaves and free blacks. Another difference between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was that in the early period more runaways were described as "black" or "negro" (usually meaning black) than in the later period, when a significant proportion were described as persons of mixed racial origin. In fact, an analysis of newspaper advertisements in five states during the 1850s found the more than 40 percent of the slaves who absconded were described as mulatto, light-skinned, brown, yellow, copper, red, "rather light," bright yellow, or "a negro, but not of the blackest cast." At the same time, persons of mixed origin, according to the census, represented only about 10 percent of the slave population. Mulatto slaves were often given positions as house servants, maids, cooks, tailors, waiters, and barbers; with such skills, they could more easily attempt to pass as free blacks.

From the colonial period until the end of slavery, bands of runaways, living in isolated, heavily wooded or swampy areas, or running to the mountains and beyond, attempted to maintain a separate existence. Some of these groups sustained their cohesiveness for several years, a few for longer periods. They made forays into populated farming sections for food, clothing, livestock, and trading items. Sometimes they bartered with free blacks, plantation slaves, or whites who owned no slaves. Only the Great Dismal Swamp, on the border of Virginia and North Carolina, and the marshes and morasses of south-central Florida sheltered generational communities of outlying slaves in North America, and even these two were not comparable to Maroon societies in other parts of the New World. The primary reason outlying bands failed to sustain themselves in the United States was the concerted effort on the part of slave owners, militiamen, and patrollers to find and destroy the outliers. It was only when the terrain was impenetrable that fugitives were able to remain at large.

If runaway gangs seldom lasted more than a year or two and often ended with many among them being killed, some individual slaves managed to sustain themselves by posing as free blacks. In the towns and cities of the South, a number of escaped slaves, especially the most skilled, were able to hire their own time and sometimes meld into the free black population. Although there were ebbs and flows in

the economies of Southern cities, in most periods hired slaves were in demand. In many urban areas, as competing whites pointed out, slaves dominated certain occupations. Although prohibited in most places by law, self-hire was widespread; if runaways could convince a potential employer that they had been sent by their owner to find work, they could often be hired with few questions asked.

A few runaways, often the most ingenious, persistent, and lucky, made it to the North. Some of them received assistance from Quakers, the Underground Railroad, and antislavery whites. Traversing the great distance from the Deep South to the North was extremely difficult, but some were able to find assistance along the way and in the North or Canada.

Owners, of course, had the right to pursue their human property. In 1793 and again in 1850, the Congress passed fugitive slave laws outlining the procedures of how owners could claim their slaves in the North and return them to the South. Those who persisted in absconding usually paid a heavy price. Most contemporaries affirmed that what were called habitual or perpetual runaways received cruel and brutal punishments. Slaves escaped with the mark of the whip on their backs, irons on their ankles, missing fingers and toes, and brands on their cheeks and forehead. Indeed, the power of those in control was brought to bear with rapid efficiency against slaves who sought to sustain themselves in freedom. What is surprising, given the odds against them, was the growing stream of runaway slaves that continued unabated over many decades. Conservative estimates put the number at about fifty thousand blacks each year during the antebellum period, with perhaps two thousand making it to freedom. Despite their lack of success, runaways served as a constant reminder to the slaveholding class that the property they were seeking to control was not controllable and the image they were trying to project, as benevolent paternalistic masters, was false.

See also **Antislavery; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Law: Slavery Law.**

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Loren Schweninger

Slave Insurrections

Resistance to slavery in the early national United States took a form very different from the large-scale slave insurrections that arose in South America and the Caribbean. Massive slave rebellions were far less common than day-to-day resistance or individual acts of violence for a combination of reasons: the presence of a heavily armed white majority in every state except South Carolina (and, toward the very end of the antebellum period, Mississippi); the lack of an impregnable hinterland to accommodate Maroon colonies from which runaway slaves could besiege plantations; the relatively dispersed nature and small size of slaveholding; and the fact that the landlord class was in residence, not absentee. In the years after the Revolution, slaves achieved living space enough to build stable families and rich spiritual communities. Given the odds against success, it is hardly surprising that the handful of slaves bold enough to rise for their freedom found their rebellions reduced to unsuccessful conspiracies and their fellows doomed to die in combat or on the gallows.

Insurgent slaves in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, far from uniformly sharing the same vision and goals, differed from one another as much as did white Revolutionaries in the same era. Jemmy, an Angolan who led an agrarian uprising in 1739 near Stono River, South Carolina, tried to hasten his African followers to freedom across the border into Spanish Florida. Caesar Varick, who only two years later conspired to burn New York City and flee with other bondmen to French Canada, which was then at war with the colonies, lived in one of North America's largest urban centers with an Irish wife. In 1800 Gabriel, a young, secular rebel who had turned away from African traditions, hoped to stay and work in a more egalitarian Virginia. Denmark Vesey, an aged free black who bought his freedom the year before Gabriel died, expected to achieve a limited exodus for his family and followers by leading them out of Charleston to Haiti. In 1822 Vesey and his chief lieutenant, "Gullah" Jack Pritchard, an East African priest, fused African theology with the Old Testament God of wrath and justice, whereas in 1831 Nat Turner relied on Christian millennial themes and hoped to bring on the day of jubilee for black Virginians. Beyond their obvious abilities as leaders and

their equally obvious desire to breathe free, bond rebels in America fit no simple pattern.

METHODS AND AIMS

If slave rebellions in North America correspond to any single model, it is that they proliferated during times when the white majority was divided against itself. Colonial insurgents in South Carolina and New York City turned to violence at a time when their masters were at war with France and Spain. Gabriel, the most politicized of all the slave rebels, formulated his plans during the divisive election of 1800, when Federalists and Republicans threatened to take up arms against one another. The rebels in the Tidewater area of Virginia, despite the memory of the repression that followed Gabriel's death, began to organize again during the chaos of the War of 1812. Having read of the Missouri debates in Charleston newspapers, Vesey prayed that Northern whites would prove tardy in riding to the rescue of the estranged Southerners. Slaves near Natchez, Mississippi, began to plan for their freedom in 1861, following the outbreak of the Civil War.

Most of all, slaves, who well knew what they were up against and rarely contemplated suicidal ventures, plotted for their freedom only when safer avenues had been closed to them. For most of the seventeenth century, for example, when the high death rate in the southern colonies made inexpensive white indentured servants far more numerous than costly African slaves, enterprising bondpersons relied more on self-purchase than the sword. It was only after landless whites and hard-used white indentured workers under the command of Nathaniel Bacon burned Jamestown in 1676 that southern planters made a concerted effort to replace white servants with African slaves. The comprehensive Virginia Slave Code of 1705, the first of its kind in colonial North America, crushed the hope of industrious slaves that they might be upwardly mobile. Only then, as North American racial walls rapidly hardened, did desperate slaves turn to physically hazardous paths toward freedom. In April 1712 twenty-five Coromantee Africans burned several buildings in New York City and killed nine whites. Several rebels committed suicide before they could be captured, but those taken alive were broken on the wheel and hanged in chains as a warning to future rebels.

In the early eighteenth century, mainland revolts rarely posed much real danger to the slaveholding regime. Because the Atlantic slave trade was at its peak, every colony included large numbers of native Africans who sought to escape from bondage by building

isolated Maroon communities in remote areas. There they tried to re-create the African communities they had lost. Even the two most significant rebellions of the period—the 1739 Stono River uprising and Varick's 1741 plan to torch New York City—were led by Africans who dreamed only of ending their own bondage, not of ending unfree labor in general. The price of failure was high. New York authorities ordered Varick and twelve of his followers burned alive; eighteen others were hanged and seventy more bondmen were banished from the colony.

SLAVE REBELLION IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

The American Revolution alternately discouraged and stimulated slave rebellions. Although the British invasion and the animosity between Patriots and Loyalists presented slaves with a unique opportunity to organize, most slaves chose instead to take advantage of the dislocation of war to escape with their families into the growing cities or behind British lines. (The Revolution was the one time in North American history when equal numbers of female and male slaves ran away.) The aggressive bondmen who cast their lots with the military forces of King George were precisely the sort of bold, determined slaves who tended to organize slave conspiracies; thus the bloody fighting in the southern states after 1778 actually diminished the prospect that a mainland counterpart of Toussaint Louverture, the Haitian liberator, would rise out of the tobacco plantations.

Nonetheless, as Eugene D. Genovese suggests in his influential study *From Rebellion to Revolution* (1979), the age of revolution, and especially the slave revolt in Saint Domingue (Haiti) in 1791, marked a change in patterns in black resistance. The Caribbean rebels under the leadership of Boukman and Toussaint Louverture sought not only to destroy the power of their Parisian absentee masters but also to join the societies in which they lived on equal terms. For black Americans determined to realize the egalitarian promise of the American Revolution, the news from the Caribbean reminded them that, if they dared, the end of slavery—not only their own freedom—might be within reach. Born in 1776, the blacksmith Gabriel, who with his lieutenants in 1800 instigated the most extensive plot in Virginia history, hoped to force the white patriot elite to live up to its stated ideal: that all men were created free and equal. Leading a small army of slaves in Henrico County, he planned to march into Richmond under a banner proclaiming, "Death or Liberty." Governor James Monroe and other white authorities did not doubt that Louverture's victories had an enormous effect on blacks in the early national South.

In several cases, bondmen who had been carried from revolutionary Saint Domingue by their masters participated in North American slave revolts. In 1792 slaves on Virginia's Eastern Shore proposed to "blow up the magazine in Norfolk, and massacre its inhabitants." Although the rebel leader Caleb, a favored servant and driver, was evidently American-born, several of his recruits were Haitian refugees, and all—according to trial testimony—had been inspired by the example of Saint Domingue. Two decades later, in 1811, one of the most extensive conspiracies in the history of the United States erupted in southern Louisiana, only a few miles upriver from New Orleans. Slaves led by a mulatto driver named Charles Deslondes, reputedly aware of events in Saint Domingue, announced their intention of marching on the city "to kill whites." Eyewitness accounts placed the number of rebels at 180 to 500.

ISOLATED REBELLIONS

After Gabriel's execution and the death of twenty-five of his followers in the fall of 1800, slave rebellions on the eastern seaboard became both less common and less politically conscious. Slaves who worked along the rivers in southern Virginia and Halifax County, North Carolina, under the leadership of Sancho, a ferryman, formed a loosely connected scheme to rise on Easter Monday of 1802. But Sancho, despite having been involved in Gabriel's plot, shared little of Gabriel's dream of a multiracial republic. Even when the dislocations of the War of 1812 and a second British invasion of the Chesapeake once more gave bondmen in Virginia an opportunity to rise for their liberty, an ideological dimension was lacking. Gloucester County authorities jailed ten slaves in March 1813, and the following month found rebels in Williamsburg "condemned on a charge of conspiracy and insurrection." By the late summer and early fall, rumors of revolt unnerved inhabitants of Norfolk and Richmond as well.

White authorities crushed these isolated rebellions with relative ease, reminding leaders in the slave community that the determined white majority in the American South posed a formidable obstacle to insurgents. Denmark Vesey of Charleston, perhaps the most pragmatic of all the rebel leaders, realized that Gabriel's dream of forcing mainland elites to accommodate blacks' aspirations to freedom and economic justice was impossible. Vesey plotted, therefore, not to end slavery in South Carolina, but instead to lead a mass escape from Charleston to the Caribbean, where he had lived and worked as a boy. Hoping to take control of the city on the night of 14

July 1822, Vesey's recruits—many of them Africans—intended to slaughter the inhabitants of the city and seize bank reserves before fleeing to Haiti, an embattled black republic sorely in need of capital and skilled labor.

Despite the overwhelming amount of evidence testifying to black rebelliousness, some historians attribute servile conspiracies to white paranoia, or even to Machiavellian plots on the part of white authorities to eliminate potential black leaders. One scholar suggests that insurgents never planned for their freedom in New York City in 1741, Antigua in 1736, the Chesapeake in the 1790s, and southern Virginia in 1802. Another historian, Michael Johnson, argues that "the evidence cannot sustain a credible interpretation that the Stono Revolt was a slave rebellion," and he also doubts that Gabriel's conspiracy and Vesey's plot constituted "incipient rebellion[s]."

No modern scholar, however, has challenged the reality of Nat Turner's bloody revolt. Fifty-seven dead white Virginians are hard to explain away. Yet the Southampton uprising of 1831 stands as the least practical of the nineteenth-century revolts. Unlike Gabriel, who believed it possible to fight his way into Richmond's political society, or Vesey, who simply planned to flee the country, the isolated geography of southern Virginia raises questions as to what the black general planned to do with his soldiers. Quite possibly, Turner hoped to march east and establish a Maroon colony in the Dismal Swamp. Equally possible is the prospect that the evangelical Turner avoided careful planning and preparation as he expected to leave the aftermath of rebellion in the hands of God.

More than four decades later, by the end of the Civil War, 180,000 African Americans (one out of every five males in the Republic) had served in Union forces. Those former slaves who marched back toward the plantations of their birth singing "General Gabriel's Jig" rightly understood themselves to be a part of the largest slave rebellion in the history of the United States.

See also **Antislavery; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Law: Slavery Law; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion; War and Diplomacy in the Atlantic World; War of 1812.**

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Douglas R. Egerton

Slave Life

The roughly three-quarters of a century between 1754 and 1829, during which United States nationhood evolved and consolidated, also witnessed an extraordinarily dynamic period of change and development in the lives of slaves. Although slavery existed in all of the North American British colonies, by 1750 it was clear that slavery was evolving differently below what would later become the Mason-Dixon line. With nearly 90 percent of slaves concentrated in the southern colonies, slavery was undeniably more important to the economic and social order in the Chesapeake and Lower South than it was in the middle colonies and New England. Generally speaking, the work, culture, and treatment of slaves varied according to geographic location and historical progression.

Slave life shifted not only across geographic space but across time as well, as is evident in cultural differences between slave generations. Slaves of the Plantation Generation, which ran from 1700 to 1775, were more likely to have direct personal ties to Africa. Slaves of the Revolutionary Generation, which lasted from 1776 to roughly 1829, inherited a more synthesized African, European, and Native American way of life that was truly African American. National events and politics played a role in defining the boundaries of this developing African American culture. Most noticeably, the mixed economies of societies with slaves such as those of the middle colonies and New England rapidly gave way to free labor after the American Revolution. Additionally, when the direct importation of slaves was banned in 1808, the domestic slave trade flourished, as slaves largely from the Chesapeake were sent to clear land

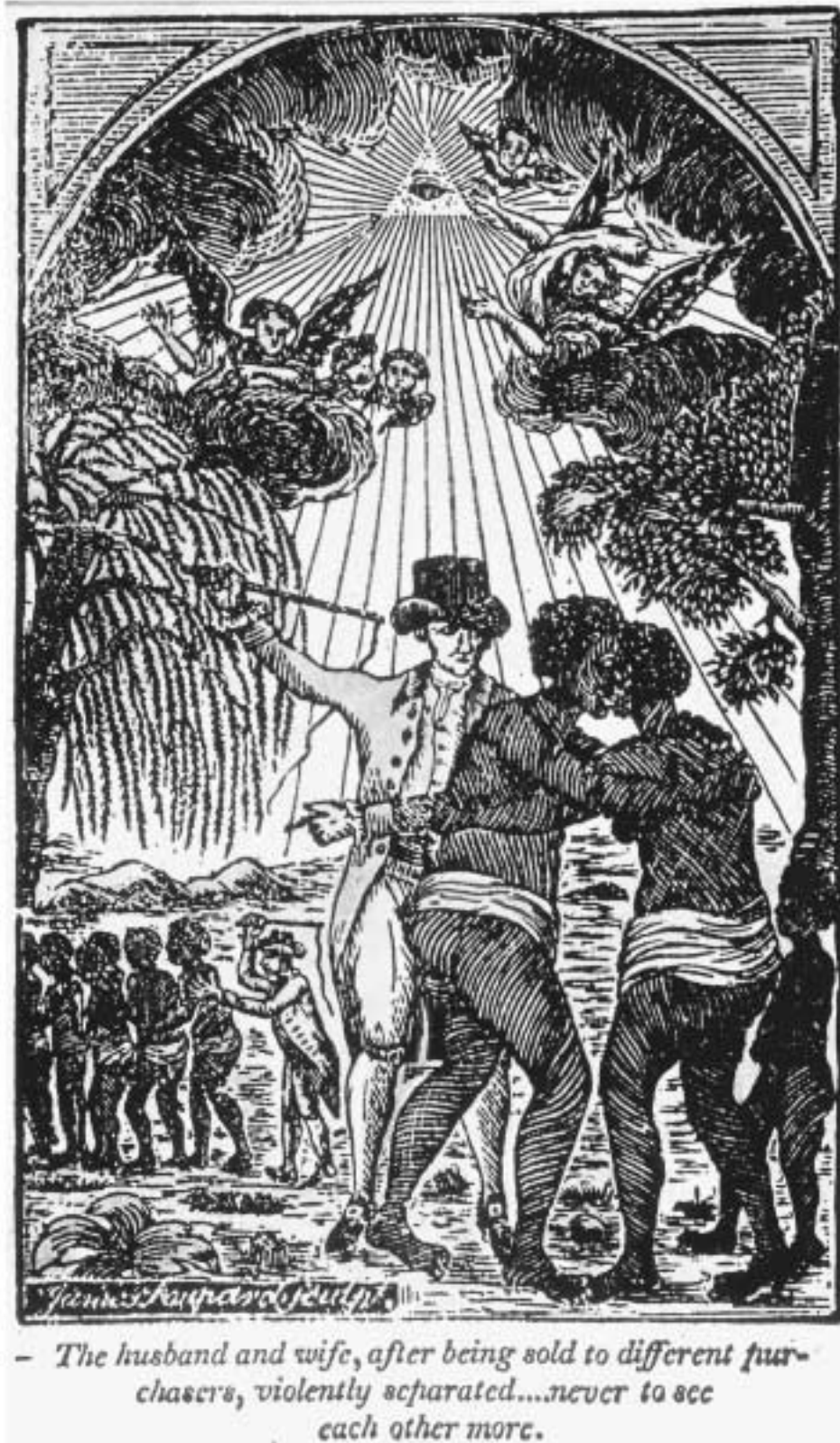
and produce cotton in the rapidly growing Deep South. Daily life changed radically for many forced migrants, who were separated from family and community and thrown into plantation labor to which they were not accustomed.

WORK

With most of their waking hours for six or more days per week spent in uncompensated labor, the lives of slaves revolved around work. In New England and the middle colonies, outside the plantation system, slaves performed a variety of tasks in a mixed economy. Often concentrated in major port cities such as New York, Philadelphia, or Newport, slaves worked in a variety of skilled and unskilled positions as craftsmen, artisans, and domestic servants. Slaves made significant contributions to the maritime industry by making sails, barrels for merchandise, repairing ships, and sometimes as crew. For these slaves in the North, daily labor was often in small, racially heterogeneous, independent groups and usually alongside free laborers.

Slave labor and life was much different in the South. Whether producing tobacco in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and Maryland, rice in the swampy low country of South Carolina or Georgia, or cotton in the emergent Deep South, most slaves from both the Plantation and Revolutionary Generations worked in a gang system of labor that demanded participation irrespective of gender or physical maturity to produce staple cash crops for sale in a global market. Slaves in these regions lived in communities in which blacks usually vastly outnumbered whites, sometimes by a margin of ten or more to one. Typically, an enslaved black driver worked under the direction of a white overseer, who was employed by a plantation owner. In the Chesapeake, plantation owners tended to live on-site, whereas those in the Lower South were generally removed from the plantation's daily routine and thus maintained less regular contact with slaves.

Because depleted soil in the tobacco-producing Chesapeake could not yield a sufficient crop for more than three consecutive years, slaves in this region not only worked within the monotonous yearly cycle of standard tobacco production but also engaged in the backbreaking toil of clearing and preparing land in the hilly piedmont region for the expansion of plantation agriculture. At the American Revolution's onset in 1775, this extraordinarily wealthy region held over half of the new nation's slaves. In 1790, just three years before Eli Whitney's cotton gin would begin to revolutionize global capitalism and



Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa. The possibility of being sold was a constant threat to slaves' bonds of family and community. This engraving from the antislavery tract *Oppression of the Exiled Sons of Africa*, printed in Philadelphia in 1804, depicts a "husband and wife, after being sold to different purchasers, violently separated . . . never to see each other more." THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

stimulate America's cotton boom, the lives of most slaves in South Carolina and Georgia revolved around rice. Work in rice paddies regularly entailed arduous manual labor under a hot subtropical sun while wading up to one's thighs in mosquito- and reptile-infested swamps. Rice required constant attention in planting, irrigating, weeding, and protecting from birds. In the winter off-season, slaves on low-country rice plantations erected and repaired the massive irrigation system of dams and levees that this labor-intensive crop demanded. In both the tobacco- and rice-growing regions, gang labor was a central facet of the daily life and cultural development of slaves. That blacks were a visible majority in these regions was also a significant feature of slave life.

Time off was granted at the discretion of plantation management. For most slaves working under the gang-labor task system, Sunday was a break from the week of compulsory labor. This is not to say that it was a day of traditional rest and relaxation. Rather, Sundays were often spent working on a variety of chores including mending clothing, hunting or fishing to supplement relatively meager dietary rations of corn meal or rice, and tending one's small personal plot of vegetables, fowl, or cash crop for sale at the local market. Rural slaves also used Sunday time to acquire a pass to visit friends and family on a neighboring plantation; slaves in and around cities such as Charleston and New Orleans gathered at well-known public squares to exchange goods, dance, and socialize.

CULTURE

Slave culture drew largely from a shared African heritage and, with the passing of generations, developed into a unique African American slave culture. In regions with a greater concentration of blacks and first-generation African slaves, slave culture was more distinctly African; the culture of slaves with deep heritage on the North American mainland, who lived and worked as a minority among whites, was more distinctly European American. Nevertheless, a creolized African American culture was recognizable by the onset of antebellum slavery. This developing African American culture is evident in slaves' hand-made pottery and cooking techniques; musical instruments, syncopated rhythms, and fluid dance; folk tales; root medicine; and courtship patterns. Even in New England, Africa's presence in the development of late-eighteenth-century slave culture is noticeable in the mimicry of African royalty during the election of southern New England's slave gover-

nors. Winners of these annual elections, which fused Yankee local democracy with some aspects of African royalty, had authority over minor issues within the slave community.

By the late eighteenth century, one of the most important cultural institutions of slave life was an extensive network of kin and fictive kin. In its fully developed stages, this kinship network bound adult slaves together in a community of mutual obligation in which the entire slave community was responsible for rearing and socializing slave youth, supporting widows, and ensuring the general well-being of fellow slaves. Increasing immunity to both malaria and respiratory infections, coupled with the relative increase in material comfort connected to Revolutionary-era humanism, helped slave families to consolidate and regenerate. Although slaves were not granted the legal protection of marriage, many of them were involved in long-term monogamous relationships with slaves from their own or neighboring plantations or nearby free blacks. The bonds of family and community were constantly threatened by outside forces such as sale or a master's decision to relocate. After the 1808 ban on American participation in the international slave trade, the domestic slave trade sharply increased, shattering slave families and entire slave communities. At the same time, the rise in the domestic slave trade caused African American slave culture to spread into new territory. The names of slave children born in America, many taken from the names of close kin who were lost, reflected the lingering bonds of family.

The amount of daily interaction slaves had with whites, as well as the proportion of Africans with whom they lived, affected their acquisition and mastery of English-language skills. Many slaves from Delaware to Georgia spoke an invented pidgin form of African-influenced English that was barely decipherable to the untrained white ear, but slaves reared and working in the mixed economies of New England and the middle colonies often fully mastered spoken English. Likewise, domestic servants who maintained close contact with masters had a firm grasp of English-language skills. Advertisements seeking the return of runaway slaves often commented on the slaves' English-language skills, revealing that many slaves used English as a tool for liberation. Indeed, runaways with advanced English skills could hope to pass as free blacks on their journey toward liberty.

RELIGION

Deciding how much English they would learn was just one of many choices slaves made in the dynamic

cultural times of the Plantation and Revolutionary Generations. Like language, slaves' choice of religion was also a major component of their identity and helped determine their degree of acculturation. Slave religion, especially for those who had just survived the Middle Passage, was deeply infused with African spirituality that sometimes included Islamic monotheism. African Muslims were a distinct minority, and well into the eighteenth century most slaves had never heard of Jesus. Despite a language barrier and the inability of most slaves to read Scripture, the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began actively proselytizing slaves during the mid-eighteenth-century Great Awakening. Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists made early inroads into converting members of the slave community with an emphasis on the spontaneous worship and experiential spirituality characteristic of African religions. By 1776 Virginia's Baptists had effectively courted many slave converts. By 1829 slaves and free blacks in the North were developing their own formal religious institutions and consolidating their form of Christianity. For these slave converts, a deep African worldview fundamentally influenced their synthesized version of Christianity. Indeed, it was rare for slaves to adopt fully Christian forms of religious practice. Despite efforts at conversion, most common slaves from this era maintained a fundamental reluctance to compromise or alter their religious worldview.

RESISTANCE

Slave culture incorporated both accommodation and resistance. Although slaves might obey orders and defer to an owner, they could and did resist slavery. A massive slave rebellion like those that occurred in the Caribbean and South America never transpired; but slaves did resist or subvert their bondage through covert arson and poisoning, direct challenges of overseers, and small but significant acts such as sabotage. Although owners often interpreted a slow pace of labor, destruction of tools, or malingering to laziness or stupidity, these individual acts of subversion were part of a spectrum of slave resistance that included Gabriel's Rebellion of 1800 in Virginia, and the 1811 uprising of five hundred New Orleans slaves armed with hand weapons that was squelched by federal forces cooperating with the local militia. Gabriel Prosser's co-conspirator, Jack Bowler, summed up the spirit of slave rebels across generations, testifying that "we had as much right to fight for our liberty as any men."

Slave revolts became more organized and aggressive when changing racial demographics meant that

slaves were no longer drastically outnumbered by whites. In short, the racial imbalance that developed as a direct result of the plantation system provided fertile ground for violent slave rebellions.

One of the more frequent methods of slave resistance was absconding. Especially in the Deep South, where the absence of a free black community virtually equated skin color with slavery, running away was a logistical nightmare; slaves had to traverse unfamiliar and hostile terrain, avoid regular slave patrols, and rely almost exclusively on other slaves for sustenance. In light of these objective difficulties, many slaves fled for only a few days or a week, using this time away from work to visit friends and family on nearby plantations or take a break from the labors of slave life. In some cases, truancy was a method of resisting changes in the daily regimen such as an increased workload under the task system or the denial of an expected day off during harvest time.

American independence represented both a birth of freedom and an extension of slavery. Although Enlightenment ideology and a changing economy effectively smashed slavery in the North, the removal of British limitations on trans-Appalachian settlement allowed chattel slavery to spread well beyond the eastern seaboard. The federal ban on imported slaves in 1808 had an enormous impact on slave culture, yet the new federal government did nothing to protect the slave family by regulating the interstate slave trade. Likewise, no early federal legislation extended civil rights or equal protection to enslaved African Americans. As demonstrated by their willingness to fight alongside both Patriots and the British, slaves did not hold allegiance to any country. Rather, their allegiance was to freedom.

See also **Chesapeake Region; Cotton Gin; Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Law: Slavery Law; Plantation, The; Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the Revolution; Vesey Rebellion.**

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David Lucander

Slave Patrols

The slave societies of the American South formed slave patrols to control their slaves and enforce the slave codes, laws that attempted to regulate slave behavior. Slave patrols were usually locally organized groups of young white men, both middle-class slave owners and lower-class yeomen farmers. Patrollers generally had three main duties: searching slave quarters; dispersing slave gatherings; and safeguarding white communities by patrolling the roads.

Fear of growing slave populations and the threat of foreign invasion drove southerners to institute and later expand slave patrols. Due to its early black majority and threats from Native Americans and the Spanish, South Carolina established the earliest slave patrol in 1704; Virginia followed in 1727, North Carolina in 1753, and Georgia in 1757. As new territories and states formed across the Deep South and West in the early nineteenth century, they too established slave patrols. The Territory of Mississippi formed patrols in 1811, as did Missouri in 1823. The city of Washington, D.C., established citizen patrols in 1838; in 1842 they became an auxiliary night police to patrol the city's streets and enforce a "colored curfew."

Slave patrols reinforced a sense of white solidarity in the South between slave owners and non-slave owners, all of whom shared a desire to keep the non-white population under control. However, conflict sometimes arose between slave owners and patrollers. Some planters felt that patrollers abused slaves

who had permission to travel, while other planters neglected to write the required passes. Much of the burden of patrolling fell to non-slave owners, who sometimes resented what they saw as serving the planter class.

It is unclear how effective slave patrols were at actually regulating slave behavior. However, it is quite clear that slaves feared and learned survival skills to thwart patrollers. Francis Henderson was nineteen years old when he escaped slavery in 1841. He recalled,

The slaves are watched by the patrols, who ride about to try to catch them off the quarters, especially at the house of a free person of color. I have known the slaves to stretch clothes lines across the street, high enough to let the horse pass, but not the rider; then the boys would run, and the patrols in full chase would be thrown off by running against the lines.

A number of post-Revolutionary changes created more work for patrollers. African Americans understood the Revolutionary rhetoric of liberty and many slaves made escape attempts after the Revolution. Other slaves became free through manumission. In the Upper South, some masters freed their slaves because they believed slavery conflicted with Revolutionary ideals, while other masters freed or sold their slaves because of economic changes that reduced the need for slave labor. Those who sold their slaves often took part in the new domestic slave trade to the Deep South, which slaves greatly feared and from which they would flee. Patrollers therefore had to track runaway slaves and investigate the activities of the growing free black communities.

In this atmosphere of change and with the inspiration of abolitionist activities and the Haitian Revolution of 1791, free and enslaved African Americans throughout the South rebelled against slavery. Among the most noteworthy slave rebellions were Gabriel Prosser's planned rebellion in Virginia in 1800; a large rebellion in Louisiana that lasted for three days in 1811; a battle between slaves, Indians, and the U.S. Army at Fort Blount in Florida in 1816; and Nat Turner's Virginia rebellion in 1831, during which slaves killed at least fifty-five whites. White leaders brutally put down each of the rebellions, but not before fear spread throughout the slave societies, which responded with stricter laws and severe penalties for any hint of rebellion. After the Nat Turner rebellion, much of the South became an armed camp in which slave patrols were stepped up and black movement, gatherings, and the presence of free black communities were limited.

See also **Emancipation and Manumission;**
Fugitive Slave Law of 1793; Law: Slavery
Law.

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Laura Croghan Kamoie

Slavery and the Founding Generation

The United States was founded upon an apparent paradox: the new nation was conceived in liberty but preserved slavery. In 1780 about half a million people, one-sixth of all Americans, were enslaved; 40 percent of southerners were slaves. The institution was not confined to the South: in the Revolutionary era, for example, slaves made up 3 percent of the population in Connecticut and 14 percent in New York. Historians still struggle to document and understand the political, social, legal, and moral aspects of how the founders dealt with slavery. Some modern-day observers have taken the founders to task for not abolishing slavery; others say that the founders deserve credit for putting slavery on the road to ultimate extinction.

Thomas Jefferson and John Jay, two leaders of the time, both wrote that in the decades prior to the Revolution the majority of white Americans, in the South and the North, had little cause to question the justice of slavery. Even the deeply religious communities of Puritans and Quakers held slaves in the colonial era. The evangelist George Whitefield, who owned a plantation in Georgia worked by seventy-five slaves, said in 1751 that slavery was lawful, that God had made the colony of Georgia an ideal place for slave labor, and that slaves should be treated with Christian forbearance. David Brion Davis has written that, in the worldview of many people of the time, slavery "conformed to the natural structure of the universe, which evidenced an infinity of gradations and subordinations" (1975, p. 152).

By the 1760s, however, slavery was being denounced by religious leaders like John Wesley and political thinkers like the Boston patriot James Otis. Otis's pamphlet *Rights of the British Colonies* (1764) proclaimed, "The Colonists are by the law of nature free born, as indeed all men are, white or black. . . . Does it follow that tis right to enslave a man because he is black?" As the Revolution gathered momentum, the moral contradiction between slavery and the ideals of the Revolution became more and more evident to the founders. In 1775 Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John Adams, "I wish most sincerely there was not a single slave in the province; it always appeared a most iniquitous scheme to me [to] fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we have."

When Jefferson wrote in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal," he likely meant to include African Americans as among those who possess the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In an earlier statement of grievances against the Crown, the *Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), Jefferson declared, "The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object in [these] colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa." In 1776 he unsuccessfully proposed a clause in Virginia's new constitution whereby "no person hereafter coming into the state would be held in slavery." Jefferson thus sought the emancipation ("enfranchisement") of the slaves, though he wanted them to enjoy their rights elsewhere—his subsequent proposals for emancipation hinged on forced exile of the people freed.

THE GATHERING MOVEMENT TOWARD EMANCIPATION

Thousands of African Americans bore arms for the American cause from the first day of fighting at Lexington to the last at Yorktown. When George Washington took command of the American army at Cambridge in July 1775, he found black men, both free and enslaved, among his soldiers. In a series of orders issued in the summer and fall of 1775, Washington barred recruiters from accepting any blacks. In December Washington reversed himself and allowed free blacks to serve. Amid acute manpower shortages later in the war, Washington initially supported a plan put together by his aides John Laurens and Alexander Hamilton to emancipate thousands of slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, with compensation to the owners, and form the freedmen into

battalions. As Hamilton wrote, the army will “give them their freedom with their muskets.” The Continental Congress unanimously approved the plan, which William Whipple of New Hampshire declared would “lay a foundation for the Abolition of Slavery in America.” At a critical moment Washington withdrew his support from the plan, which at any rate the legislatures of South Carolina and Georgia also rejected. Numerous slaves served in the Continental Army as substitutes for their owners. The British offered freedom to slaves who could reach their lines, and after the war the British evacuated some thirteen to fourteen thousand former slaves over vehement American objections.

Military service by blacks exposed, for the first time, a North-South divide on the subject of slavery. In the autumn of 1775 Southern delegates to the Continental Congress, led by Edward Rutledge of South Carolina, demanded the expulsion of all blacks from the army. Though Congress voted down the proposal, thereafter some northern political leaders hesitated to take any action that would incite Southern slaveholding interests. Fearful of offending the South Carolinians, John Adams spoke against the abolition of slavery in Massachusetts and opposed the formation of an African American home guard unit in New Jersey. The need to preserve national unity began to emerge as the overriding factor in any political discussion regarding slavery.

George Washington seems to have believed that the Revolutionary War presented an opportunity to launch some broad mechanism of emancipation, but the moment was lost. He wrote that “the Spirit of Freedom” evident early in the war, a spirit that would have sacrificed anything, had subsided by 1779 and was replaced by “every selfish Passion.” After the war Washington expressed the hope that support for emancipation would “diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country” so that an emancipation “by degrees” might be effected “by Legislative authority.” Washington’s cautious, gradualist approach—grounded on a desire for a structured, legally sanctioned process of emancipation supported by a consensus of whites—probably reflected the thinking of other whites sympathetic to the idea of emancipation. The Revolutionary ideal of liberty for all collided with another ideological tenet—the sanctity of private property. Freeing some slaves, with the consent of their owners, would jeopardize the slave property of other owners, since people remaining in bondage would grow restive and attempt to escape or rebel. The ideological conflict was summed up in the remark of a judge who rejected

one slave’s claim to freedom: “I know that freedom is to be favored, but we have no right to favor it at the expense of property” (quoted in Finkelman, p. 39).

A patchwork of emancipation plans emerged. In 1782 Virginia passed a law allowing private manumissions, overturning a ban that had stood since 1723; Delaware and Maryland enacted similar legislation. Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire abolished slavery in their constitutions, but those states had relatively few slaves. Pennsylvania enacted a gradual emancipation plan in 1780, followed by Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784 and by New York in 1799. In 1784 Jefferson proposed an ordinance for territorial government that would have banned slavery after 1800, but the bill failed in Congress by just one vote because a New Jersey representative was sick; in 1787, however, Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, which banned slavery in the territory that would form the future states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. (After attaining statehood in 1824, Illinois held a referendum to legalize slavery, which was voted down.)

This fragmented, halting movement toward emancipation confronted an onrushing economic tide. Popular belief has long held that slavery as an institution was waning in North America during the Revolutionary period and that it was revived only by the invention of the cotton gin in 1793, but the opposite was the case. Even before the cotton gin, slavery was rapidly expanding into the southern piedmont and new western lands. Slaves formed about one-sixth of the population in Kentucky and the Southwest. So at a time when the institution might have been challenged politically, slavery was growing and becoming more entrenched in the economy than it had ever been. After the Revolution the slave trade revived; indeed, it accelerated. With New England providing most of the ships and Georgia and the Carolinas receiving most of the cargoes, more enslaved Africans were brought into the United States between 1790 and 1807 than in any previous twenty-year period.

Foreign visitors to the new Republic were appalled by slavery and its consequences. With some shock, the Polish traveler Julian Niemcewicz wrote of seeing slaves clad in rags, described wretched housing at Mount Vernon, and wrote that most Virginia masters “give to their Blacks only bread, water, and blows.” In his will Thaddeus Kosciuszko left funds to emancipate American slaves, a bequest that was

not carried out. The marquis de Lafayette begged both Washington and Jefferson to end slavery.

SLAVERY IN THE CONSTITUTION

As the founders hammered out a new constitution in the summer of 1787, the issue of slavery was discussed, but no one proposed abolishing it. Delegates denounced the injustice and immorality of slavery and the slave trade, but the main thrust of Northern antislavery arguments was against the extra political power that slave states would obtain by virtue of possessing slaves who could be counted in apportioning representation. Southern delegates feared any clause that *might* at some future time be used against the institution of slavery, but no one proposed any language aimed at abolishing or limiting slavery in the future, except a ban on the international slave trade after 1807. In general, Southerners adamantly protected slavery; Northerners were largely indifferent, except in cases where they believed proslavery clauses gave the South too much power. The issue of how to count slaves in determining a state's representation in Congress, and thus in the electoral college as well, was resolved by a compromise: three-fifths of the slave population would be added to the white population of a state.

The morality of slavery surfaced most powerfully in the convention in the debate over the slave trade. Luther Martin of Maryland declared that importing slaves "was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character." John Rutledge of South Carolina replied, "Religion and humanity have nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be parties to the Union." He added that it was in the financial interest of the Northern states to allow an increase in Southern slaves: "If the Northern states consult their interest, they will not oppose the increase of slaves, which will increase the commodities of which they will become the carriers." Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut agreed: "Let every state import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the states themselves. What enriches a part enriches the whole, and the states are the best judges of their particular interest." Pennsylvania delegate Gouverneur Morris said that a compromise was needed if the Southern states would not yield: "These things may form a bargain among the Northern and Southern States."

Slave interests won important victories in several clauses of the Constitution, beginning with the

manner of electing the president. James Madison preferred a direct election, but realized that this method would give the advantage to the North, and so he threw his support to the electoral college system, in which the added three-fifths weight of the slave vote gave the advantage to the South. The ban on taxing exports, ardently sought by the South, favored their international commerce in slave-grown tobacco, cotton, and rice. The fugitive-slave clause allowed owners to pursue escaped slaves in free states. The slave-trade clause, an exception to the federal power to regulate commerce, allowed slaves to be imported for another twenty years. The guarantee clause compelled the federal government to put down slave rebellions.

The compromise in the Constitution over slavery was challenged in 1790 when a Quaker group petitioned Congress to consider an immediate end to the slave trade and a gradual emancipation. The proposals enraged Southern representatives, who asserted that the Constitution had settled the issue of slavery, that slavery was a necessary evil, and that prejudices held by both blacks and whites precluded the two races from ever peacefully getting along together—an idea most famously developed by Thomas Jefferson in *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The Southerners heaped ridicule on the Quakers, asking whether they would mind having their sons and daughters take black spouses. The House passed a resolution declaring that Congress had no authority to promote the emancipation of slaves or to interfere in the treatment of slaves within any of the states, further tightening the protections given slavery in the Constitution.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S DILEMMA

Just before taking office as the first president, George Washington spoke to an aide of his regret over slavery and his wish to see it end. Twice during his presidency Washington planned in secret to free his own slaves and those held by his wife's family. He likely had in mind the pleas of Lafayette, who had urged Washington to free his slaves and set an example that might render manumission a general practice. Washington was frustrated in his attempts to free his slaves while in office. In a private letter he expressed fears over the political repercussions of a sitting president freeing his slaves, an act which might divide public opinion. He had earlier stated that the greatest evil faced by the nation was disunion, though he would also say that nothing but the rooting out of slavery would preserve the Union. Washington freed all of his slaves in his will, written in

1799. A quarter century later, Jefferson, at his death, freed a handful of slaves but left about 130 to be auctioned. Both Washington and Jefferson foresaw that slavery would bring catastrophe upon the United States. Their fellow Virginian George Mason had said that slavery would “bring the judgment of Heaven.”

AFTERMATH

The founders' intent with regard to slavery became an issue in the nineteenth century. In deciding the *Dred Scott* case in 1857, Chief Justice Roger Taney found that, for African Americans, the Constitution recognized “no rights which the white man was bound to respect.” Taney stated that the Constitution gave Congress the power and the duty to protect the property rights of slave owners. In his Gettysburg Address and other statements, Abraham Lincoln gave primacy to the principle of equality in the Declaration of Independence over the recognition of slaveholders' property rights in the Constitution. Ironically, John C. Calhoun, an apologist for slavery, shared Lincoln's view that the Declaration included blacks in its proclamation of individuals' rights, but this, he said, was a grave error by Jefferson. Contrary to the wishes of the founders, but perhaps not contrary to their expectations, the issue of slavery was finally decided not by legislative or judicial deliberation, nor by a popular consensus attained through the political process, but by war.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North;**
Antislavery; Law: Slavery Law; Natural
Rights; Property; Proslavery Thought;
Revolution: Slavery and Blacks in the
Revolution; Slavery: Overview.

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Henry Wiencek

Slave Trade, African

The African slave trade to North America began in earnest about 1700 and reached its peak in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The trade declined dramatically in the decades following the Revolution, was resurrected in 1803, and then experienced a “political death” with federal abolition on 1 January 1808 and subsequent suppression.

Modern estimates of the total number of Africans imported vary widely, from a low of some 292,000 to a high of about 650,000. About one-third were taken to the Chesapeake region (Virginia and Maryland), while over half (53 percent) went to South Carolina and Georgia. In general, between 4 and 5 percent of all enslaved Africans taken across the Atlantic were bound for the territories that became the United States.



Advertisement for the Sale of Slaves. This poster (c. 1760) advertised the sale of “a choice cargo” of slaves on board the ship *Bance Island* at Ashley Ferry, near Charleston, South Carolina. The advertisement indicates that “the utmost care” had been taken to prevent the Africans from contracting smallpox. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

WAVES OF IMPORTATIONS

New evidence based on shipping records suggests that there were four waves of importation. Between 1716 and 1740 traders brought 85,500 new slaves to the various colonies, with about half taken to Virginia. In the colonial golden age (1751–1775), at least 115,000 Africans were shipped, with about two-thirds intended for South Carolina. In the 1780s and 1790s Louisiana under Spanish administration was the major receiving region, where planters and merchants brought about 25,000 Africans to develop new sugar plantations. It is also likely that in the eastern states during the early national period there was relatively significant smuggling, perhaps bringing numbers equal to those legally imported to Spanish Louisiana. Finally, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, tens of thousands of Africans were imported in one final tidal wave, mostly through the port of Charleston. And though the decade after federal abolition saw some smuggling, perhaps amounting to 10,000 Africans illicitly imported, suppression after 1820 was effective. Hence a large statistical sample of over 310,000 Africans imported into colonial and early national North America gives an indication of likely distributions over time and space as well as of the approximate coastal origins of

Africans thrown by force or by circumstance into the slave trade.

PROVENANCE AND DISTRIBUTION

In Virginia, settlement of the piedmont region and the consequent expansion of tobacco production (from the 1720s to 1760s) brought nearly 80,000 Africans to the colony. A large sample of some 50,000 slaves shows that nearly half (47 percent) were from the Bight of Biafra in West Africa, with another quarter from Greater Senegambia and one-sixth from West-Central Africa.

In South Carolina during the colonial golden age (1751–1775), rice became king and low-country plantations produced great wealth for the larger planters. In these two and a half decades the slave trade shifted southward, and Carolina planter-merchants brought some 72,500 Africans to the colony. A comprehensive sample of some 65,500 imported slaves shows that a clear majority (56 percent) originated in Greater Senegambia. The next major coastal grouping was from West-Central Africa, representing one-sixth of those sent to the colony in this time.

In Louisiana during the Spanish period (roughly 1763 to 1803), perhaps 25,000 Africans were imported. Though no comprehensive shipping records exist for this branch of the slave trade, indirect evidence strongly suggests that West-Central Africans, especially “Congo,” formed a large proportion, with some number from Greater Senegambia and others in smaller numbers originating in the hinterlands of the Bights of Biafra and Bénin.

Finally, pent-up demand in the early national period, following two decades of post-Revolutionary restrictions and state-level prohibitions, and the impending federal abolition, exploded in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In just five years (1803–1807), over 55,000 Africans were transported to Jeffersonian America. The vast majority were taken to South Carolina, in particular through the port of Charleston. A sample of some 40,500 Africans whose coastal provenances are known shows that nearly half (48 percent) were from West-Central Africa, with about a quarter from Greater Senegambia. Perhaps half of all of these newly imported Africans were re-exported, likely bound for rapidly settling Deep South territories and states such as Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi but also for the emerging cotton black-belt of the eastern piedmont regions.

In short, the flows of people in the large-scale forced migration that was the African slave trade suggests the importance of captives from the Bight

of Biafra (and Senegambia) in the Chesapeake; and from West-Central Africa and Senegambia in the Carolina low country and in the emerging Deep South, including Louisiana. The relative scarcity of peoples from the hinterlands of the Gold Coast, the Bight of Bénin and Southeastern Africa (Madagascar and Mozambique), respectively, in the African trade to North America is striking. Of the six basic Atlantic African regions, however, three were closely integrated with the slave trade to the U.S.: the Bight of Biafra, Greater Senegambia, and West-Central Africa. About 85 percent of Africans bound for North America came from these three regions. Though the African trade to North America was always a relatively marginal one in the larger Atlantic world context, colonial and early national planters established important commercial relations with merchants, factors, and brokers in particular Atlantic entrepôts (intermediary trade and shipping centers) in the modern countries of Great Britain and France, Nigeria, Senegal and Gambia, and Congo and Angola.

“THIS EXECRABLE COMMERCE”

As was the case in Great Britain itself, the early anti-slavery movement in America began as a moral and religious issue among dissenting Evangelicals. The conversion of first Quakers and then Methodists to antislavery, between the 1750s and 1770s, however, was followed by the rise of a natural-rights critique of both the slave trade and slavery by late-Enlightenment propagandists such as Thomas Jefferson.

In America opposition to the slave trade quickly became politically popular. Some colonial assemblies in the 1760s and early 1770s repeatedly sought to restrict importations by imposing tariffs and customs duties, nearly all of which were vetoed by royal governors and the Crown. It also became convenient to blame the Crown for the trade itself. Jefferson’s bill of particulars against George III, published as “A Summary View of the Rights of British America” (1774), included a strong condemnation of “this infamous practice” of slave trading. In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence (June 1776), Jefferson expanded his political use of antislavery to rhetorically lash the Crown for “suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce.”

Of course, for the larger slaveholders (including Jefferson), limiting importations of new Africans also reflected a basic economic rationale. In an economy such as late-colonial Virginia, where planters were heavily in debt to metropolitan merchants, any

Thomas Jefferson, in “A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled” (June 1776), included the following clause in his indictment of King George III. Congress struck it from the final Declaration of Independence:

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation hither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he had deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.

Douglas B. Chambers

sustained increase in the value of one’s property in slaves similarly increased financial equity against which it was possible to borrow further. In general the slave trade tended to depress prices because new Africans were comparatively cheap, thus lowering the financial value of slaveholdings as capital assets. The quickest way to inflate prices and increase the value of slave property was to restrict the slave trade. No doubt many of Jefferson’s contemporaries in the southern colonies, canny merchant-planters that they were, implicitly understood their common economic interest on this issue. Jefferson’s genius was to converge the failure to enact such restrictions with the rising tide of ideological and religious antislavery thought and then to put it all to specific political purposes: blaming the Crown.

REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

The *rage ideologique*, the ideological fervor, of the Revolutionaries—fired by the sense of striking a daring blow for liberty against an impending slavery of tyr-

anny—bubbled over to a conditional antislavery position throughout the colonies. In December 1774 the First Continental Congress imposed a ban on slave imports. Effectively instituted in Virginia, where the slave trade ended in 1775, and implemented in Connecticut, it was followed in 1776 with a comprehensive prohibition by the Second Congress. Between 1776 and 1780 a number of the former colonies either banned such importations or abolished slavery or both at the state level, and only a handful of slave shipments made it through the British naval blockade.

During the war an estimated 100,000 slaves ran away from their masters. Between 1781 and 1790 the new southern states wrestled with balancing Revolutionary ideology and economic exigency. It was a confusing time of variously enacting and then repealing restrictions on the slave trade, but by 1786 only South Carolina and Georgia still allowed importations. In the 1780s some 10,000 Africans were legally imported and probably an equal number illicitly smuggled, mostly to South Carolina.

CONSTITUTIONAL COMPROMISE

By 1787 a half-dozen states had abolished slavery either directly or by gradual emancipation schemes. Slavery had been prohibited in the newly organized Northwest Territory north of the Ohio River; and the African slave trade was restricted to just two states. The next decade would see another wave of state-level restrictions on slave trading, including temporary prohibitions on imports into South Carolina, the emergence of a new organized antislavery movement, and further state-level abolitions, so that by 1790 all states in New England had formally ended slavery. When Vermont was admitted to the Union (1791) it entered as a free state and was immediately followed by Kentucky (1792) as a slave state.

The framers of the new Constitution, however, reached a working compromise on the issue of the African slave trade. In effect they relegated its regulation to the states, where such restrictions generally were popular if porous, and thereby put off any substantive federal action for twenty years. Even South Carolina suspended its participation in the trade in 1787. On the federal level, the Constitution merely stated (article I, section 9) that Congress was prohibited from enacting any ban on the “Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit,” without specifically mentioning slaves. This constitutional compromise was set to expire in 1808.

A POLITICAL DEATH

In the fifteen years between 1787 and 1802, the African slave trade to the United States slowed to a relative trickle, though it boomed to unprecedented heights elsewhere in the Americas. By 1793 Georgia was the only remaining state officially to allow importations, though imports from the West Indies and Spanish Florida were prohibited. In the 1790s some 7,500 slaves were taken mostly to Georgia, and likely an equal number were smuggled.

By the end of the decade, when Congress refused to prohibit slavery in the Mississippi Territory (1798), and especially with the Louisiana Purchase (1803), pressure mounted to reopen the African trade. In 1803 South Carolina formally did so, also allowing importation from Latin America and the Caribbean. Though Louisiana and Georgia also permitted slave imports, Charleston merchants nearly monopolized this last tidal wave of the African slave trade, controlling over 90 percent of the shipments and making several new fortunes in this human commerce. But following President Jefferson’s formal encouragement to Congress (1806) to end the trade as soon as the Constitution permitted, on 22 March 1807 Congress abolished the African slave trade to the United States, effective 1 January 1808.

Total suppression of actual trading took nearly a decade, though it was relatively effective even in the first ten years. With the 1819 Slave Trade Act, in which, though the act was short-lived, the United States joined England in sending a small naval squadron to patrol the coasts of West Africa, as well as Congress’s definition of slave trading as piracy in 1820, the African slave trade to the new American nation died a largely political death. In the antebellum era very few slaves were smuggled; an occasional ship did run the American gauntlet. In 1842 the United States signed the Ashburton-Webster treaty with England and through 1861 sent between three and eight warships annually to West Africa to suppress the Cuban branch of the trade. During the sectional crisis just before the Civil War, some prominent Southerners argued for reopening the slave trade to the nascent Confederacy, largely for political reasons and to little end. The last recorded slave ship was the *Clothilde*, which arrived in Mobile Bay, Alabama, in 1859.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North.**

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Slave Trade, Domestic

The domestic slave trade, for much of the eighteenth century a small-scale localized activity, grew exponentially during the late colonial and early American years. The tremendous growth of this practice was aided by a combination of political and technological factors in post-Revolutionary America. Chief among these are Eli Whitney's 1793 invention of the cotton gin and the resulting entrenchment of cotton as a staple agricultural cash crop, the 1808 federal prohibition of importing slaves through the international slave trade, and the rapid rate of western settlement in the early nineteenth century. By the antebellum period the domestic slave trade had fundamentally altered America's racial demographics, acting as a "Second Middle Passage" that yearly relocated thousands of African American slaves who had established deep generational roots on the eastern seaboard of mainland North America.

Until the early nineteenth century the economy of Virginia and Maryland relied almost exclusively on tobacco cultivation. The plantation system's torrid pace of raising this notoriously nutrient-

depleting crop left soil in these traditional slave societies seriously eroded. Planters were left with a significant surplus in their slave labor force as the less profitable and labor-intensive seasonal cultivation of wheat replaced tobacco as the Chesapeake's primary crop. Outnumbered by their slaves, planters constantly feared slave rebellions, for they recognized the latent revolutionary potential in a mass of underemployed bondsmen. Chesapeake planters such as George Mason vehemently opposed the international slave trade partly because the ubiquitous threat of revolt was intensified with each shipment of Africans arriving on America's shores. Ever conscious of their surplus in bound laborers, Thomas Jefferson and other members of the Chesapeake planter elite aggressively advocated opening the recently acquired Louisiana Territory to slavery. The line between self-interest and altruism was nearly indistinct as 1808 federal legislation closed America's shores to the international slave trade. Many of the most vocal advocates for withdrawing from the international slave trade were members of the elite Virginia vanguard, acutely aware of their own self-interest. Despite their opposition to importing slaves, Chesapeake planters left little doubt of their support for slavery by taking the lead in exporting over 200,000 slaves between 1790 and 1829.

THE RISE OF COTTON

The rise of cotton as a staple cash crop in the Southern economy coincided with the agitation to close America's borders to slave importation. Profits from cotton were seemingly boundless, limited only by how much space was available for its cultivation and how much labor was available to work the land. No one could have predicted that in less than half a century the crop would have so great an impact on America's economy, settlement patterns, race relations, and politics. This enormously profitable cash crop left no part of the Southern interior untouched; Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas all eventually provided an unquenchable demand for the surplus of bound laborers in the Chesapeake and Upper South.

Of course, cotton plantations could not spread south and west into largely uncultivated land without significant federal involvement. Free from British restrictions against settling beyond the eastern seaboard, settlers flooded into the trans-Appalachian West with the aid of federal troops who aggressively cleared Native Americans from what would eventually become known as the Black Belt. With indigenous peoples out of the way and seemingly un-

bounded land available, planters utilized a largely enslaved labor force to clear forests and prepare grassland for producing cotton. By the 1820s much of what is now Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana was gainfully settled and quickly incorporating slaves into the plantation system.

EXPANSION OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Cotton production, the conclusion of America's involvement with the Atlantic slave trade, and westward expansion would together stimulate the voracious demand for slavery in the Deep South. As planters who exported their human chattel from declining slave economies in the Upper South and Chesapeake readily met this demand, professional slave traders rose to act as middlemen. Although before the Revolution a living could be made in transporting bound servants away from New England, the middle colonies, and the Upper South, the profession flourished when the only significant source for slaves could be found in the dense surplus of slaves inhabiting the Chesapeake. Slave traders and speculators generally used inland waterways and coastal shipping routes to transport this human traffic to Georgia, where a consistent average of over two thousand slaves were received every year, and onward toward larger markets in Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. A standard coastal route for antebellum slave traders departed from Norfolk and arrived in New Orleans after stops to pick up or drop off human cargo at southern port cities such as Baltimore, Alexandria, Richmond, and Charleston.

By the 1820s New Orleans filled a role previously played by Charleston during the international slave trade's heyday by becoming the domestic slave trade's central hub. Ideally situated in the burgeoning Deep South and located at the mouth of the Mississippi River, New Orleans was easily accessed via both coastal and inland waterways. Louisiana's slave population grew as New Orleans's eager participation in the domestic slave trade coincided with the rise of plantation-based sugar cultivation in and around the flourishing city. Given the growing tendency of owners to use sale as a punitive measure for unruly slaves, it is not surprising that in 1826 Louisiana closed its harbor to the domestic slave trade as a measure of public safety. With large profits slipping away the ban was short-lived, and by 1829 New Orleans reclaimed its position as the destination of choice for slave traders and prospective buyers throughout the Deep South. The only change made was a bureaucratic reform requiring all slaves enter-

ing the city's slave market to be certified for good conduct by a previous owner.

While New Orleans's domestic slave market flourished because of its relatively easy access through established trading routes over waterways, inland routes of the Upper South transported slaves chained or roped together in "coffles" of thirty to forty slaves that marched over twenty miles per day. While coffles were generally used for covering shorter distances, it was not uncommon for prolonged journeys from Virginia to Louisiana to take over a month. Regardless of how they arrived at trading centers, slaves involved with the nineteenth-century domestic trade often occupied the same or similar rigidly controlled slave pens that were made infamous by the campaign to abolish the international slave trade.

IMPACT ON SLAVES

America's 1808 decision to criminalize participation in the Atlantic slave trade was a pivotal event in the lives of African Americans throughout the nation. This decision had an impact on slave culture by virtually ending the introduction of "saltwater" Africans to America's shores. More important, it meant that slaves from the older slave states—mostly from Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas—would be used to satisfy the seemingly insatiable demand for human chattel throughout the Deep South's budding slave societies. In the North the security of free blacks was constantly jeopardized as kidnappers became a prime threat to their precious liberty. Free blacks vigilantly defended their freedom by ensuring that their free papers were in order and spreading word throughout the community when suspected kidnappers were in town. In the Upper South and Chesapeake, slaves could no longer realistically hope for paternalist-minded owners to offer manumission as a reward for prolonged meritorious service. In short, although new slaves were no longer legally allowed to penetrate America's borders, obtaining freedom within the nation was becoming more difficult.

With relatively easy sale as an option, rebellious or unruly slaves often faced sale and forced migration as a punitive measure. By the antebellum period this method of labor management had solidified, and being purged "down the river" was one of the most dreaded fates that could befall a slave. Rebels and troublemakers were not the only slaves to endure the Second Middle Passage. The typical slave involved in the domestic trade was a young adult, physically healthy, and potentially productive as both a laborer and a parent for future slaves. Although not all

slaves relocated through the domestic slave trade, the internal slave trade affected nearly all slaves by shattering established communities and kinship networks that had developed over generations along the eastern seaboard. Those who were sold faced the intimidating prospects of forced relocation and an uncertain future. Remaining members of these now bifurcated slave communities that had lined the Chesapeake and Upper South had to readjust to life without the presence of loved ones who had provided crucial support throughout the trials of enslavement.

Because the deep bonds of African American slave kinship and community regularly transcended the boundaries of one's immediate plantation, any plantation's closure or en masse liquidation affected slaves' lives by the hundreds. The transfer of just one slave sold to transform a wilderness into a commercially viable plantation could rob the community of a parent, grandparent, sibling, or uncle or aunt. Multiplied by the thousands each year during the early nineteenth century, such reciprocal losses nearly obliterated entire communities. For enslaved women, the trauma of sale could be much deeper. In addition to separation from their family and community en route to an unknown land, advertisements highlighting their reproductive capabilities reveal that African American women's fertility had been transformed into a marketable commodity.

The American Revolution and ensuing nationhood had a profound impact on the domestic slave trade's establishment and rapid development. By removing the trans-Appalachian barrier on settlement and aggressively relocating this region's indigenous population, the federal government provided an ideal environment for the steady westward expansion of slavery below the Mason-Dixon line. Although the Constitution explicitly allowed federal oversight of interstate commerce, the 1808 prohibition on participating in the international slave trade also ensured that the internal slave trade would remain unregulated and unregulated. The Cotton Kingdom's brisk growth throughout the Deep South firmly debunked the notion that westward diffusion of slaves would lead to the institution's gradual demise. Thus the new American nation never passed legislation protecting slave families or regulating the terms and conditions of chattel slavery. Stimulated by an insatiable appetite for surplus bondsmen in the eroding slave societies of the Chesapeake and Upper South, driven by colossal profits from plantation cultivation of cotton, and unimpeded by federal supervision, the Second Middle Passage tore apart African American

families and shattered slave communities while simultaneously spreading slave culture throughout the Deep South and forever changing the racial landscape of America.

See also **Cotton Gin; Expansion; Louisiana Purchase; Plantation, The.**

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David Lucander

SMALLPOX Smallpox is a highly infectious disease whose normal mode of transmission is through inhalation. Case mortality can be as high as 30 percent, and the disease is also feared for the permanent scarring it leaves. It was introduced to the Americas by Spanish explorers. Credited with the extinction of the indigenous Amerindian populations of the Caribbean islands by 1519, smallpox also contributed to the conquest of Mexico and Peru. In the 1760s Sir Jeffrey Amherst ordered the deliberate spread of the disease among Native Americans participating in Pontiac's War in western Pennsylvania.

The British also inadvertently brought smallpox to the territory of what would become the United States. As early as 1633, William Bradford noticed severe cases among Indians living near the Plymouth colony. The spread-out population of the English colonies—with regular replenishment of new smallpox cases disembarking from transatlantic voyages—meant that smallpox was sporadic but also more dangerous to nonimmune populations. Throughout the eighteenth century, natural outbreaks continued to afflict Indian populations. In 1763, for example, a group of Indian converts to Christianity who lived in Philadelphia lost one-third of their members to the disease.

Many Old-World cultures developed the practice of deliberately inoculating smallpox in order to confer lifetime immunity. Around the same time that this procedure was brought to England, the Puritan clergyman Cotton Mather independently learned of it from his slave, Onesimus. With the assistance of the physician Zabdiel Boylston, Mather began inoculating in Boston during an epidemic in 1721. During a 1731 epidemic in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin hailed inoculation, and over the course of the following decades, the practice became more popular in the Philadelphia region than elsewhere in the colonies.

Inoculation was a dangerous procedure since it bore the risk both of killing the inoculated person and of spreading the disease. As a consequence the procedure was generally restricted to more substantial members of the community, who could be more easily isolated and better cared for. In 1774 Philadelphians established a Society for the Inoculation of the Poor, whose work was soon suspended because non-immune delegates to the Continental Congress (mainly from the South) were concerned about infection. During the War of Independence, George Washington had himself and his troops inoculated, in part because the British were rumored to be deliberately spreading smallpox. The fact that an eminent Virginian encouraged the practice may have led to inoculation becoming official policy of the Continental Congress.

In 1798 Edward Jenner published his *Inquiries*, detailing how inoculation with the relatively mild cowpox (or *vaccinia*) would immunize the patient against smallpox. Inoculation with smallpox now became known as “variolation” (*variola* being the Latin name for smallpox), and was gradually replaced by vaccination. Vaccination was introduced to the new Republic in 1800 by Benjamin Waterhouse of the Harvard Medical School, and President Thomas Jefferson immediately became an advocate of the

new procedure. In 1802 Valentine Seaman of New York organized a system to provide free vaccination to the poor.

During his administration, James Madison encouraged the distribution of smallpox vaccine, and public health statutes from the colonial period into the early nineteenth century were concerned primarily with isolating smallpox patients among immigrants. In Pennsylvania, for example, it was only in 1824—when variolation was outlawed—that smallpox became a reportable disease and the isolation hospital within the city began receiving smallpox patients.

Although it had its opponents, vaccination gained general acceptance rapidly, and smallpox incidence in the United States declined significantly during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately this led to complacency, and after 1830 the United States experienced a number of devastating epidemics.

See also **Death and Dying; Epidemics; Health and Disease; Medicine.**

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Edward T. Morman

SOCIAL LIFE: RURAL LIFE Throughout rural America, as the New Englander Lyndon Freeman recalled, families “found occasions to meet together.” At the level of detail, these ways of socializing differed substantially by region and cultural tradition. But there are broader patterns that can be distinguished, rooted in an ox- and horse-drawn world of pre-telegraphic communications, unmechanized agricultural and household labor, and an only partially commercialized rural economy.

Beyond the limits of each family’s house or farmstead was a village or a country neighborhood, a small community that set the bounds for daily social experience. However, the meanings of “neighborhoods” and “neighboring” differed importantly

across the United States. Much depended on the density of settlement and the difficulties of local travel.

THE NORTH

The villages and neighborhoods of the settled northern countryside had comparatively dense social webs. "It was a uniform custom," wrote Freeman of his Massachusetts boyhood, "for the women to visit . . . from house to house, to take tea and enjoy a social afternoon." Men were brought together by frequent exchanges of work and goods and by trips to tavern and store. Children knew each other from attending school.

The densest rural settlements were central place villages—small hubs for commerce, transportation, professional services, worship, and local government. A growing number were mill villages, small settlements built around waterpowered textile factories. More dispersed country neighborhoods had vaguer borders but were named and thoroughly known by their inhabitants. In some places they were roughly defined by the boundaries of rural school districts. A sizable minority of families never stayed long enough in any community to become deeply enmeshed in its life. But those who remained for any length of time in well-established settlements visited and traded with their neighbors weekly, if not daily.

Although the reach of rural sociability was broad, it did not transcend class and race. Elite rural families sometimes socialized widely with their neighbors and sometimes held aloof. The poorest and most transient, along with free people of color generally, were for the most part excluded.

THE WEST AND SOUTH

In the more geographically dispersed settlements of the West and South, the structure of social life was inevitably different. Migrating families often felt it intensely. To move from New Jersey to Kentucky around 1800, wrote Daniel Drake, was to leave "the village and public roadside, with its cavalcade of travellers, for the loneliness of the wood, a solitude which was deeply felt by all of us." In response, widely scattered families sought to create a social web across the distances that separated them. Their "desire for society," Drake recalled, was like "the desire of a hungry family for food."

These families defined their neighborhoods more widely in space than those living in denser settlements, and they built their social networks on more intermittent contact. This desire for society was shared by the masters and mistresses of great planta-

tions as well as yeoman farmers. A Southern planter's "notions of space" were "so liberal," the *Universal Traveler* noted in 1835, "that he will readily ride a dozen miles to dine." If less frequent, sociability was often more intense. Southern and western families embraced customs of open hospitality to strangers as well as acquaintances that surprised northern observers.

In these more thinly settled parts of America, the problems of distance bore most heavily on women. They were tied to children and a daily round of domestic tasks and were constrained by custom from traveling far on their own. Men spent much of their time in solitary labor in the fields but could find intermittent occasions to leave the farm while hunting, trading, or attending public gatherings.

On the plantations, enslaved communities had a social life that was only partially known to their masters. After their day's work, families passed their evening hours in visiting, moving freely in and out of each other's cabins on the street, or talking and singing outdoors. Young men going courting and those bent on seeing separated kinfolk often took to the road to visit other plantations.

Although some masters tried to curtail evening socializing and off-plantation travel, enslaved Americans showed great tenacity in maintaining an autonomous social life. Even when cabins were locked to keep out late-night callers and patrols guarded the roads, young black men climbed down chimneys and walked across the fields.

PLACES AND OCCASIONS OF SOCIABILITY

Across the regions of America, weddings and funerals, held at home and usually marked by both drinking and rituals of hospitality, involved community as well as kinfolk. Critical locations of rural sociability were the church, the tavern, the country store, and the county courthouse. For millions of churchgoers in the countryside, Sunday meetings offered not only worship but abundant opportunities for visiting, courtship, and quarreling. Because economic transactions and social relations were deeply intertwined in rural life, stores offered similar opportunities for men and women to meet; purchases could be long, conversational transactions.

Taverns were perhaps the most widespread rural institutions of all, the centers of an almost exclusively male sociability. They brought men together for heavy drinking, smoking, and alcohol-fueled talk—and often gambling and fighting. The rural calendar was punctuated by militia training days, yearly state and local elections, and the periodic sessions of cir-

cuit-riding courts. On court days, training days, and election days, men—and some women—poured in from the countryside to township centers and county seats, as much to socialize as to do public business.

Rural Americans came together for many occasions of cooperative labor: corn huskings, house and barn raisings, “logrollings” for clearing timber, “stone bees” for ridding fields of rocks, even “dunging frolics” for spreading manure on the fields. There were also all-female gatherings: spinning frolics, quiltings, apple-paring bees. Farm families usually kept these gatherings outside the explicit web of the rural economy; even farmers and artisans who carefully recorded the most minute transactions with neighbors in their account books almost never charged the time spent in “mutual assistance.”

The social patterning of these cooperative activities varied from region to region, but overall they gave American rural life a distinctive texture. Everywhere they allowed neighbors to accomplish a large task quickly and to mark its completion with a kind of festival. In varying degrees they emphasized competition and courtship. Male corn husking teams in Kentucky contested, sometimes violently, for first place; in New England’s mixed husking parties, the men sought to find the occasional “red ear” that would earn them a kiss from the women.

THE SEASONS

Sociability in the American countryside moved inversely with the seasons of agricultural work. This occurred most dramatically in the rural Northeast. In July, during the exhausting labor of getting in the hay crop, most other activities were suspended. Stores, shops, and taverns stood almost empty, visits sharply declined, few couples married, and few children were conceived. Cutting against the grain was the one universally observed American holiday, the Fourth of July. Independence Day came at a remarkably awkward time for a nation of farmers, in the midst of the heaviest work of the summer. Probably it was all the more valued by country people on that account.

The end of the growing season marked the beginning of greater leisure. Winter was the courting season, a time often pleasantly remembered for its parties and frolics, singing schools and dances. It was also “marrying time” in most communities. The months just after harvest or just before spring planting showed the highest number of marriages. Yet in the North it was also a time of growing discomfort. Family life contracted into a room or two, and even routine outdoor chores grew increasingly difficult as

the temperature dropped. In severe cold and storm, households could spend weeks in isolation. At times the leisure could be enjoyed; when traveling was good, on sleighs over frozen roads, “alternating visiting through a neighborhood in the evening was quite common,” as Lyndon Freeman remembered. At times it could only be endured: “tavern haunting, tipping, and gaming,” Samuel Goodrich declared, “were the chief resources of men in the dead and dreary winter months.”

CHANGES OVER TIME

Well-established as they were, these patterns were not permanent. By the 1820s there were clear signs of change, particularly in the rural Northeast. Temperance reform was not only diminishing tavern clientele but changing the character of socializing for many men. Huskings and frolics were beginning to disappear under the pressure of more instrumental and progressive ways of organizing farm work, although house and barn raisings—whose economic logic could not be assailed—endured for many decades. Traditional forms of neighborhood sociability were now competing with the claims of the new voluntary organizations—lyceums and debating societies; charitable, missionary, and maternal associations; and groups devoted to temperance, antislavery, and other reform causes. For some rural families, weddings and funerals were becoming more private occasions, focused more narrowly on immediate family and close friends and excluding wider community participation.

A few decades later, there was a sense that the old world of rural sociability had disappeared entirely in some parts of America. In the communities of his Vermont boyhood, wrote Horace Greeley in 1859, there had been “more humor, more fun, more play, more merriment . . . than can be found anywhere in this anxious, plodding age.”

See also **Frontier; Frontiersmen; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Women’s Work.**

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Jack Larkin

SOCIAL LIFE: URBAN LIFE Despite their rarity, early America's towns served a vital role as social centers for much of period before 1820. Prior to 1783, large cities with ten thousand or more residents were distributed across the eastern seaboard, from Boston in the north to Philadelphia in the middle colonies, and Charleston in the South. The immediate post-Revolutionary decades witnessed a reorganization of this hierarchy. By 1800 Charleston had lost ground while Baltimore had joined this elite of urban centers with twenty-seven-thousand residents; furthermore, Philadelphia and New York, with over sixty-thousand residents each by that time, were easily the largest cities. Overall, just 5 percent of the early American population lived in towns, a proportion that would not increase until well into the nineteenth century. As social hubs for both townsmen and the residents of their hinterlands, however, these cities fulfilled a role much greater than their relative size would suggest.

RURAL AND URBAN SOCIABILITY

For many Americans, social life revolved around the rural homestead. Among whites, social calls to the houses of their neighbors (who often resided at some distance) provided entertainment and cemented a sense of community. In highly rural areas of the South, such as Virginia, centers of sociability that had, in the Old World, been situated in or near towns—churches, racecourses, and courthouses, for example—were also located in the countryside. Deprived of the freedom to move away from their rural places of work, many enslaved black Americans of this era had little choice but to create a social life that revolved around agricultural labor and plantation life. The function of towns as economic and political centers, however, meant that many black and white Americans could at least sometimes engage in social activities there. And, over the course of the eighteenth century, social amenities unique to the townscape started to spring up throughout the colonies, making certain leisure pursuits possible only in an urban environment. As the American population became more stratified by race and class in the years after 1750, cities also proved essential as the only

places offering socializing opportunities to all sectors of society.

ELITE AND MIDLING AMERICANS

In the decades before the Declaration of Independence, towns across the English-speaking Atlantic became indispensable to the leisure activities of elites and middling classes. Taverns, theaters, assembly rooms, public gardens, teahouses, and coffeehouses were for the most part exclusive to towns and constituted the main spaces in which wealthy free men and women sought company, entertainment, and conversation. In particular, towns assisted the New World's privileged classes in fashioning themselves as "genteel" individuals: people with good manners, a graceful posture, a fashionable appearance, a keen appreciation of the arts, and a font of educated conversation at their fingertips. In taverns, clubs and societies convened in the name of a wide variety of causes: drinking, literary discussion, celebration of a shared nationality, charity for the poor, Masonic rituals, and political debate. Mostly homosocial in character, these organizations represented the extension of a British sociability to early America; but, at the same time, they also reflected unique facets of New World society. Hence, Scottish, German, or French societies were indicative of the colonies' ethnic diversity, and the conflict between the elitist "modern" Freemasons and their more populist "ancient" brothers exposed the more democratic character of club life in America from the 1750s onwards.

Outside of clubs, elites and middling sorts passed much of their free time participating in dancing assemblies, promenading in gardens, attending concerts and plays, and drinking tea. By the 1760s, all of early America's largest cities had the amenities necessary to the pursuit of such activities, and some towns, like Charleston, South Carolina, thrived precisely because they were an essential refuge for gentry (the agricultural elite) seeking entertainment and a healthier environment away from their plantations. As central marketplaces and shopping centers, moreover, America's towns were also essential to the provision of the accoutrements of the genteel lifestyle; towns hosted shopping districts where strolling, buying, and socializing could be combined into a single leisure activity. Throughout the Revolutionary period, and into the era of new nationhood, America's cities continued to play this central part in the social lives of the wealthiest citizens.

THE POOR

Because of their physical size and the diversity of their spaces, towns also furnished special social op-

portunities for poorer early Americans—slaves, free blacks, and whites alike. In the harbor areas of all port towns on the eastern seaboard, there was a plethora of legal tippling houses and taverns, as well as innumerable illegal, temporary establishments. There, sailors, workers, apprentices, free blacks, and urban slaves all gathered to enjoy drinking, gambling, or popular games such as dice, billiards, and bowling. Increasingly, theaters proved to be sites of entertainment for those working poor whites who could afford the price of an entrance ticket.

All of these social activities, however, cost money that many did not have, and for this reason the open, shared spaces of towns were also favored as gathering places. Greens or fields provided the ideal location for slaves to come together in cities, a habit brought to light by the discomfort that this caused among white authorities. Streets also served as social spaces among the urban poor, and there one could often find traveling entertainers or tricksters surrounded by their audiences. Importantly, such offerings represented socializing opportunities for slaves unimaginable on the plantation, and for blacks fortunate enough to be sent to sell produce at town markets by their owners, even the commercial spaces of early America's towns could be turned into hubs of conversation, gossip, and entertainment.

Such activities, of course, were all a very long way from the genteel urban environment that elites were striving to fashion, and the conflict between their social goals and the culture of the lower sorts went far beyond protests against slave gatherings on the town green. Until the nineteenth century, America's cities were not divided into clear districts distinguished by the wealth of their residents. In southern towns, free blacks and poor whites lived in tenement housing that was frequently situated between—or behind—the townhouses occupied by the wealthy. In these circumstances, wealthy whites were forced to make a conscious effort to erect barriers between their genteel social lives and the popular pursuits of the poor, something that they achieved by instituting high subscription fees and entrance restrictions for their clubs, and even by cordoning off open spaces within towns for their exclusive use. Such actions merely reflected the increasing chasms between rich and poor, and black and white, that were emerging in American society before 1783.

THE EARLY NATIONAL ERA

During the early Republic, two new trends manifested themselves in the social lives of the new nation's burgeoning cities. Before independence, cities

had been the focus for many annual social events that linked Americans to the British Empire of which they were a central part. From Boston to Charleston, fireworks and dinners in honor of the king's birthday and the celebration of British victories against the French and the Spanish studded the urban social calendar. With new nationhood, however, such events were transformed into landmarks of independence, with Fourth of July commemorative feasts, balls, and parties becoming quickly established as annual celebrations of identity and unity. Elsewhere, independence made itself felt in urban club life. Masonry, with its emphasis on fraternal values, flourished in these decades, its values practically inseparable from those of the new nation. As well as embodying a new national unity, urban social life also began to display more of the features of class division than ever before. Most noticeably, the social lives of urban middling sorts emerged as a clear strand all of its own. This was a sociability characterized less by the drinking, gambling, and dancing enjoyed by elites and more by a quest for improvement of morals among poor or black citizens. Often, this middling drive for reform stemmed from a collective identity founded around evangelical religion, temperance, and a growing sense of gentility and propriety.

See also **City Growth and Development; Class; Dance; Gambling; Holidays and Public Celebrations; Recreation, Sports, and Games; Slavery: Slave Life; Taverns; Theater and Drama.**

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Emma Hart

SOCIETY OF ST. TAMMANY The Society of St. Tammany, or the Columbian Order, originated in New York City in the late 1780s. During the Revolu-

tion, Tammany Societies, so called in honor of a mythical Delaware Indian chief, Tamamend, had appeared in Philadelphia and elsewhere to spread patriotism and republicanism and as a counter to more elitist organizations like the Society of the Cincinnati. When its early aspirations to become a national organization withered after independence, the society came to be associated most closely with New York. The first Tammany Society appeared in the city in 1786 or 1787 but attracted few recruits until 1789, when John Pintard, a merchant, and William Mooney, an upholsterer, assumed its leadership. Initially a fraternal order dedicated to the preservation of the art and natural history of the United States and the commemoration of the country's history, the society came to see itself as a bulwark of republicanism and democracy against aristocracy. Modest initiation fees and annual dues ensured a broad membership. Artisans and mechanics made up the bulk of members by the mid-1790s, but the organization also included lawyers and merchants. In keeping with its Indian motif, the society was organized into "braves" and "tribes," who elected a board of directors made up of thirteen "sachems." They, in turn, selected a grand sachem, a position held first by William Mooney and then by William Pitt Smith. The Society held monthly meetings where members debated current events over dinner and drinks; supported local charities; and, in Indian regalia, marched in parades celebrating patriotic holidays.

As partisanship intensified in the early 1790s, the society's political activities grew. The city's artisans and laborers became disenchanted with Federalism and gravitated to the emerging Democratic Republicans. During the debates over the French Revolution, Tammany sided with France, organizing pro-French demonstrations in New York in 1793 and 1794 and denouncing the Jay Treaty the following year. In 1795 Federalist members withdrew when the society refused to endorse Washington's denunciation of the new Democratic Societies, leaving the Republicans in control. Over the next decade, pro-Jefferson Tammany Societies were revived in several states, but in most places they retained their fraternal character and were rarely a major political force.

Tammany's emergence as a political organization dates from the intense factionalism of New York politics in the early nineteenth century. By 1807 the supporters of Aaron Burr, known as Martling Men because they met at Martling's Tavern, had gained control and turned Tammany into a base of opposition to DeWitt Clinton. For more than a decade there-

after, New York politics revolved around the struggle between Clintonians and Tammanyites. In 1812 the society moved to the corner of Nassau and Frankfort Streets, the home of Tammany Hall until 1868. By 1820 Tammany had allied with Martin Van Buren's Bucktails against Clinton. Together they successfully pushed for state constitutional reform and universal male suffrage and built the political organization that carried New York for Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party in 1828. Despite scandals and internal divisions in the 1830s and beyond, by mid-century Tammany Hall was well on its way to becoming one of the most formidable political machines in American history.

See also **Democratic Republicans; New York City; Patriotic Societies.**

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L. Ray Gunn

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI In May 1783 officers of the Continental Army, led by Henry Knox and Frederick von Steuben, created a veterans organization named the Society of the Cincinnati, after Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, the legendary general and patriot who led the Roman army to victory, then returned to his farm. Their aim was not only to preserve the fraternal bonds between the officers, but also to pursue their common interest in outstanding pay and pensions during peacetime. George Washington, while uninvolved with the society's formation, agreed to serve as its president. Soon, the Cincinnati numbered over two thousand members, including many prominent figures such as Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, and James Monroe.

The society was open to all officers of the Continental Army who had served for three years or, regardless of length of service, to those who had served to the war's conclusion or had been rendered supernumerary. It also offered hereditary membership from father to eldest male offspring. The original charter provided for a general society with annual

meetings in Philadelphia and thirteen state societies with local chapters. It also permitted membership for selected officers of the allied French army and navy, who soon formed a French society of their own. Furthermore, the society provided for a charitable fund, honorary memberships, and a commemorative medal, which Peter Charles L'Enfant changed into a bald eagle decoration to be worn.

The society proved highly controversial. In *Considerations on the Society or Order of Cincinnati* (1783), Aedanus Burke of South Carolina denounced the Cincinnati as a nascent hereditary nobility that would inevitably subvert the American Republic and possibly establish a corrupt monarchy. Burke's pamphlet was spread nationwide, and soon others joined in the outcry. John Adams despaired that nobility would replace republicanism in America, Elbridge Gerry feared the Cincinnati would rule the nation covertly, Thomas Jefferson urged Washington to separate himself from the organization, Stephen Higginson feared that the society was a tool of the French, and Benjamin Franklin mocked the officers for mimicking European nobility. Congress declared that the Cincinnati was not an official knightly order of the United States.

The Cincinnati were not even a political faction, much less an aristocratic conspiracy, yet they had to react. Washington persuaded the general society in 1784 to propose a reform dropping hereditary membership and other controversial features. This revised charter was well publicized and did much to muffle criticism, but it was never ratified. Only a few state societies endorsed the reform, others insisted on retaining hereditary membership. Consequently, largely unnoticed by the public, the revised charter never took effect. Still, the general society practically ceased to function in the following years, and in subsequent decades several state societies withered. The Cincinnati came close to vanishing, but revived in the late nineteenth century. At the start of the twenty-first century, the general society, the thirteen state societies, and the French society are alive and well, the oldest of American patriotic societies.

At times the anti-Cincinnati rhetoric, which was especially widespread between 1783 and 1785 but persisted sporadically until 1790, verged on conspiracy theory. It resembled the anti-Illuminati hysteria of the late 1790s and the anti-Masonic movement of the 1820s. Why did one part of the Revolutionary leadership effectively accuse another of anti-republican subversion? The answer lies in the difficult situation of the mid-1780s, when it often seemed that America had won the war but might lose

the peace. For American politicians who had been reared on radical Whig ideology and thus had learned to distrust concentrated power, the machinations of ambitious men, and all things military, the society seemed a threat to the Republic. The members of the Cincinnati, while innocent of the crimes they were accused of, had made themselves vulnerable by adopting the unegalitarian principle of heredity.

As the young American Republic stabilized, the most dire accusations against the Cincinnati faded. By the 1790s, many Democratic Republicans, including historian Mercy Otis Warren, continued to associate the largely unpolitical society with conservative Federalist politics. However, the controversy never regained its old strength.

See also **Anti-Masons; Patriotic Societies; Soldiers.**

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SOLDIERS From colonial times through the nineteenth century, the colonies and later the United States usually eschewed creating large formations of regular soldiers to engage in wars and skirmishes. This was due, in large part, to historical antipathy toward the expense and to fear of maintaining a regular standing army.

COLONIAL MILITARY UNITS

As a result, three early types of units were organized for both defensive and offensive colonial military operations: local militia, provincial units, and rangers. During the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the colonies supplemented the regular royal regiments sent to North America with these types of troops. The militia and provincial soldiers, with the notable exception of a ranger force established by Robert

TO ALL BRAVE, HEALTHY, ABLE BODIED, AND WELL
DISPOSED YOUNG MEN,
IN THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD, WHO HAVE ANY INCLINATION TO JOIN THE TROOPS,
NOW RAISING UNDER
GENERAL WASHINGTON,
FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
LIBERTIES AND INDEPENDENCE
OF THE UNITED STATES,
Against the hostile designs of foreign enemies,

TAKE NOTICE,

THAT *Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday and Saturday at Providence in*
Rhode Island with his music and marching party of *Providence* company in *Rhode Island*
of the 11th regiment of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *John* for the purpose of receiving the enrollment of
such youth of spirit, as may be willing to enter into this honorable service.

The ENCOURAGEMENT of this cause, so noble, so truly liberal and generous, namely, a bounty of TWELVE dollars, an annual and fully sufficient
supply of food and hardware clothing, a ready allowance of a bare and ample ration of provisions, together with SIXTY dollars a year in money
and THREE months an account of pay, the whole of which the soldier may lay up for himself and family, shall with his proper for his subsistence and
comfort be provided for him, without any expense to him.

Those who may favour this recruiting party with their attendance as above, will have an opportunity of hearing and seeing in a more particular
manner, the great advantages which their brave men will have, who shall embrace this opportunity of spending a few happy years in viewing the
different parts of this beautiful continent, in the honorable and truly respectable character of a soldier, after which, he may, if he pleases return
home to his friends, with his pockets full of money and his head crowned with laurels.

CDD XLVII THE NINTH-SIXTIES

Revolution-era Recruiting Poster. Most American soldiers were recruited from the lowest rungs of society. In order to attract men to such dangerous service, colonial officials offered enlistment “bounties” and promised to clothe and feed soldiers for the duration of their service. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

Rogers of New Hampshire, did not enjoy an especially high reputation with the regular British military establishment. However, historical scholarship has demonstrated that the colonial militia was an effective defense against Native American or local military threats on a variety of occasions.

The standard militia laws of nearly every colony required all able-bodied adult white males between ages sixteen to sixty to serve in the militia. (In most colonies, the laws made it illegal for slaves, indentured servants, and Native Americans to serve as part of any militia organization.) They allowed some conspicuous exemptions from service for community members deemed critical to the economic health of

the locality, such as political leaders, judges, bakers, and millers. The militia usually trained in a formal session at least once a month, with each man providing his own weapon, powder, and shot. They were paid from local treasuries for their training time and were sent, if ordered by the colonial governor, on campaigns that usually did not extend beyond a single season. In reality, they were best suited for local defense for periods of short duration.

However, ranger forces, such as that of Rogers’ Rangers, were paid on a full-time basis. Rogers trained his rangers in the tactics and style of Native Americans, fighting in loose formation; he also adapted their dress and weaponry for woodland

fighting. Rangers could operate in austere wilderness conditions for extended periods of time, a tradition continued by modern U.S. Army Rangers and Green Berets. While colonial rangers proved to be effective against the hit-and-run style of their Native American opponents, they were very expensive to maintain on a long-term basis; therefore, most colonies opted to rely on their own local militia.

Of the three types of units, provincial forces had the worst reputation for discipline, morale, and battlefield effectiveness during the colonial era. They were usually recruited from the lowest rungs of society and were essentially contracted for a specific period of service or campaign duration. Most had only rudimentary training in the use of their weapons and in military drill. In order to attract men to such dangerous service, colonial officials usually offered enlistment bounties and promised to clothe and feed these provincial soldiers for the duration of their service. When these promises failed to materialize, many of these soldiers deserted.

CONTINENTAL ARMY

During the first year of the American Revolution, the colonies relied nearly entirely on local New England militia forces. However, it soon became apparent, after a disastrous winter campaign to seize Canada, that the lax discipline and irregular military habits of part-time soldiers would no longer do and that well-trained, long-termed, disciplined soldiers were now necessary. Commanded by General George Washington, Congress created a Continental Army of eighty-eight battalions. Each state was given a quota based on its prewar white adult male population. All the states failed to meet their quota for Continental troops, forcing Washington constantly to harangue state governors for augmentation of the Continental Army with state militia units, which were usually available for only very short durations of service.

In return for their agreement to serve faithfully and continuously for three years (or the duration of the war), Continental recruits were initially given an enlistment bounty of approximately \$20, promised an annual suit of clothes (a uniform, shoes, and a blanket), and a specified ration of three daily meals in addition to a monthly salary of about \$6.67. Many men formed informal "messes" and combined their rations in order to barter for supplements to their bland and meager daily diets. A typical soldier's mess consisted of anywhere from four to eight soldiers who would share just about everything they had in camp. As the war lengthened and inflation robbed soldiers of the value of their bounties and sal-

aries, the difficulty of finding agreeable recruits increased and enlistment bounties being offered for both Continental and state service skyrocketed. Life in Continental Army camps like those at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, and Morristown, New Jersey, proved to be especially arduous. Frequently lacking adequate shelter, clothing, and food, the soldiers were known to have suffered from great privation and desertion. Occasionally, Continental Army command even had to contend with mutiny.

Following the Revolution and indeed throughout much of the nineteenth century, the United States continued its traditional policy of maintaining a miniscule regular army establishment, and the federal government called for state militia and volunteer augmentation only during times of national emergency or to fight local Native American wars. However, these units began to be augmented by state "volunteer" units that were clothed and equipped by either the state or federal government. Regular soldiers still served for lengthier periods of service than state regiments or militia units, were furnished a monthly salary, and were provided with an agreed-upon ration and regular replacements of military uniforms.

A typical day in the life of a soldier in camp during this era consisted of reveille in the morning, followed by camp police details (cleaning), breakfast, morning guard mount (where soldiers detailed to guard posts received their assignments, usually for a period of twenty-four hours) for some and drill for everyone else, dinner (in the afternoon), more drill and other details, supper and evening "tattoo." Life on the march during wartime was more arduous. During the War of 1812 (1812–1815), Captain Henry Brush noted that soldiers were given "unbleached, tow-linen hunting shirts and trousers. On their heads they wore low-crowned hats, on the left side of which were black cockades about two inches in diameter." Each soldier carried a musket, bayonet, a cartridge box, a knapsack, and a "quart-sized tin canteen." The knapsack and blanket were covered with an oilcloth to protect them from rain. "A soldier's arms and pack weighed about 35 pounds, and troops traveled about 25 miles a day on foot." Despite official attempts to standardize army clothing and equipment, most soldiers modified their outfits as they saw fit. Militia units were the most notorious for this practice and arrived at the Battle of New Orleans (1815) wearing a wide variety of apparel and carrying equally diverse weaponry.

The practice of combining regular federal, state militia, and volunteer units for military service dur-

ing wars and emergencies and using small numbers of regular forces as constabulary units on the American frontier between wars continued until the end of the nineteenth century. It was not until nearly the beginning of World War I that this hodgepodge system was eschewed in favor of a more professional and “regular” standing military force.

See also **Army Culture; Army, U.S.; Camp Followers; Continental Army; Gunpowder, Munitions, and Weapons (Military); Militias and Militia Service.**

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events would mythologize them as the original revolutionaries, their goals were far from radical, seeking only to convince the British to restore the imperial Constitution. The Sons' methods of mobilizing protest, including the participation of many diverse socioeconomic groups, the development of effective propaganda and communication networks, and a concern for restraining violence and wanton destruction, would become the formula for the movement leading up to the Revolution.

Beginning in the summer of 1765, groups that identified themselves as the Sons of Liberty appeared in several American cities, including Boston, New York, Providence, Newport, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Norfolk, and Charlestown. In many cities the Sons of Liberty grew out of established urban clubs and societies, most famously the Loyal Nine in Boston. As these organizations became known as the Sons, they also broadened their social bases to include politicized artisans, shopkeepers, and tradesmen. During the Stamp Act riots, the Sons made alliances with mob leaders like Ebenezer McIntosh, leader of Boston's South End gang, for the dual purpose of mobilizing mass resistance and keeping their own participation hidden. Perhaps the most important constituency in the Sons, however, was newspaper printers. Printers Benjamin Edes (*Boston Gazette*), William Goddard (*Providence Gazette*), Samuel Hall (*Newport Mercury*), and William Bradford (*Pennsylvania Journal*) were all members of their local Sons of Liberty; the printers' participation ensured that the Sons' message would reach a wide audience.

Although attention has generally focused on the role of the Sons in Boston's Stamp Act riots, the attempts of Isaac Sears, John Lamb, and the New York Sons of Liberty to organize intercolonial communication networks were also significant. Beginning in November 1765, the New York Sons sent representatives to chapters in Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts proposing alliances and establishing avenues to share information. Although short-lived, the importance of this initial effort by the New York Sons to make connections with colleagues in other colonies would later become clear: it was a first step toward continental unity and the creation of a common cause.

The Sons of Liberty movement declined after Parliament repealed the Stamp Act in March 1766. Having achieved their goal, many groups, including the pivotal New York Sons, saw no need to continue resistance. Devoted to maintaining order and restoring “balance” to the British Constitution, the Sons were not yet revolutionaries. Still, they did not com-

SONS OF LIBERTY The Sons of Liberty were the first broad-based, intercolonial organization to encourage American resistance to Britain. Emerging suddenly during the latter half of 1765, chapters of the Sons of Liberty formed throughout the American colonies for the singular purpose of forcing Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act. Although future

pletely disappear. The Boston Sons remained intact; in fact, by the late 1760s its membership had evolved from its artisan roots to include many elite leaders, including Samuel Adams, John Hancock, James Otis, Joseph Warren, and John Adams. In 1768 the Boston Sons began corresponding with John Wilkes, a popular English radical whose political persecution made him a celebrity in America.

By the 1770s, however, the term *Sons of Liberty* had lost its specific meaning. Instead, it became a general label like *patriot* or *Whig* that referred to a supporter of American rights. Symbolic for its reference to one of the clearest successes of American resistance, the label did resurface at certain points during the imperial crisis, most importantly as the name of the group responsible for the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

The Sons of Liberty movement of 1765–1766 would become a model for future American protests against the British. Later organizations would follow the Sons' strategies of focusing political energy, loudly broadcasting grievances, restraining violence, establishing communication networks between the colonies, and mobilizing broad groups of people to support the common cause.

See also **Boston Tea Party; Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

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CLIMATE, TOPOGRAPHY, SOIL, AND CROPS

“Let us begin by discussing the weather,” wrote the eminent southern historian, Ulrich B. Phillips, as the first words of the best-known book on the South, “for that has been the chief agency in making the South distinctive.” Certainly, the South’s sultry climate has always set it apart from the rest of the nation. Lying roughly between thirty-nine and thirty degrees north latitude (thus covering some five hundred miles from north to south) aside from Florida, the summer temperatures in much of the South stay consistently over ninety degrees during the summer months, with nearly 90 percent relative humidity in the Lower South states. While the border area receives nearly the same amount of precipitation—twenty-four inches—as the southern Piedmont during the warm seasons, it receives between ten and fifteen inches less precipitation, so vital to most staple crops, than do most of the Deep South states in their warm seasons. Conversely, the South’s winters vary more widely in degree: while the Upper South has at best two hundred frost-free growing days per year (even less west of the Appalachians, which shelters Virginia and Maryland from the driving cold fronts that chill the Middle Border subregion), the Deep South boasts some forty or fifty more than that, allowing the Deep South states an extra six growing weeks or more between the last killing frosts in spring and first killing frosts in the fall. The average minimum temperature in the Upper South is as much as thirty degrees colder than in much of the Lower South (even more than in the coastal Sea Islands area and Florida), meaning nearly twenty more inches of frost penetration into the soil. Although western migrants who began moving to the border states as early as the 1770s may have attempted to replicate or even better the society of their former homes, the distinctive climate of the Upper South forced adaptations upon the social landscape.

The South’s topography varies as widely as its climate, and it influenced migratory patterns that resulted in distinct intraregional cultures. The Appalachian Mountains slash southward through the easternmost southern states, forming a barrier of sorts between the Atlantic seaboard and the country further west that influenced migratory patterns. Settlers who moved westward from the Upper Chesapeake along with those from the mid-Atlantic states most often used the Ohio River for westward transportation, settling predominantly in the border regions of Kentucky and Missouri and creating a cultural admixture of northern and southern influences. Settlers from southwestern Virginia and North Carolina more often traveled through the

SOUTH A southern migration, commencing during the American Revolution and producing six states (Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri) by 1821, led to great changes in the westernmost parts of the southern United States. The result was the growth of not one South, but a set of discrete subregions.

Cumberland Gap, settling Tennessee and central and southern Kentucky, while settlers from South Carolina and Georgia avoided the mountains completely by migrating to the Gulf States. The Appalachians themselves, along with the Ozarks, became a destination for later settlers, often Scots-Irish, who set up distinctive and often isolated communities separated by mountain valleys. The Lower Mississippi Valley was a place apart from the rest of the South, largely as a result of its French and Spanish heritage (the area did not become a part of the United States until 1803), but this Latin South had a slave population that was far more Africanized in the nineteenth century than in other parts of the South.

The South's soils vary widely as well: rich loess in the Missouri and Ohio River valleys; rich alluvial soil in the Mississippi Delta; flinty limestone in the Appalachian and Ozark Mountain highlands; sandy loam in the Tidewater and coastal lowlands; and distinctive red clay in the Appalachian Piedmont. While soil did not in itself influence the resulting economy as much as did climate, the thin soils of the mountain and sand-hill areas proved less capable of producing the staple crops that characterized large subregions of the South. Those crops, in many historians' estimation, and more specifically the cultures that evolved from their prolonged production, gave the South its most distinctive character. Tobacco, colonial North America's first export crop, dominated in southern Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina, Kentucky, and Missouri, ultimately sharing preeminence there with hemp as well as wheat, the latter of which by the 1820s had replaced tobacco as the subregion's largest export crop. Farther south, rice dominated the South Carolina and Georgia low country, while sugar reigned over much of lower Louisiana. Cotton, which became the South's signature cash crop after 1810, extended through the Piedmont plantation belt and between the too-cool tobacco belt and the too-wet rice and sugar belts, extending westward by 1830 into the Old Southwest. Needing 180 growing days, and with cultivation periods that complemented those for food crops such as corn (thus maximizing labor efficiency), cotton had by the 1820s already become the nation's leading export, earning it the designation King Cotton. Remarkably, the output of cotton doubled every decade after 1800, the largest growth rate of any agricultural commodity in the nation; by 1830, southern cotton constituted two-thirds of the value of the nation's exported commodities.

MANUFACTURING AND CITIES

Though more agricultural in nature than much of the North, the South developed its own manufacturing base, one that illustrated the stark differences between the Border and Upper Souths on the one hand and the Lower South on the other. Eighty percent of the South's manufacturing capacity lay in the Border South. The industrial growth of the Border South drove urbanization and stimulated the growth of the area's population. By 1830, three of the South's five largest cities—Baltimore, St. Louis, and Richmond—lay in the Border and Upper Souths, their populations eclipsing all other southern cities save New Orleans and Charleston. Their trade networks extended northward and eastward by rail lines far more than by any traditional river or ocean links with the Lower South and Europe. Some 45 percent of the South's population lived in the Border States alone.

RELIGION

The South's religious heritage profoundly influenced its distinctive culture away from the cultures that characterized the northern states. Nowhere was this more evident than in the intense revivals that erupted throughout the region, especially in the Border and Upper Souths, at the outset of the nineteenth century, reshaping these subregions' religious contours and helping to develop their unique character. Where the Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century had introduced a class-based evangelicalism that replaced the Baptist and Methodist sects as egalitarian alternatives to the elitism of the Anglican church in Virginia, the Revolutionary era and its aftermath empowered them (along with Presbyterians) as denominations throughout the South. The rapid rise of the western states and the proliferation of a slave-based, staple crop economy soon brought on personal uncertainties about material advancement just as rampant secularism caused church attendance to decline precipitously. Initially suspect, itinerant ministers soon softened their condemnations of such "declension" as they sought communicants. Meanwhile, western settlers, and especially women, were seeking relief from the burdens and vicissitudes of frontier life. What resulted was a series of revivals that swept the Border and Upper Souths over several decades, the largest of which occurred at Cane Ridge, Kentucky, in August 1801, when some twenty thousand persons assembled for an immense outdoor, interdenominational camp meeting marked by emotional preaching and mass conversions. This religious fervor soon spread and swelled the congregations of the evangelical churches throughout the entire South as they eagerly reached out to black and

white, male and female converts. Ironically, evangelical religion set down the rhythms of southern religious culture just as it linked the new subregions of the South with the older seaboard states and helped to distinguish all of them from the culture of the North.

SLAVERY

Above all other regional aspects, and in tandem with the development of the staple crop economy, slavery shaped the South's distinctiveness from other regions of the country. Yet the "peculiar institution" also magnified the South's intraregional variances. Between 1790 and 1830, as the South's overall white population nearly tripled from 1.3 million to 3.7 million, its slave population kept pace, increasing from 675,000 to more than two million. As the Border and Upper Souths' transition from staple crops to food crops and industry changed their economic bases, so the population density of slaves shifted southward. Where in 1790 slaves comprised one-third of the Upper and Border Souths' populations (including the District of Columbia), by 1830 that figure had fallen to 30 percent; meanwhile, the Lower South's slave population increased from 41 percent of the subregion's whole to more than 47 percent. The proportion was lowest in the Border and mountain Souths, where but 14 percent and less than 5 percent of their overall populations, respectively, were bondpeople. Though it boasted only a quarter of the South's white population in 1830, slaves in the Lower South comprised 47 percent of its states' populations; in some coastal areas, slaves constituted as much as 90 percent of the residents. Facilitated by the internal slave trade, which would move some half-million slaves southwestward from the Border and Upper Souths, and the economic transitions underway in those subregions, the South was fast becoming a region comprised of white belts and black belts, with the blackest belts in the Lower South, the Mississippi Valley, and the Tidewater area of Virginia (where slavery had begun in the early seventeenth century).

Subregional variation. Although slaves labored in the South's factories, on its docks, and in its fashionable homes, agricultural labor chained some 90 percent of its bondpeople to the southern countryside. The Lower, Upper, and Border Souths had remarkably different slave cultures, depending on their staple crops. The dependency on slavery varied greatly, distinguishing the regions, as the historian Ira Berlin has argued, as being either slave societies or a societies with slaves. The Lower South was clearly a slave

society. Its plantations often encompassed thousands of acres and held as many as a hundred slaves each, often working in gangs (especially on cotton plantations) and living apart from their owners' homes in discrete, concentrated slave quarters. Conversely, in the Upper and Border Souths, plantations and farms (as they were invariably referred to west of the mountains) were often smaller and boasted far fewer slaves, who commonly worked side by side with masters and hired white workers in the fields, even living in their masters' homesteads.

Slavery and power. Slaveholding created a unique culture of power in the South. Planters, or those who owned substantial holdings of land and slaves, dominated the economy and the society of the region. Many were sons and grandsons of men in the colonial era who had made substantial beginnings on the family position and fortunes by way of staple production as well as, especially in the Upper South, mercantile and banking activities. Always few in number, such planters held disproportionate shares of political and economic influence, especially in the Lower South and the Tidewater, and zealously protected them through intermarriage with other gentry families and by largesse offered to the white lower classes. Below the planters were the yeomanry, independent landholders and small slaveholders who sought upward mobility but who clung doggedly to their hard-won freehold status, even above slave ownership. Most numerous among the populations of the Upper and Border Souths, these yeomen acceded to the local planters' political dominance in part for the economic advantages the latter afforded them in return, but more as a check against those below them in their respective subregions, namely restless and landless poor whites and black slaves. Indeed, the South's most notorious (and by the 1830s regionally distinct) cultural ritual—the duel—not only reflected all of these social constructs of power (patriarchy, class status, masculinity, personal honor, clannishness, and violence) but was itself dying out in all but the Lower South.

After the colonial period, few class upheavals occurred in the South, in contrast to the North, where they grew more common. Historians generally explain this phenomenon as a product of the South's "herrenvolk democracy," which guaranteed white men equal access to political participation (especially after the decline of property requirements in the 1820s) while excluding African Americans, free and slave, from the rights of full citizenship. This entire social system, based upon deference, patriarchy, reciprocal rights, obligations, coercive violence, and

perhaps above all racial hierarchy and chattel slavery, sustained the South uncomfortably as it matured in the years of the early Republic.

SECTIONALISM

The last decade of the early national period witnessed the emergence of national and even intraregional divisions that would soon come to be characterized as “sectionalism.” As the nation reeled from its first national economic downturn beginning in 1819 (and felt particularly by cotton-growing states like South Carolina, where the Panic of 1919 severely depressed cotton prices), the congressional debate of 1819–1820 over Missouri statehood revealed that national politics had begun to sectionalize over the issue of slavery. In 1822 South Carolina was shocked by the discovery of a widespread rebellion planned by Charleston slaves and led by a literate free black named Denmark Vesey. The plot was aborted and during subsequent trials, testimony implicated northern antislavery politicians as having influenced Vesey by way of printed speeches. An “Old Republican” states’ rights political stance was articulated by leading Virginians such as John Randolph. They sought to curb the nationalizing tendencies of the Virginia Dynasty—presidents from Thomas Jefferson to James Monroe as well as Supreme Court chief justice John Marshall—which had strengthened the power of the national government, presumably at the expense of the states and, more specifically, the southern states. Like the members of that dynasty, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Henry Clay of Kentucky stood as conflicting symbols to southerners. They were at once large slaveholders and “southern” leaders, but they were also principled advocates of a nationalism that seemed to ignore states’ rights principles. The Tariff of 1816, decried by southerners as favoring northern industries at the expense of southern exporters, provided a powerful and enduring symbol for southern anger. In 1828, when Congress raised the tariff to its highest level yet (earning for it the southern epithet “Tariff of Abominations”), John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Jackson’s vice president, secretly authored a sectional response. His *South Carolina Exposition and Protest* reinvigorated the doctrine of states’ rights (originally articulated by Jefferson and Madison in their Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions [1798]) by offering a mechanism through which a state could check federal power: conventions that would “nullify” within their states’ borders any harmful actions by the federal government. Although white southerners had not yet fashioned strong polemical defenses of slavery such as those that would emerge immediately after 1830,

political and social events during the last decade of the early national period shaped the emerging proslavery ideology that would ultimately most characterize the South as a distinct region.

See also **Agriculture: Overview; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Proslavery Thought; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism; Sectionalism and Disunion; Slavery: Overview; States’ Rights.**

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SOUTH CAROLINA From 1754 to 1829, South Carolina evolved from a politically divided colony to a state united in defense of slavery. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, South Carolina grew slowly, with black slaves outnumbering white inhabitants: in 1761 around fifty-seven thousand blacks lived in the colony, compared to thirty thousand whites. Slavery was strongest in the low country and Charleston, the state’s only significant city; only 4 percent of slaves lived in the backcountry (defined in the eighteenth century as beginning fifty miles inland). During the 1770s, white farmers from Virginia and Pennsylvania began to move south and settle in the backcountry districts of South Carolina. By the 1770s the colony’s total population was around 180,000. But low country planters, worried that new residents in the backcountry were not sufficiently concerned about protecting slavery, retained political control. It would take a radical shift in the distribution of slave ownership before low country leaders were willing to share power.

For their part, backcountry residents chafed at the political power of the low country elites. While

numerous parishes (election districts for the Commons House of Assembly) served the small white population of the low country, only one—created in 1757—served the backcountry. Since the parishes provided, in addition to legislative representation, the services of local government, the result was a lack of order in the backcountry. One source of conflict was a general lawlessness that went unchecked given the lack of law enforcement personnel and courts. Another source of conflict was the Cherokees on the northwestern frontier. In October 1767, Regulator groups sprang up to provide order where the royal government did not; they demanded that courts, jails, and schools be provided. Although Regulators were an extralegal force, they were largely small planters and property owners, not vagrant thugs. Regulators remained strong until the low country power structure began to make concessions to the movement, deflating the Regulators' power. In 1768 two additional parishes were established in the backcountry, and courts and jails were established by the Circuit Court Act of 1769.

It was in this context that South Carolina entered the Revolutionary War, which had the feeling of a civil war in the backcountry. After the Declaration of Independence, an armed force had to be sent to subdue Loyalists there. Backcountry residents also battled the Cherokees in a war that concluded in 1777 with the latter ceding their land in the state. In 1780 the British laid siege to Charleston, which signaled the initiation of sustained southern hostilities in the war. The city fell on 12 May 1780, but the British were unable to capitalize on their success. British tactics in the countryside, exemplified by the ruthless Banastre Tarleton, added to the popular support for Patriot partisans led by men such as Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter. The British could not root out the partisans or destroy General Nathanael Greene's Continental Army, and so they withdrew from the state in December 1782. The intense fighting across the state left it in economic ruin.

South Carolina's Charles Pinckney was a leading critic of the Articles of Confederation, and when the Constitutional Convention met in 1787, he played a major role in designing the new document. Pinckney and his cousin and fellow delegate, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, helped insure that slavery was protected in the Constitution. Many of Charles Pinckney's proposals, such as counting slaves as three-fifths of a person for the purposes of apportioning representatives in the federal legislature, were adopted by the convention. Although some in the South Carolina backcountry opposed the new Constitution,

South Carolina's ratification of the document was never in doubt, thanks to a power structure that still privileged the low country. The ratification convention overwhelmingly approved the document in May 1788.

With war and independence decided, South Carolinians focused again on political conflict between backcountry and low country. A redistribution of the slave population helped bring about political changes in South Carolina. Slaves were rapidly being brought to the area north of the fall line as backcountry farmers began adapting to cotton production; whereas only 14,415 slaves lived in this area in 1790, 43,578 did in 1810. The integration of the backcountry into the plantation economy and the rapid growth of slavery in the area finally made low country elites comfortable with extending political power to the remainder of the state. In 1785 county courts were created to help establish legal structure in the backcountry. The following year, the General Assembly moved the state's capital from Charleston to the middle of the state in the new city of Columbia. The compromise of 1808, a constitutional amendment, apportioned the state's house of representatives on the basis of population and wealth, finally bringing more equitable representation to the backcountry. The state's population reached 249,073 in 1790, 345,591 in 1800, 415,115 in 1810, 502,741 in 1820, and 581,185 in 1830.

This period also saw the Denmark Vesey plot, which garnered a swift response from the state. In May 1822, a slave exposed the plot to his master: a free black, Denmark Vesey, supposedly intended to lead an army of thousands of slaves against the whites of Charleston. The city council responded with a series of trials that resulted in the hanging or expulsion of dozens of slaves. The state also passed an act that December making it illegal for free black seamen to associate with slaves, and the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston was demolished.

Events in 1828 brought South Carolina to the center of the national stage: native sons Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun were elevated to the presidency and vice presidency, respectively, and Congress passed the "Tariff of Abominations," which sparked the state's nullification movement. Although South Carolina's attempt to nullify federal law ultimately failed, it laid the groundwork for South Carolina's eventual departure from the Union in 1860.

See also **Charleston; Constitution, Ratification of; Regulators; Revolution as Civil War:**

Patriot-Loyalist Conflict; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Tariff Politics; Vesey Rebellion.

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SPAIN Charles III came to the throne of Spain in 1759 as its third Bourbon monarch. Under his enlightened reign Spain experienced growth by almost every measure of national success. His death in 1788, however, brought an abrupt end to this era of expansion and prosperity. The reign of Charles IV, who ruled from 1788 until 1808, was marred by a series of governmental blunders, incompetent ministers, and the successful efforts of Napoleon to assume control of his neighbor to the south. By the time Charles III's equally incompetent grandson, Ferdinand VII, came to the throne in 1808, Spain was in serious decline. Under Charles IV and Ferdinand VII, Spain lacked the political, military, or diplomatic means to block Anglo-American expansion into the Spanish Borderlands of North America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES III (1759–1788)

Charles III assumed the Spanish throne during the initial stages of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Europe. Spain entered the war during the final year of fighting; militarily Spain did not fare well. The loss of Havana to the British in January of 1762 brought Spain to the peace table in Paris as a defeated nation anxious both to regain its major Cuban port and also to distance its future foreign policy from that of France. Charles III accomplished both tasks at the Peace of Paris in 1763, where he gained France's

Louisiana colony while ceding Spanish Florida to the British. With peace restored, Charles III surrounded himself with a talented group of ministers and advisors, all of whom were university-educated adherents of the Spanish enlightenment. They embarked on an ambitious program of urban renewal, educational development, the revision of taxation, a reorganization of the military, and the implementation of free-trade regulations throughout the Spanish empire. They also began to formulate a foreign policy that would be more independent from that of their long-standing ally, France.

The international crisis precipitated by the American Revolution became a major diplomatic concern for Charles III and his ministers. The Spanish government adopted an official policy of neutrality while issuing secret instructions to Spanish military commanders in Cuba and Louisiana to provide covert assistance to the rebels. Spain instructed a wealthy Bilbao merchant, Diego de Gardoqui, to create a fictitious merchant house that would serve as a secret conduit for military supplies and munitions to the Continental Army; much of these supplies eventually passed through Havana or New Orleans. Spain did not wish to enter the conflict until it had fully prepared its New World forces. At the same time, ministers at Madrid already worried at this relatively early date about the territorial pressures the infant United States might bring to bear on the lower Mississippi Valley and Gulf Coast. Finally, during the summer of 1779 Spain entered the war but did not sign a treaty of alliance with the Continental Congress. The Spanish court sent Juan de Miralles to Philadelphia as an unofficial envoy. The Congress appointed New Yorker John Jay to represent the interests of the United States at Madrid. Jay, who arrived in Spain during 1780, was never fully accepted by the Spanish government and accomplished little of diplomatic import. Spain's entry in the war did provide an opportunity for Bernardo de Gálvez, the governor of Spanish Louisiana, to achieve a series of important victories. His armies took the entire lower Mississippi Valley and northern Gulf Coast in a series of daring campaigns between 1779 and the Battle of Pensacola in May 1781.

The Peace of Paris in 1763 favored Spanish interests. Charles III regained possession of Florida while the Mississippi River became the western boundary of the United States, with the City of New Orleans remaining under Spanish control. The treaties, however, did not adequately define the southern boundary of the United States. Spain believed the boundary fell north of Natchez on the Mississippi, whereas the

United States thought it fell much farther south. This proved to be a long-standing point of diplomatic contention between the two nations. Diego de Gardoqui arrived in the United States two years after the Peace of Paris as Spain's fully accredited chargé d'affaires. Gardoqui worried about the western movement of frontier settlers from the United States, in the process employing the concept of "defensive colonization" for Spanish territory west of the Mississippi. He invited English-speaking American land agents to organize settlements of people from the United States, who would take loyalty oaths to the Spanish king in exchange for land. George Morgan was the first of these agents, founding the settlement at New Madrid south of St. Louis.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES IV (1788–1808)

The ascension of Charles IV to the throne marked a drastic change in the fortunes of Spain and its monarchy. Unlike his father, the new king was an inept, incompetent, and indolent individual with few, if any, qualities of leadership. His wife, Queen Maria Luisa, proved to be strong-willed and opinionated, an activist who constantly meddled in affairs of state. Charles IV inherited several of his father's most accomplished ministers; after a few years of frustration, they left their offices as an unlikely successor, Manuel de Godoy, became the king's chief minister and major advisor. A dashing young army officer, Godoy had caught the eye of Queen Maria Luisa and reputedly became her lover. With her support and powerful royal patronage, he advanced rapidly at court, becoming chief minister while still in his early twenties. Godoy presided over Spain's reaction to the French Revolution. Most Spaniards at court, including Godoy, naturally worried about the spread of French republicanism to Spain. These distractions created a favorable atmosphere for the United States to negotiate a treaty with Spain to resolve the disputed Florida boundary and secure free navigation of the Mississippi River. Godoy accordingly signed the Treaty of San Lorenzo on 27 October 1795 with American envoy Thomas Pinckney, an accord known in United States history as Pinckney's Treaty. This agreement set the northern boundary of Florida at the thirty-first degree of latitude and gave United States citizens free navigation of the Mississippi.

The rise of Napoleon presented Spain with serious foreign policy problems, which Godoy resolved by signing the Treaty of San Ildefonso with France in 1796. By this accord, Spain rejoined its Bourbon neighbor as a diplomatic and military ally. This strategy proved to be a disaster for Spain and the be-

ginning of the end of its international power. In 1803 Napoleon bargained Louisiana away to the United States; although Spain strongly disagreed with this transfer, it was powerless to stop it. In the wake of the Louisiana Purchase, a circle of discontents that had formed at court around Crown Prince Ferdinand sought to place the younger Bourbon on the throne. A palace coup in March 1808 resulted in the indolent king's abdicating to his son, who became Ferdinand VII.

THE REIGN OF FERDINAND VII (1808–1833)

The new king had little chance to establish himself before Napoleon summoned both him and his father to France. Napoleon compelled Ferdinand VII to abdicate the throne of Spain as well. Both former monarchs found themselves under arrest while Napoleon declared his own brother, Joseph Bonaparte, to be the new king of Spain, José I. Many Spaniards immediately greeted their new French king as a pretender, launching the Spanish War of Independence, or the Peninsular War as the British styled it. The country split into regional factions while José I and his French-backed army controlled major urban centers. Napoleon temporarily appeared in Spain during 1809 in an unsuccessful effort to bring order to the situation. This resulted in a British intervention, with the duke of Wellington leading a British army in support of Spanish resistance to French intervention. Battles fought at Talavera and Victoria marked major French defeats at the hands of the British army.

A government in support of the exiled Ferdinand VII eventually appeared at Cadiz in 1812. Known as the Cortes de Cadiz, this government wrote a new constitution for Spain that retained the monarchy but promised some reforms. The disarray of the Peninsular War guaranteed that Spain could not sufficiently protect its American colonies, especially those bordering on the United States. Between 1810 and 1814, Americans made several attempts to take Spanish territory along the lower Mississippi and Gulf Coast. The West Florida Revolt of 1810 and the intervention of the United States Army at Mobile in 1813 successfully brought these areas under American control. The unsuccessful Patriot War in East Florida during 1812 and 1813 was a similar incursion. The Cortes de Cadiz did dispatch a diplomat, Luis de Onís, to the United States as its representative to protest these occurrences. President James Madison, however, refused to extend diplomatic recognition to Onís because he was not the envoy of an accredited government, which in theory still rested

with the exiled monarch Ferdinand. Onís nonetheless remained in Washington, where he unofficially spoke for Spain and provided his government with much information about events in the United States. The Spanish diplomat finally received recognition when Ferdinand VII returned to Spain after the abdication of Napoleon in 1814. Onís thereafter continued vigorously to protest events in Florida but also began to believe that Spain might profit from negotiating a treaty definitively defining a boundary between the United States and Spain's North American colonies. The Spanish envoy's views caught the attention of John Quincy Adams, whom James Madison named as his secretary of state after his election to the presidency in 1817. Onís and Adams entered into informal discussions, which soon accelerated. The following year, Adams and Onís signed the Transcontinental Treaty giving both East and West Florida to the United States while drawing a boundary line across the entire continent. Onís returned to Spain, where he worked diligently to win ratification of this treaty by the government of Ferdinand VII, an approval that eventually came in 1821.

The resolution of Spain's boundary problems with the United States constituted the least of its international concerns during the ten years following the Peninsular War. The restoration of the monarchy, upon Ferdinand's return to Spain in 1814, did not go smoothly. Once home, the king rejected the liberal reforms of the Cortes de Cadiz and ruled as an absolute monarch. This disgusted many of his former supporters, including many Creoles in Spain's New World colonies. The restoration of the monarchy under such circumstances inflamed the colonial independence movement, which had already begun to fester for a variety of reasons. Already in 1810 a Mexican priest had launched an unsuccessful coup against the royal government in that colony. The movement for independence spread rapidly throughout the Spanish Indies. The early 1820s saw the loss of every important Spanish colony located on the mainland of North and South America. For a short while at the start of the decade, a group of European nations known as the Holy Alliance, composed of conservative monarchs in Europe, including the czar of Russia and the king of Prussia, contemplated sending an expedition to the Spanish Indies for the purpose of restoring Spanish colonial rule. The Monroe Doctrine, however, put Europe on notice that the Americas remained closed to further colonization. Hence, by 1825 the Spanish colonial era in the Western Hemisphere had essentially come to an end, as only a few small possessions (especially Cuba) remained in the hands of the weak Ferdinand VII, who

would reign until 1833. Thereafter, the independent successors to Spain in the Americas, especially contiguous Mexico, continued to deal with the United States and its westward expansion.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Concept of Empire; European Responses to America; Expansion; Imperial Rivalry in the Americas; Mexico; Monroe Doctrine; Monroe, James; Revolution; Diplomacy; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

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SPANISH BORDERLANDS The historian Herbert Eugene Bolton coined the term "Spanish borderlands" in his 1921 book of that title. The Spanish borderland colonies included Florida, the northern Gulf Coast, Spanish Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, present-day Arizona, and California, along with the northern provinces of Mexico that bordered them. Borderlands historians examine these provinces from a Hispanic viewpoint as the "other" colonial history crucial to understanding national development. The Spanish borderlands are customarily divided into two geographic areas: the eastern and western borderlands. The eastern grouping includes Florida, the Gulf Coast, Louisiana, and the Mississippi Valley drainage system—all areas controlled by Spain by the end of the eighteenth century. The western grouping includes Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California.

Spain's first attempt to put colonies in the borderlands was Panfilo de Narvaez's unsuccessful effort in the 1520s to plant a settlement near present-

day Tampa, Florida. In quick succession came the expeditions of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and Hernando de Soto; in 1565 Pedro Menéndez de Avilés founded St. Augustine. Spanish settlers pressed into New Mexico a little over thirty years later with the expedition of Juan de Oñate. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Spanish established a number of settlements in both Florida and New Mexico. In spite of some spectacular setbacks, such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, Spain came to view these colonies as territorial buffers between the rich heartland of Mexico and the expanding North American colonies of France and Great Britain. The settlement of Texas, starting in the 1690s, further expanded the Spanish borderlands; at the same time, missionaries began to push into present-day Arizona. Alarmed by the French incursion into Louisiana during the late seventeenth century, Spain reacted with the founding of Pensacola. Hence, by the eighteenth century the Spanish borderlands encompassed Florida in the east, including fortifications on both the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, with French Louisiana sandwiched between and the two main Spanish colonies to the west, Texas and New Mexico.

THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) forever changed the territorial balances of the major European colonial powers in North America. With the Peace of Paris (1763), Canada passed to the British while France surrendered all of its Louisiana colony to Spain, a former ally during the war. The British, who had defeated both Bourbon adversaries during the conflict, wanted Spain to administer Louisiana as a drain on its international resources. Additionally, all of Spanish Florida went to Great Britain, as the British organized two new colonies, East and West Florida, with their respective capitals at Pensacola and St. Augustine.

The territorial shifts of 1763 ensured that Spanish Louisiana would play a significant role in the American Revolution. New Orleans quickly became a supply depot for the Continental Army once the military phase of the revolt began in 1775. Starting in that year, regular shipments of supplies to Fort Pitt found their way up the inland conduit of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers to supply the troops commanded by George Washington. An Irish merchant, Oliver Pollock, served as an agent of the Continental Congress at New Orleans for most of the Revolution, working in liaison with Governor Bernardo de Gálvez, who supported the rebel cause. With Spain's entry into the conflict in 1779, Gálvez began

a series of campaigns against British positions in West Florida, capturing Baton Rouge in 1779, Mobile in 1780, and Pensacola in 1781. By the time of Yorktown, the entire Gulf Coast and the whole Mississippi Valley had come into Spanish hands. Spanish participation in the Revolution, however, did not create a new ally for the United States. King Charles III and his ministers in Madrid worried that frontier pressures created by a new nation in North America would only be a substitute for their traditional territorial rivalry with Great Britain. Hence, although Spain declared war against the British, there was no alliance with the United States. Spain did send an unofficial representative, Juan de Miralles, to the Continental Congress, and he monitored Spanish interests there.

The Peace of Paris, which ended the War of Independence in 1783, created additional territorial shifts in this region, further confirming the fears of the Spanish court. The peace settlement legitimized territorial rivalries in the borderlands that would determine the nature of United States–Spanish competition for the next fifty years. Spain regained control of both East and West Florida and received undisputed title to the entire west bank of the Mississippi River and the Isle of Orleans, where the great city stood. Great Britain ceded the east bank of the Mississippi above New Orleans to the United States. However, the boundary along the east bank of the river differed in the respective treaties the British negotiated with Spain and the United States, guaranteeing diplomatic problems. For fifteen years thereafter, Spain and the United States wrangled over the boundary between Spanish Louisiana and the United States, with the dispute not resolved until the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795. Two years later the Americans took possession of Natchez.

UNITED STATES EXPANSION INTO THE BORDERLANDS

The Spanish borderlands of the Floridas, Louisiana, and Texas became a region of enduring controversy between Spain and the United States, motivated in large part by the frontier expansion of the young Republic. From the 1780s to the 1820s, thousands of English-speaking frontier folk from the United States moved into Spanish territory. This process began in the late 1780s when Louisiana governor Esteban Miró began a policy of “defensive colonization,” which permitted migrants from the United States to receive land grants in Spanish territory if they swore a loyalty oath to the king and officially professed Roman Catholicism as their religion. Defensive colonization became an intermittent part of Spanish poli-

cy well into the 1820s, when the governor of Texas allowed Moses Austin and other entrepreneurs to settle Americans there. The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 did not slow the process of expansion because this important territorial transfer did not include either the Floridas or Texas. In fact, as early as the 1790s an American resident of Natchez, Philip Nolan, had begun leading filibustering expeditions west of the Sabine River into Texas. (The term “filibuster,” from the Spanish *filibustero* [freebooter], was applied to Americans stirring up insurrections in lands controlled by Spain.) His execution by the Spanish in 1801 did not stop these incursions, either in Texas or elsewhere throughout the borderlands. Indeed, the period from 1803 until the 1820s can properly be called the filibustering era, as almost a half-dozen major American expeditions, sometimes characterized as “revolts,” had as their object Spanish territory bordering on the southern and southwestern United States.

The territories in Spanish Florida north of New Orleans became the first objective for some of these expeditions. After an unsuccessful uprising in 1804, a group of Anglo-Americans raised the Stars and Stripes at Baton Rouge as they declared the Republic of West Florida in 1810. Some historians view this act as a cover for United States expansionism that was legitimized the following year when President James Madison incorporated this region into Louisiana. The War of 1812 also provided opportunities for expansion by Americans into the borderlands. Most notably, General George Mathews led a group of insurgents into East Florida in 1812, taking possession of Fernandina and laying unsuccessful siege to St. Augustine. Some historians have argued that this so-called Patriot War in East Florida had the unofficial yet explicit support of the United States government. In addition, Americans took control of Mobile from the Spanish in 1813 and added it to the Mississippi Territory. In that same year, a frustrated Mexican independence fighter, Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, led a major military incursion into Spanish Texas. Gutiérrez organized an unsuccessful filibustering expedition that counted many Americans in its force. Six years later, Dr. James Long led another group of adventurers into Texas.

Perhaps the most spectacular of all these incursions, however, was the invasion of East Florida by General Andrew Jackson in 1818. All this activity helped motivate the Transcontinental Treaty of 1819, signed by Luis de Onís, the Spanish secretary of state. By this treaty, Spain ceded all of the Floridas to the United States and agreed to a transcontinental

boundary line that ran from Sabine Bay on the Texas Gulf Coast northward up the Red River of the East, westward to the Rockies, and then north to the Pacific Northwest. This 1819 boundary, however, did not stop American expansionism; English-speaking settlers began to spill across the Sabine into Texas, brought there by legal immigration agents known as *empresarios*. This settlement continued during the 1820s, culminating in the Texas Revolution of 1836. By that time, however, following the War of Mexican Independence in 1821, Spain had left the borderlands. It thus fell to Mexico to deal with the final chapters of United States expansion into the western borderlands of Texas and California, culminating in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848.

See also **Expansion; Exploration and Explorers; Florida; Louisiana Purchase; Madison, James; Spain; Spanish Empire; Texas.**

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SPANISH CONSPIRACY The Spanish Conspiracy involved a plot to open the Mississippi River by a Kentuckian angry at the economic impact caused by Spain’s closing of the waterway to American trade. The conspiracy began with James Wilkinson (1757–1825). A brevet brigadier general during the Revolutionary War until he participated in a plot to replace George Washington, Wilkinson moved with his family to Kentucky in 1784. During the same year, Spain closed the Mississippi River to American commerce. The United States made no effort to restore the right of navigation, much to the anger of settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee. The lack of a good road system left settlers on the frontier dependent upon waterways. Without access to the Mississippi, settlers had difficulty getting goods to market and acquiring necessary supplies. Wilkinson suffered a severe financial setback and soon amassed huge debts.

In July 1787 a desperate Wilkinson sent a cargo of tobacco and other Kentucky products down the Mississippi River to the Spanish port of New Orleans. Typically, the Spanish would confiscate American goods. When Esteban Rodríguez Miró, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, attempted to do just that, Wilkinson made a number of questionable claims. He declared that Kentucky was near separation from the United States and that he could determine what course his fellow settlers pursued. He insisted that he could prevent an invasion of westerners set on opening the Mississippi by force and bring Kentucky into the Spanish orbit if only Spain would open the river. Failure by the Spanish to cooperate would force Kentucky to turn to Britain for protection. With its weak defenses, Louisiana would undoubtedly fall to the British.

Wilkinson persuaded Miró to change the policy of confiscation to give him a monopoly of American trade on the Mississippi. He also obtained the promise of a royal pension and a suitable position when Kentucky became part of Spain. For his fellow Kentuckians, Wilkinson requested that they be granted religious liberty and their own English-speaking government. When the Spanish agreed, Wilkinson signed a declaration of allegiance to Spain and began to supply Miró with information. However, considerable doubt exists as to whether Wilkinson ever planned to do more than enrich himself.

As the only outlet in New Orleans for Kentucky produce, Wilkinson reaped enormous profits and spent vast amounts on a lavish lifestyle. Questions about his activities were raised in Kentucky, but he commanded enough respect to participate in its politics. During debates over the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1787, Wilkinson proposed independence for Kentucky under the protection of Spain. But other Kentuckians failed to support separation and Wilkinson quickly stopped advocating it, except to the Spanish. For the next ten years, Wilkinson continued to write to the Spanish in Louisiana, hinting that Kentucky might abandon the United States for Spain. The Spanish assigned Wilkinson the title of Secret Agent No. 13 and promised him a pension for his efforts. In 1795 Pinckney's Treaty opened the Mississippi to free navigation and the need for Kentucky independence evaporated. Wilkinson was acquitted of treason in 1811.

See also **Kentucky; Mississippi River; Spanish Borderlands.**

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SPANISH EMPIRE When the United States entered the community of independent nations in 1783, its neighbors to both the south and west were territories of the Spanish Empire. Spain claimed sovereignty over the North American continent west of the Mississippi River and the Florida territory. These holdings, though vast, were not as significant—or wealth producing—for Spain as were its colonies in Central and South America, particularly the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru. By 1783, though, Spain's presence in the New World had become tenuous. A significant reason was the influence and ambitions of its colonies' newly independent neighbor. Through both its ideology and its expansionist agenda, the United States would play a significant role in the ultimate fate of Spain's American domain. As had been the case with Great Britain and its North American colonies, Spain would eventually see its American possessions drift into independence, but the process by which it occurred would be markedly different.

TREATY OF PARIS, 1763

Compared to the other European colonial powers in the Americas—especially Britain and France—Spain had assumed second-tier status by 1754, when the French and Indian War, the North American phase of the Seven Years' War, broke out. Allied with France in a losing cause, Spain lost Florida to the victorious British in the Treaty of Paris (1763) at war's end. The treaty also granted Spain the Louisiana Territory (the western portion of the Mississippi River valley) to compensate for the loss of Florida (seen as more valuable), but the British motivation here was not so much to placate Spain as to expel the French from America entirely. When the thirteen British North American colonies rebelled and declared independence in 1776, the Spanish government saw an opportunity possibly to undo some of the damage done in 1763 to its colonial holdings. Certainly France saw things this way, and the French government was able to convince the more hesitant Spanish to enter the American Revolution (1775–1783) on

the side of the pro-independence Patriots. While France provided the lion's share of assistance to the war effort in America, Spain engaged Britain in Europe. First on the Spanish agenda was reclaiming Gibraltar; that promontory, situated strategically at the mouth of the Mediterranean, had gone to the British along with Florida in 1763. After the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781, peace negotiations began at Paris. The Spanish, however, had yet to recover Gibraltar, and only through French pressure did Spain reluctantly abandon its Mediterranean project and agree to the Treaty of Paris of 1783. The treaty did, however, return Florida to the Spanish.

POLICY TOWARD THE UNITED STATES

The Americans' successful anticolonial revolution concerned the Spanish Crown. By the 1770s, the Bourbon monarchs of Spain were well into the process of reforming and restructuring the management of their colonial empire. Beginning in the reign of the first Bourbon king, Philip V (r. 1724–1746), and continuing with his successors Ferdinand VI (r. 1746–1759) and Charles III (r. 1759–1788), the Bourbon Reforms significantly altered the administration of Spain's colonies, as well as their relationship to the metropolis. Influenced primarily by the principles of mercantilism, the Spanish Crown sought to tighten the lines of authority over what had become a dangerously autonomous colonial elite and to extract what it saw as the proper amount of revenue from its American possessions. The reforms unsettled the many Spanish colonists who were concerned about the increased presence of direct royal authority where previously a wide latitude had existed. Many in the colonial elite were influenced to a degree by elements of the Enlightenment-based thought that so pervaded this revolutionary era. The writings of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson, the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution—these and similar writings had some impact upon the changing political culture of the Spanish colonies. Yet many of the revolutionary currents in the larger Atlantic world alarmed these colonial elites. In particular, the French Revolution's increasingly radical nature alienated most of this traditionally conservative group. The violent revolution in France's colony of St. Domingue, led largely by the island's black population, alarmed the elites even more. Certainly, then, the potential for radical upheaval was far less in Spain's colonies than in other areas of the Americas. Nevertheless, the monarchy was concerned about these stirrings of colonial discontent—as well as the perceived threat from the first independent republic in the hemisphere, the United States.

Spanish policy toward the United States reflected this wariness. As soon as Spain recognized the independence of the United States, it proclaimed the Mississippi River, and the port of New Orleans at its mouth, closed to Americans. This peremptory action was at best of questionable legitimacy in terms of international law, as Spain claimed ownership of the whole Mississippi by virtue of possessing land only on its western half. Protests from the U.S. government centered around this issue. In 1784 negotiations between John Jay, foreign secretary under the Articles of Confederation, and Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish foreign minister, proved fruitless; it would take another decade until the issue would be resolved.

Western settlers suffered most from the closing of the Mississippi River and New Orleans to Americans. Deprived of the easiest and least costly outlet for the transportation of their produce (downriver to the Mississippi and New Orleans, as opposed to overland across the Appalachian Mountains), westerners began to doubt whether the federal government truly valued their needs and concerns as the prohibition dragged into the 1790s. Indeed, some westerners, particularly those in western Tennessee and northern Alabama, contemplated shifting their allegiance to the Spanish if that would make their lives and commerce easier. For much of the 1790s General James Wilkinson, commander of the southwestern department of the U.S. Army, was also in the pay of the Spanish, who sought to exploit any unrest that they could on the edge of American settlement. Wilkinson personified what one historian has called "the problem of neighborhood" faced by the United States in its frontier regions; shifting allegiances, prompted by distinctly western concerns, meant that loyalty and union could be problematic notions west of the Appalachians. Coupled with its failure to address the Native American "menace" on the frontier, the U.S. government's inability to budge the Spanish on the Mississippi question was a primary element in the East-West sectional tensions that so plagued the Republic in its early years.

SPAIN AND FRANCE

The vicissitudes of the French Revolution dramatically altered the course of colonial and diplomatic events for the nations of both the American and European continents by the mid-1790s. When the French revolutionary regime began to wage war on the other European powers in 1793, Spain allied itself with the antirevolutionary monarchies, led by Great Britain. By this point, however, Spain's leadership had declined in both vigor and ability. Charles III had prov-

en the most effective of Spain's Bourbon monarchs, but his successor Charles IV (1788–1808) was closer to the other end of the spectrum. Additionally, he found himself in the unenviable position, along with his controversial and unpopular foreign minister, Manuel de Godoy, of suborning Spain under Napoleon Bonaparte and his French Empire. Fearing that its alliance with Britain might bring repercussions should France gain the upper hand in the conflict, Spain reversed diplomatic course and began to take measures to placate France, its expansionist neighbor. This was the immediate context for the conclusion of a treaty with the United States in 1795. Believing that the previous year's treaty between the United States and Great Britain (Jay's Treaty) had drawn those two nations into an alliance, Spain sought to smooth any rough edges that remained in its relationship with America. Pinckney's Treaty, also called the Treaty of San Lorenzo, allowed for American access to the Mississippi and the right of deposit for American goods at New Orleans. Thus, from Spain's diplomatic and military distress came a coup for the United States, as one of the most significant festering issues faced by the Republic was finally resolved.

But Spain's best efforts to make things right with an ever-more-menacing France proved unsuccessful. In 1801 Napoleon forced the Spanish Crown into the Treaty of San Ildefonso, which retroceded the Louisiana territory to the French. This action had ominous ramifications for the United States. The French began to limit American access to the Mississippi and New Orleans in violation of the terms of Pinckney's Treaty. Realizing that the United States would have to move well into the British orbit to counter the French hold on New Orleans, President Thomas Jefferson (who was certainly no Anglophile) sent Robert R. Livingston to Paris to purchase Florida and New Orleans. Napoleon, reconsidering his American ambitions in the wake of the revolution in St. Domingue and needing money to finance renewed warfare in Europe, offered the entire territory to the United States for \$15 million. Thus, while it can be said that the Louisiana Purchase was made possible by the peculiarities of France's situation, ultimately the chain of events that led to it started from the circumstances of France's weaker neighbor, Spain.

Spain was not yet through with Napoleon Bonaparte, either. In 1804 Napoleon had forced Charles IV into a treaty under which Spain was responsible for yearly subsidies to France. The burden of these payments quickly proved to be untenable, and Spain's economy—already experiencing serious difficul-

ties—further suffered. The next year, a combined Spanish and French fleet engaged and lost to the British, under Admiral Horatio Nelson, at Trafalgar. This defeat severed Spain's maritime link to its American colonies. When Charles IV abdicated in 1808, Napoleon mediated between claimants to the Spanish throne, including Ferdinand VII, whom most Spaniards regarded as the legitimate successor. Napoleon, however, put his brother Joseph at the head of the Spanish Empire, which set off the chain of events that led to that empire's disintegration over the next two decades. Loyalists of Ferdinand VII established juntas throughout Spain, and the same step was undertaken in the colonies. But in the Americas, these movements often only wore the "mask of Ferdinand"—they professed loyalty to a "legitimate" Spanish monarch but in fact worked for colonial autonomy and even independence. By 1810 Spain's colonies were moving into rebellion, with insurgencies having erupted in Mexico, Venezuela, and Argentina. The Wars of Independence in Spain's American dominions would last for over a decade, but at their end, what was once a far-reaching colonial dominion had become a collection of independent republics. Even after the restoration of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne in 1814 and the final defeat and exile of Napoleon the following year, Spain's empire continued to unravel.

THE UNITED STATES AND FLORIDA

Much of this imperial collapse originated within internal dynamics of the empire itself, but in the case of Florida, Spain's weakness and declining power were underscored by the actions of the United States. That nation had long been interested in the territory; southern slaveholders resented the presence of Florida as a haven beyond American jurisdiction for fugitive slaves, and many in the region also feared various Indian groups like the Creeks and Seminoles, whom they believed were urged by Spanish authorities to attack American settlements. In 1806 Jefferson attempted to get funds appropriated for secret negotiations with Spain in an attempt to purchase Florida. Congress approved the funds, but the negotiations in Paris (1806–1807) failed.

The issue was brought forth again in 1818–1819 by General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. Charged by President James Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun with suppressing the raids on American settlements in the Southeast carried out by the Seminole nation, Jackson—who had advanced his military career fighting Indian allies of the British in the War of 1812—carried his mission into Spanish

Florida itself, where the Seminoles' raids had originated. Quickly seizing the fortress at Pensacola, Jackson forced the Spanish governor to lower the Spanish colors, which in effect meant acknowledging American sovereignty in the area, even if temporarily. Jackson also arrested and subsequently executed two British citizens whom he accused of providing the Seminoles with both the arms and the encouragement to attack American settlements. While Jackson accomplished his goal of halting Seminole incursions into American territory, he also provoked an international incident; Britain was outraged at the executions of its citizens, and Spain protested vigorously at the general's actions, which could be interpreted as waging war on Spain. For his part, Jackson believed that he had acted with Monroe's implicit approval; he himself had long been an advocate of taking Florida as a means of ending Indian "hostilities" on the southern frontier.

While most of Monroe's cabinet demanded disavowal of Jackson's actions and a formal censure of the general, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams realized that in this imbroglio lay an opportunity for the acquisition of Florida. Declaring to the Spanish ambassador Luis de Onís that Spain had demonstrated a singular inability to control its colonial possessions, Adams insinuated that the United States reserved the right to engage in similar incursions in the future, should Spanish authorities be unable to control the native populations of Florida. Forced to concede the point, Onís and the Spanish agreed to an 1819 treaty that ceded Florida to the United States in return for an assumption of \$5 million in American claims against the Spanish government. The treaty also established a distinct line between the Louisiana Territory and Spanish territories in the west, which would hold great portent for U.S.-Mexican relations in subsequent years.

U.S. HEMISPHERIC DOMINANCE

The Adams-Onís Treaty, also known as the Transcontinental Treaty, dramatically illustrated the contrasting arcs of the United States, the ascendant power in the Western Hemisphere, and Spain, the hemisphere's first preeminent power but now a shell of its former potency. By 1819 much of Spain's colonial dominion had already escaped its grasp in all but the formal sense. In 1821 Mexico won its independence. By 1825 South America (except for Portuguese Brazil) was a collection of independent states as well. Save for a few Caribbean colonies, including Cuba, Spain's New World Empire was no more. The United States moved quickly to foster its role as the

"mother republic" in the hemisphere. Part of the reason for this was a sense of obligation, variously articulated, to support those nations that sought to emulate the republican forms successfully launched by the United States. There was a very real sense for many Americans that the Western Hemisphere represented the new republican era, as opposed to the declining and superseded monarchical age of the other side of the Atlantic.

Additionally, there was an element of marked self-interest; the roots of what would become the ideology of Manifest Destiny were already evident in such actions as the acquisition of Florida. American (mostly southern and slaveholding) migration into the Mexican province of Texas, beginning in the early 1820s, was another such manifestation of American expansionism. Though these migrants entered Texas by the invitation and sanction of a Mexican government eager to populate its northern frontier, within fifteen years the province would be lost to Mexico; another five years after that, Texas was part of the United States and Mexico had lost the rest of its northern territories in a humiliating and one-sided war with the growing Republic to the north.

Perhaps the most famous—at least in retrospect—articulation of what Americans perceived their role in the Western Hemisphere to be was the Monroe Doctrine. Articulated in President Monroe's December 1823 annual message to Congress, the policy statement—actually formulated by Secretary of State Adams—declared that the Americas were no longer to be seen as areas of colonization for European powers. Instead, the Western Hemisphere was a hemisphere of republics, with the United States playing the role of defender and guarantor of this state of affairs—the first among equals, as it were. While the European response to this proclamation was mostly bemused condescension, the Monroe Doctrine was an important assessment of America's opinion as to where it stood in the hemispheric and in the international community, and it would continue to be the backbone of U.S. foreign policy into the modern era.

It is this persistence of the ideology inherent in the Monroe Doctrine that is the most significant factor in assessing the relationship between the United States and the areas that were formerly the colonial empire of Spain. Many Americans (most notably Henry Clay) were warm advocates of the "sister republics" of Latin America, seeing these nations as attempting to travel the same admirable republican road traveled by the American Revolutionary generation. But others, while professing similar ideals, saw

Latin American nations as something else—perhaps inferior nations, destined to be conquered and absorbed; perhaps seedbeds of dangerous radicalism; perhaps, later, as areas in which to expand the institution of chattel slavery. Ultimately, the United States forged a relationship with the Latin American republics that in many ways was remarkably similar to that between the United States and Spain in an earlier era: sometimes as an ally, sometimes as an adversary, but consistently acting in self-interest. Latin Americans would thus exist in the same ambivalent, and often unequal, hemispheric partnership as had their former colonial masters.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Florida; Jackson, Andrew; Latin American Revolutions, American Response to; Louisiana Purchase; Mexico; Monroe Doctrine; Presidency, The: John Quincy Adams; Spain; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Conspiracy; Texas; Transcontinental Treaty.**

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STAMP ACT AND STAMP ACT CONGRESS

After the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), the government of Great Britain faced a financial crisis. During the war, Britain's national debt had doubled, from approximately £70 million to £140 million. More significantly, the cost of administering Britain's North American colonies skyrocketed with the acquisition of Canada from the French and Florida from the Spanish. The government planned to maintain an army of 7,500 soldiers in its newly acquired territory, a substantial portion to be posted in remote garrisons along the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys. This military establishment would cost about £350,000 annually. American customs, the chief source of revenue for the British government from its colonies, generated only about £2,000 annually.

Faced with these financial realities, Prime Minister George Grenville proposed in early 1764 that Parliament enact a stamp tax in the American colonies. The proposed tax was actually a series of duties levied on legal and economic transactions. Newspapers and legal documents would have to be printed on stamped paper purchased from a royally appointed stamp distributor. Liquor licenses and land patents would also be subject to a stamp duty, as would some common nonessential consumer items, such as playing cards and dice. Such a system of taxation already existed in Britain, where the king's subjects paid at a rate higher than that proposed by Grenville for America. Colonial agents in London objected to Grenville's proposal but offered no alternative other than having the crown requisition funds as needed from colonial assemblies, a system that had failed to raise adequate revenues in the past.

When Parliament passed the Stamp Act in March 1765, no one in Britain or America anticipated the furor it would unleash in the colonies. The colonists objected to the Stamp Act primarily on two grounds. First, they claimed it violated their right as British subjects to no taxation without representation because no American representatives sat in Parliament. Patrick Henry famously made this argument in a speech before the Virginia House of Burgesses in May 1765, sparking the passage of a series of resolutions against the Stamp Act that were widely circulated and imitated among the other colonial assemblies. Second, the colonists objected to a provision in the Stamp Act that gave vice-admiralty courts jurisdiction over cases arising from enforcement of the tax. The colonists considered this measure another violation of their rights, because vice-admiralty courts



“The Times are Dreadful, Dismal, Doleful, Dolorous, and Dollar-less.” The masthead features a skull and crossbones in place of the official stamp. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

typically tried crimes committed on the high seas and did not use juries.

At the suggestion of the Massachusetts assembly, nine of the colonies sent delegations to a meeting in New York in October 1765 to frame joint petitions to the crown and Parliament against the Stamp Act. The twenty-seven delegates at the Stamp Act Congress—representing Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—spent two weeks carefully drafting these petitions, which acknowledged their loyalty and submission to the king and Parliament but stated unequivocally their constitutional claim to no taxation without representation.

While elites met in assembly halls, the common folk practiced a different kind of politics out-of-doors. The first crowd actions occurred in Boston in August 1765, when a mob tore down the home of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson and ran

Andrew Oliver, the person expected to be appointed the colony’s stamp distributor, out of town. Similar riots and intimidation of stamp distributors occurred in Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina. As the stamped paper necessary to carry out the Stamp Act arrived in colonial harbors, it was either destroyed by mobs or locked up by government officials for safekeeping. When the date set for the act to take effect, 1 November 1765, arrived, neither a single sheet of stamped paper nor a single stamp distributor was available to anyone who might have wished to comply with it. Merchants, lawyers, and printers cautiously resumed business once it became apparent that the act was unenforceable.

Meanwhile, changing political winds in Britain opened the door to repealing the act. For reasons unrelated to its American policy, the Grenville ministry fell out of favor and a new one led by Charles Watson-Wentworth, second Marquis of Rockingham,

took over. British merchants who feared the disruption of their American trade organized petition drives for repeal in seaports and manufacturing towns. In February 1766 Parliament debated the subject. The political hero of the Seven Years' War, William Pitt, gave a famous speech defending the American position, and Benjamin Franklin, working in London as a colonial agent, acquitted himself brilliantly as a defender of American liberties. With the tide of opinion clearly against enforcing the Stamp Act, the Rockingham ministry devised a solution to the crisis. The act of repeal was accompanied by the Declaratory Act, which asserted Parliament's power to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." Both measures became law on 18 March 1766.

The Stamp Act brought forth the constitutional issues on which the colonies and Britain would split. The colonists, believing they had achieved a great victory for their rights as British subjects, never budged from their contention that Parliament had no right to tax them. In Britain, subsequent measures intended to ease the government's financial burden in America, such as the Townshend Act (1767) and the Tea Act (1774), tried to raise money by levying imposts on the colonists' overseas trade, but like the Stamp Act, they met stiff American resistance. The Stamp Act Congress had proved the efficacy of united colonial opposition to such measures, and mob actions remained the most prominent tactic in the Patriot cause.

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“STAR-SPANGLED BANNER” “The Star-Spangled Banner,” the national anthem of the United States, was inspired by the flag that flew over Fort McHenry in the harbor of Baltimore, Maryland, during the War of 1812 (1812–1815). During that con-

flict, the British conducted frequent raids on American towns and harbors along the Atlantic coast, including forays into Chesapeake Bay. Some American harbors were fortified, including Baltimore, whose five-pointed, star-shaped brick fort named Fort McHenry prepared to face certain attack by British forces. In anticipation of such an attack Major George Armistead, commander of Fort McHenry, wanted a U.S. flag made so large that the British would clearly see it waving from a great distance as a symbol of bold defiance of their invasion. A Baltimore widow, Mary Pickersgill, had experience making ship flags and agreed to sew a flag that would measure thirty feet wide by forty-two feet long. Pickersgill spent several weeks measuring, cutting, and sewing the fifteen stars and stripes that, because of their size, had to be assembled on the floor of a nearby brewery. In August 1813 Pickersgill presented the flag to Major Armistead and was paid \$405.90 for her work.

In August 1814 a large British force landed in Maryland and marched toward Washington, D.C. The British easily defeated the American army at Bladensburg, then entered the capital and burned several public buildings, including the White House. The British subsequently returned to their ships and moved to attack Baltimore. The combined naval and army force coordinated a three-day attack on the city fortifications both in the harbor and on land. On the morning of 13 September 1814, British ships began hurling over fifteen hundred shells, bombs, and rockets toward Fort McHenry from positions in the Patapsco River beyond the reach of the fort's guns. The bombardment, which lasted about twenty-five hours, was designed to divert attention from a British army landing at North Point to be followed by a march overland to take Baltimore.

In the meantime, apprehensively watching this activity from an American truce ship anchored in the river was a Georgetown attorney named Francis Scott Key. Key had visited the British fleet to negotiate the release of a Maryland doctor, William Beanes, who had been taken prisoner by the British during the attack on Washington. Key was successful in obtaining Dr. Beanes's release but could not depart until the attack on Baltimore was concluded. During the night, Key watched the British fire hundreds of projectiles toward the fort but heard only occasional sounds of McHenry's guns returning fire. Unsure if the fort had fallen to the enemy, at the break of dawn Key peered through a telescope and saw the fort's enormous flag waving in the morning breeze, a symbol of defiance and triumph in the face of the enemy.

Relieved and inspired by the sight, Key took a letter from his pocket and on the back wrote some poetic verses about the events he had witnessed.

Once the defeated British forces departed, Key completed his four-verse poem on 16 September and sent it to a printer for distribution the next day as a handbill entitled, *The Defense of Fort McHenry*. He had composed the poem in the form and meter of a well-known English melody titled "To Anacreon in Heaven." The new combination of song and poem soon became known as "The Star-Spangled Banner," which slowly grew in popularity as a patriotic tune throughout the nineteenth century. During the early twentieth century, various patriotic and veteran organizations lobbied for the song to become the official national anthem, a wish granted by Congress on 3 March 1931.

As for the inspiration for the anthem, Armistead acquired the flag after the war. A few weeks after the battle he provided pieces of the flag to a soldier's widow to bury with her husband. In later years he distributed additional pieces for similar purposes. The flag was kept by his descendents. In 1907 Eben Appleton, Armistead's grandson, loaned the flag to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., for an exhibit. He donated it permanently in 1912 on the condition that it never be removed so that all U.S. citizens could view the Star-Spangled Banner. In 1965 the flag was moved to the Smithsonian's new National Museum of American History in Washington and given a prominent place as the first exhibit inside the museum's entrance on the National Mall. Conservation work on the flag at the turn of the twenty-first century (1998–ongoing) will ensure its preservation as a symbol of U.S. strength and independence for succeeding generations of Americans.

See also **Music: Patriotic and Political**.

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to, by 1821, a sprawling Republic of twenty-four states that extended beyond the Mississippi River. The principle that new states could join the Union on an equal footing was an important, if problematic, facet of republican political theory in America. The reality of westward expansion made debates over statehood one of the key political battlegrounds of the early national era. The statehood question became, increasingly, the site of the growing sectional conflict over slavery. The Missouri crisis of 1819–1821 over the admission of a new slave state was the first of the major crises that foreshadowed the Civil War.

After the Declaration of Independence in 1776, the original thirteen Atlantic colonies considered themselves to be independent states. During the Revolution each state but Rhode Island and Connecticut enacted its own state constitution. The Articles of Confederation treated the states as sovereign republics, loosely allied but under a weak national government. The framers of the U.S. Constitution of 1787 provided for a union with a more powerful central government, with the thirteen original states to become full members by ratifying the Constitution. In Article IV, section 3, the Constitution gave Congress the power to regulate the admission of new states into the federal Union. This acknowledged implicitly the principle that the new nation would allow its territories outside the original states to become full and equal members of the Union—in contrast to the British colonial system from which the Americans had broken away.

CONCERNS OVER EXPANSION

From the beginning of the Republic, the notion that the federal Union would continue to admit new states in addition to the original thirteen had caused concern among some who opposed an increase in the power of the central government at the expense of the original states—especially those states such as Virginia that had extensive claims in the western lands. But Virginia in 1784 and the other states agreed to cede their western claims to the national government, opening the way for the creation of new states. Another problematic matter regarding the admission of new states was the idea that an expansive national republic conflicted in part with the traditional republican theory that had influenced many in the founding generation. That theory, articulated by British opposition thinkers and Enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu, generally held that the republican form of government worked best only on a small scale, in societies small in physi-

STATEHOOD AND ADMISSION The early years of the new nation saw the United States grow from the original thirteen eastern seaboard colonies

cal size and culturally homogenous. But James Madison's essays in the *The Federalist* (1787–1788) addressed and sought to allay these concerns by arguing in favor of an extensive republic in North America tied together by commerce and common political beliefs.

Most Americans, however, had never been bothered by these considerations; from the founding of the Republic they had supported the concept of adding new states on an equal footing. Also, the reality of western expansion made the question of new states a pressing issue. Having been prevented from settling west of the Appalachian Mountains by the British Proclamation of 1763, American settlers after the Revolution began to pour into the western territories. Just a few years after the Constitution was ratified, the first new states of Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796) were added to the Union.

EQUALITY FOR NEW STATES

In fact, before the Constitution was even drafted, the principle of adding new states on equal footing had been determined by the Continental Congress. The question of how to dispose of the western territories was influenced by the need to pay off the vast Revolutionary War debt, in part by the sale of land; by the desire to provide an orderly process for settling the territories through provision of security, the rule of law, and protection of property rights for U.S. citizens who migrated west; and by the pragmatic reality presented by the speedy westward migration after the Revolution. Shortly after Virginia's land cession, Congress in April 1784 approved an ordinance designed by Thomas Jefferson for settlement and state formation in the territories north of the Ohio River, with the new states to be equal to the old ones. That ordinance was superseded by the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The Northwest Ordinance set forth provisions for interim territorial governments as well as a specific process for achieving statehood, based on the criteria of reaching a certain level of population and self-government. Reenacted by the new federal Congress in 1789, the ordinance explicitly enshrined as national law the principle that new states could join the Union on an equal footing. Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), and later Michigan (1837) and Wisconsin (1848) were admitted to the Union under the terms of the Northwest Ordinance.

NEW STATES AND SLAVERY

Sectional politics began to play a major role in considerations of state formation in the early 1800s. The

Constitution had brokered an uneasy compromise on slavery, permitting the southern states to protect the institution. Because each new state would add two voting members to the U.S. Senate as well as members of the House of Representatives, whether new states would be slave or free would affect national policy. With the admission of Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), and Alabama (1819), all slave states, the issue gained nationwide attention. The balance of slave and free states in the Senate remained equal. When Missouri applied for statehood in 1819, it launched the first of the sectional crises that preceded the Civil War.

Missouri at the time of its application for statehood already had thousands of slaves. But Republican representative James Tallmadge of New York in 1819 introduced in Congress two amendments to the Missouri statehood bill that would ban the importation of new slaves into the state. These amendments galvanized northern antislavery sentiment and rallied northern congressmen of both parties to vote against the admission of Missouri to the Union. In 1821 the two houses of Congress compromised by admitting Missouri as a slave state on certain conditions, while also admitting Maine, previously a part of Massachusetts, as a free state. While the Missouri Compromise defused the sectional crisis temporarily by preserving the free state-slave state balance, it only delayed the eventual reckoning of the slavery issue in the new nation, which led ultimately to the Civil War.

The process of state making and state formation occupied a prominent place in the political discourse of the new nation. It made important contributions to the history of the United States by establishing the principle of admitting new states on an equal footing, by regulating the expansion of the Union, and by foreshadowing the coming sectional crisis.

See also **Missouri Compromise; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances.**

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STATES' RIGHTS The concept of states' rights presupposes a federal relationship among states. In the case of the United States, the constitutional principle of states' rights can be traced to the federal Union's creation by the states for limited purposes. As embodied in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, states' rights became one of the founding principles of the Jeffersonian Republican Party that dominated federal politics in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Throughout the imperial crisis of the 1760s and 1770s, the chief points on which the colonists insisted were the "rights of Englishmen" and the prerogatives of their colonial legislatures. The Sugar Act (1764), the Declaratory Act (1766), the dissolution of the New York assembly (1767), the Tea Act (1773), the Massachusetts Government Act (1774), the Boston Port Act (1774), the Administration of Justice Act (1774), and various other of the parliamentary initiatives to which the colonists objected so stoutly should be understood as having offended them primarily as they impinged upon the colonists' right of self-government. At first, this inherited right was said to extend to an exclusive right in the provincial assemblies to tax the colonists; Patrick Henry's Stamp Act Resolves of 1765 based this right on a cogent account of Virginia's colonial history, and the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, drawn from nine colonies, asserted this exclusive right in Pennsylvania John Dickinson's resolutions.

In 1766 Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. Simultaneously, it adopted the Declaratory Act, in which it claimed authority to legislate for the colonists "in all cases whatsoever." Americans would remember that claim.

By the time the fighting started in 1775, radical colonists such as Thomas Jefferson were going further than Dickinson's resolutions. For Jefferson, in his pamphlet entitled *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774), Parliament had no right to legislate for the colonists at all; the only legitimate constitutional tie between the colonies and the mother country was that they shared a common crown. When the Second Continental Congress declared in 1776 that the thirteen colonies were and of right ought to be free and independent states, it based its claim on a Lockean account of government that culminated in an assertion that King George III had effectively abdicated his role in regard to the thirteen colonies. Among George's supposed misdeeds was his failure to prevent the British Parliament from legislating for North America.

Besides coordinating American foreign and defense policy, the First and Second Continental Congresses had, by default, to establish the working federal relationship among the states. Each time Congress claimed authority, it met with opposition from those states that could expect to carry the most of the burden or, in some cases, to be negatively affected. Nowhere was this clearer than when it came to the states' western land claims.

Several states claimed extensive lands beyond the Proclamation Line of 1763. From its earliest days, Congress endeavored to provide rational national policies for the governance of those lands, but the states with western claims, particularly Virginia, rose to the defense of their parochial interests. In defending their claim to exclusive jurisdiction over their trans-Ohio River territories, Virginia members of Congress such as George Mason, James Madison, and James Monroe developed a sophisticated theory of states' rights and reserved powers that would later be resuscitated and reinvigorated by the Virginia-centered Jeffersonian Republican Party.

In 1777 Congress submitted the proposed Articles of Confederation to the states. After four years of debate, the Articles—America's first federal constitution—were ratified. Leading figures from all sections of the country recognized the inadequacy of the Articles, particularly when it came to the federal government's taxing power, but tiny Rhode Island stood in the way of their favorite proposal: an amendment to the Articles granting Congress power to levy a tariff.

A NEW CONSTITUTION

In response, self-styled Federalists plotted to hold a continental convention to reinvigorate the federal government. Led by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, and with the support of General George Washington, they finally succeeded in convening a group of delegates from twelve states at Philadelphia in May 1787.

The Federalists' purported goal was to formulate acceptable proposals for amending the Articles of Confederation to give the government adequate powers. In fact, however, their true goal was to substitute a new government for the old one. Seeing through Federalist pretensions, several notable American politicians, including New York's George Clinton, North Carolina's Willie Jones, and Virginia's Patrick Henry, refused to participate; Rhode Island rejected the invitation to send delegates altogether.

Why? Henry, James Monroe, and other Virginians believed that a stronger congress would be willing and able to sacrifice Virginia's rights for the majority's benefit. Henry's concern had been raised by Congress's 1786 attempt to trade American rights to navigate the Mississippi River for limited access to Spanish colonial ports in the Caribbean Sea. Both in the Philadelphia Convention and in the subsequent state ratification conventions, proponents of leaving the preponderant legislative authority in the states opposed the nationalist program of the Federalists. They did so largely out of concern for the primacy of the states in the federal system. At Philadelphia, that insistence resulted in the state legislatures' power to elect U.S. senators and in the defeat of James Madison's proposal that Congress have a veto over all state laws; in the ratification conventions, it shaped the debate in myriad ways.

Most important, concerns for state sovereignty elicited from Virginia governor Edmund Randolph, a Philadelphia Convention delegate and the leading Federalist orator in the Richmond ratification convention of 1788, repeated avowals that the new federal government would have only the powers it was "expressly delegated" by the Constitution. Fellow Federalist delegate George Nicholas, a lieutenant of Madison's, picked up on this formulation, and the two of them forcefully repeated that claim at the convention's end. Nicholas and Randolph were two of the five delegates chosen to draft Virginia's instrument of ratification, which reserved certain rights to the people. It was on this understanding that Virginia ratified, and Federalists in other states—notably South Carolina—made similar assurances.

Federalists had already proven untrustworthy: they had promised that the Philadelphia Convention would merely propose amendments to the Articles. Therefore, several ratification conventions proposed amendments akin to what became the Tenth Amendment, which says that any powers not delegated through the Constitution to the federal government are reserved to the states respectively or to the people. To remind federal officials of their intention to hold them to Randolph's pledge, the majority of the Virginia General Assembly in 1790 adopted a resolution written by Patrick Henry to the effect that Hamilton's bill for assumption of the state debts was unconstitutional because in adopting it, Congress exercised a power not "expressly" granted to Congress.

THE EARLY 1790s

The First Congress saw a heated discussion of the idea of taxing slave imports. Members of Congress from

the Deep South insisted that the Constitution's denial to Congress of a power to prohibit slave imports before 1808 implicitly denied it the power to tax slave imports. Ultimately, South Carolina representative Aedanus Burke said that if a special tax were placed on slave imports, South Carolina would secede from the Union. Georgia delegates echoed this threat, and the proposal failed.

Through the 1790s, self-styled Republicans would repeatedly insist that the federal government, in exercising powers not "expressly" granted it by the Constitution, were violating the Tenth Amendment; that is, they would say that virtually every controversial measure of the federal government amounted to an impingement upon states' rights.

For example, James Madison's opposition in the House of Representatives to the 1791 bill granting a federal charter to a bank rested ultimately on the idea that the power to grant such charters had been reserved to the states. Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, at the request of President Washington, made a virtually identical argument in the cabinet. Federalists consistently rejected this argument, as Washington ultimately did in signing the bank bill. So far as they were concerned, the federal government was a sovereign in the international system. Since it alone represented the American people abroad, it could tax and spend for all the purposes of government.

Republicans remained steadfast in their insistence that various federal measures violated the reservation of residual powers to the states throughout the 1790s. Thus, the Virginia politician John Taylor of Caroline insisted that the federal excise tax on carriages was unconstitutional because the power to levy it had not been expressly granted and because of its disproportionate sectional incidence (only two carriages were taxed in all of Connecticut, he asserted, but virtually every substantial planter in Tidewater Virginia had one); for rhetorical effect, Taylor added that if the federal government could overstep the bounds of its authority to tax a particular type of property held mainly in the South in this instance, that would be a dangerous precedent for taxing another type of property that was held mainly in the South. From the beginning, then, the Republican insistence on states' rights was tied to slavery, not only by U.S. senators and representatives from the Deep South but by leading Republicans in Jefferson's home state.

One result of this Republican campaign was the Eleventh Amendment, affixed to the federal charter in 1795. This amendment grew out of the unpopularity of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Chis-*

holm v. Georgia (1793). The majority of the Court said in the decision that Georgia could be made a party defendant to a suit in federal court even without that state's consent. Legislatures from Massachusetts to Virginia protested, and the result was an amendment denying the federal courts authority to make a state a party to a suit against its will. Popular opinion seems to have been behind the amendment.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

The climax of the Federalist-Republican debate of the 1790s came at the decade's end. In response to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Republican-dominated legislatures in Virginia and Kentucky promulgated the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. The federal government, according to these Republican resolutions, had been created by the states, had only the powers granted it by the states, and must, in the last resort, be kept by the states from depriving Americans of their rights. Virginia's version, secretly penned by Madison, said that the remedy to unconstitutional and dangerous federal legislation was state "interposition"; the first draft of Kentucky's, secretly written by Jefferson, called the proper remedy "nullification."

Alexander Hamilton believed that "Virginia" (meaning the Republican Party) meant to dismember the Union. Some leading Republicans, such as Taylor and the U.S. representative from Virginia, William Branch Giles, were contemplating precisely that in 1798. The Virginia General Assembly, meanwhile, took steps to invigorate Virginia's militia. Vice President Jefferson wrote to Taylor in June 1798 that the time for secession had not arrived yet. In the days before the election of 1800, he believed that what he called the "reign of witches" would be dispelled by the arrival of the tax bill associated with the Federalists' military buildup.

In the interim between 1798 and the election of 1800, things did not look very promising for the Republicans. Federalists achieved their largest congressional majority in the elections of 1798, and ten states responded to the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions with staunch, in some cases resounding, disapproval. Several of them rejected the idea that it was a state's right to interpret the federal Constitution, saying that this authority lay in the federal courts. In 1799, Kentucky adopted a second set of Jefferson-penned resolutions, this time saying it would be among the very last to secede because it loved the federal Union for the purposes for which it had been created. In Virginia, Madison left retirement to sponsor his *Report of 1800* as a member of the House of Dele-

gates. Along with asserting the unconstitutionality of virtually every controversial Federalist measure of the 1790s, the *Report of 1800* also clarified what the Republicans meant when they said the states had created the federal government: a "state," in this context, was the sovereign people of a particular state. The government of a state was not sovereign, the people were.

REPUBLICAN PRESIDENCIES

Once Jefferson assumed the presidency in 1801, he changed his tune. The Revolution of 1800, as he came to call it, had proven not that Americans hated taxes, but that they approved of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798. States' rights would be the Jeffersonian gospel ever after.

Jeffersonians gleefully pushed their platform of limited federal government and low taxes through Congress in 1801. That platform circumscribed their options in foreign policy markedly, leading to the military fiasco that was the War of 1812. Hit harder than the rest of the country by the war's economic repercussions, Federalist governors of some New England states exercised their states' right to refuse to send militiamen to fight beyond their states' boundaries. In 1814, as the war went badly, New England Federalists staged a regional convention to consider their options. Although some of the instigators of the Hartford Convention of 1814 favored New England independence, most did not. Still, Republicans succeeded in branding the conventioners as disloyal, and the coincidence of the war's end with the convention's end spelled doom for the Federalist Party as a national force.

Still, by the war's end in 1815, even President Madison found himself constrained to concede that the Principles of '98 had seemed far more practical in theory than they had proven in practice. In 1816, he asked Congress to charter the second Bank of the United States. State-level Republicans in several states disapproved, and they enacted legislation intended to impede operation of bank branches within their bounds. One state, Maryland, imprisoned the chief operating officer of its bank branch, and he appealed the case to the Supreme Court.

McCulloch v. Maryland (1819) was the result. In his opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote a Hamiltonian reading of the Constitution into constitutional law, where it remains enshrined. Rejecting the argument that Jefferson and Madison had made against the constitutionality of the first bank in 1791 and that had been repeated by framer Luther Martin before the Court,

Marshall held that the Constitution granted Congress very broad authority to legislate for the common good. Maryland, the Court ruled, had no right to interfere with the bank's operations.

President Madison left office in 1817 with a ringing states' rights veto message as his last official act. Leaders in Congress intended for the federal government's share of bank profits to be used in construction of various public works. Madison responded that he found no mention in the Constitution of a congressional power to fund construction of roads, bridges, canals, and other internal improvements, so the advocates of these improvements must first secure a constitutional amendment. Observers noted that Madison's position in his Bonus Bill Veto Message of 1817 clashed with his signature on the 1816 bill chartering the bank.

Virginia's dominant Republicans had other opportunities to joust with John Marshall's Supreme Court, including *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816). In that complicated litigation, the Supreme Court issued a writ ordering Virginia's highest court to send a certified copy of the record in the case so the Supreme Court could consider an appeal. Spencer Roane, a states' rights-minded Jeffersonian on the Virginia Court of Appeals, took the bait: he wrote that the Supreme Court had no authority to order the Virginia Court of Appeals to do anything. Virginia's court system and the federal court system were coordinate systems, he said, and each must conduct its business without the interference—much less oversight—of the other. In his opinion for the Supreme Court, which still stands as the keystone of American judicial federalism, Justice Joseph Story said that all matters of federal law ultimately could be appealed to the Supreme Court. Both *Martin* and *McCulloch* provoked furious responses from leading Jeffersonians in speeches, in books, and in newspapers (and, in Jefferson's case, in private correspondence), but these had no notable effect on the Marshall Court. Jefferson lamented that the Court seemed to be undoing the Republicans' repeated victories at the polls. Roane, for his part, never certified the record in *Martin* for Supreme Court review.

The Missouri crisis. In 1819 citizens in the Missouri Territory submitted their draft constitution to Congress with an application for statehood. A Republican representative from New York, James Tallmadge, touched off the Missouri crisis by responding that while Missouri should be admitted to the Union as a state, it must do so with a constitution banning slavery from its territory. In the main, northerners—whose states had either eliminated or virtually elimi-

nated slavery—agreed, while southerners held that slavery must be allowed in Missouri if its citizens wanted it. Jefferson, in retirement, said that the issue was states' rights, specifically the right of the state of Missouri to make for itself a decision—whether to allow slavery within its territory—that every other state had made for itself. (Jefferson was wrong about that, as he should have realized, for the Northwest Ordinance had decided the issue without giving any say to citizens in the states carved out of the Northwest Territory.) The Missouri Compromise respected Jefferson's principle in regard to Missouri, but rejected the idea of allowing citizens of future states carved out of the Louisiana Territory north of Missouri's southern border to decide that issue for themselves. President James Monroe, with the concurrence of War Secretary John C. Calhoun, accepted the Missouri Compromise as a suitable solution to a very difficult problem, despite its arguably anti-southern and anti-states' rights elements.

Divided Republicans. By the time Monroe left office in 1825, the blurring of the Republican Party's old principles had become so marked that John Quincy Adams, his generation's leader of what a Republican member of Congress once dubbed "the American House of Stuart," succeeded him as Republican president. In his Inaugural and his First Annual Address, Adams called for an expansive federal spending program. He also tried to send a diplomatic delegation to a conference that would feature representatives from the Republic of Haiti, recently established by history's only successful slave rebellion. Opposition to President Adams swelled among those who remained devoted to the old Jeffersonian nostrums of states' rights and strict construction. Soon enough, the Republican opposition to this Republican president would give birth to a new party, the Jacksonian Democratic Party, with the same constitutional emphases. While states' rights might sometimes be ignored by those who trumpeted them most loudly, the idea that the states came first and that the federal government had limited power retained great influence upon the American imagination at the end of the early Republic.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Alien and Sedition Acts; Anti-Federalists; Bank of the United States; Chisholm v. Georgia; Constitution, Ratification of; Constitution: Eleventh Amendment; Constitutional Convention; Hartford Convention; Internal Improvements; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Martin v.**

**Hunter's Lessee; McCullough v. Maryland;
Missouri Compromise.**

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STEAMBOAT A particular stroke of genius of American inventors was applying steam power to a boat to create the steamboat. In the late eighteenth century John Fitch, James Rumsey, and Oliver Evans produced different types of steamboats. Fitch tested his boat in 1787 on the Delaware River. This ungainly craft had engines that powered six paddles on each side; it was never a commercial success. Robert Fulton produced a paddle wheel steamboat, which was the first viable craft. Fulton had met Robert R. Living-

ston, U.S. minister to France, while in Paris, where Fulton was working on the development of a submarine. Livingston persuaded Fulton to return to the United States and build a steamboat. The wealthy Livingston also provided the financial resources for Fulton's work. In 1807 Fulton successfully tested the *North River Steamboat of Clermont* on the Hudson River. Although the *North River* had sails, it did not use them during the 150-mile voyage from New York City to Albany. Fulton's boat quickly became a commercial success because it was practical and stressed passenger comfort.

Fulton and Livingston also succeeded in gaining the exclusive right to operate steamboats on the waters of New York State and within the territory of Louisiana, but their monopoly was short-lived. Fulton's success and the relatively low cost of building a steamboat encouraged rivals to enter the business, and after a period in which a number of conflicting grants were given to individuals by local authorities, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in the landmark case of *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) that the commerce clause of the U.S. constitution gave the authority for such agreements only to the U.S. government. This formally negated the agreements that Livingston and Fulton had obtained, although competitors had in fact been challenging their control for over a decade.

As more builders entered the steamboat industry, they improved the overall design of the boats, manufactured better engines, and strengthened hulls. Northeastern steamboats were most noted for their passenger and tourist trade, although they also carried some cargo.

Steamboats had their greatest impact on the waters of the Mississippi River system. Nicholas Roosevelt, the grand-uncle of Theodore Roosevelt, piloted the first steamboat on the Mississippi in 1811. The boat was a product of the Mississippi Steam Navigation Company, a partnership of Roosevelt, Fulton, Livingston, and Livingston's brother Edward, a prominent attorney and legislator. Henry Shreve, a former flatboatman from Pennsylvania, brought his own steamer to New Orleans in 1814. Shreve and others modified the traditional structure of steamboats, widening and lengthening the deck, reducing the draft, placing the engine on the main deck, and adding several stories. This is the design most familiar to twenty-first century Americans. These improvements enabled western steamboats to operate in shallow waters (sometimes as low as six feet) but still carry enormous amounts of cargo.

Steamboats produced a revolution in commerce in the Mississippi River valley. In 1810 river travel

from New Orleans to Louisville took at least four months. By 1830 goods and passengers could make the same trip in a mere eight days. The cost of shipping goods plunged, too. In 1815 it cost five dollars to ship 100 pounds of freight from New Orleans to Louisville; the cost in 1860 was twenty-five cents. Westerners used steamboats to ship an amazing array of items. Surviving manifests reveal that steamboats carried everything from farm implements to pianos. Steamers also carried live cargo: cows, mules, chickens, and slaves. The boats stopped at towns, farms, and plantation landings along the river, making it easy and affordable for westerners to purchase just about anything.

Steamboats were also a catalyst for the development of the Cotton Kingdom. It was difficult to stack cotton bales on flatboats, but western steamboats accommodated the cotton trade well. When steamboats stopped at a plantation, roustabouts wrestled the five-hundred-pound bales onto the boats. The wide decks of the western steamers meant that cotton could be stacked as high as the pilothouse before being tied down. By 1830 it was common for these "cotton boats" to carry over four hundred bales (about eighty tons) of cotton on a single trip.

These economic advances encouraged westward settlement: the steamboat brought both migrants and civilization to the Mississippi River valley. Wealthier customers traveled as cabin passengers. Staying in individual rooms, they ate sumptuous meals and spent their days conversing, reading, listening to music, or playing cards. Most steamboat travelers, however, were deck passengers, who slept and ate alongside the cargo. They prepared their own food in what was essentially a floating barn and slept wherever they could find room. Deck passengers usually participated in wooding, which involved scrambling ashore with the crew to carry several cords of wood on board for fuel.

Steamboats also changed the lives of slaves. Many bond servants worked on steamboats, being either owned by crewmembers or hired from owners on a yearly or monthly basis. Slave porters served meals to the cabin passengers, while slave firemen tended steamboat furnaces—work that was difficult and dangerous. Bond servants sometimes took advantage of their work on steamboats to escape or locate lost family members. Milton Clarke, a slave who had been hired to work on a steamboat, found his sister in New Orleans after she was sold to an interstate slave trader.

See also **Economic Development; Mississippi River; Slavery; Slave Trade, Domestic;**

Steam Power; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.

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STEAM POWER Steam power development during the colonial and early republican periods was initially hesitant but ultimately decisive. Beginning as an import with only slight relevance to the domestic situation, the steam engine then became a power source that was adapted to local needs. Technological breakthroughs eventually placed America at the forefront of steam power development, and by the close of the period it was a technology poised to overrun the American continent.

ORIGINS AND EARLY APPLICATIONS

Steam power has its beginnings in the British reliance on coal as a fuel and the flooding that occurred as increasingly deep coal seams were mined. The steam engine built by Thomas Newcomen (1663–1729) in 1712 was the first practical application of steam to the problem of pumping out flooded mines. Although the early steam engines were inefficient and troublesome, their widespread adoption in England was ensured because they performed a crucial function and, in most cases, consumed a fuel that was mined on the premises.

The first application of steam power in the New World took place in New Jersey. In 1748 Philip Schuyler, who owned a severely flooded copper mine close to Newark, ordered an engine from the Hornblowers, a family of steam engine builders in Cornwall, England. The machine, accompanied by Josiah Hornblower and numerous duplicate components, was shipped in 1753 and finally made operational in 1755. This engine returned the mine to profitability and continued to operate, sporadically at least, for over fifty years.

Two decades were to pass before the next attempt to employ steam in America. Christopher Colles (1739–1816), an Irish immigrant, undertook the

fabrication of two engines for water pumping installations—one in 1773 for a distillery in Philadelphia and another in 1776 for New York City's first public waterworks. Although the Philadelphia engine remained unfinished, these two engines were the first to be constructed in the colonies. One other engine was made about 1780 for pumping water from the mine at Joseph Brown's Hope Furnace near Cranston, Rhode Island.

ADAPTATION

Just as steam power's origins arose from the English situation, so the first American breakthroughs arose from local needs, specifically the traversal of long distances via water navigation. Developments in England during the final quarter of the eighteenth century were again of assistance. Successive improvements to Newcomen's basic engine by the Scottish engineer and inventor James Watt (1736–1819) had resulted in steam engines that were more thermally efficient, smaller, smoother running, and capable of providing rotary motion.

Although Robert Fulton (1765–1815) is widely accepted as the originator of the steamboat, John Fitch (1743–1798) is credited with operating the first successful steam-powered boat in the United States. But Fitch's 1787 steamboat is to steam navigation as the Schuyler mine engine was to stationary steam development—a successful but isolated first step. Fulton chose New York City as the location for the 17 August 1807 inauguration of his large vessel, the *North River Steamboat of Clermont*. The *Clermont* was a success, not only technologically but also economically—Fulton immediately began regular fare-paying operation from New York City to Albany and used the proceeds to begin building improved boats. Other steamboat experimenters such as Nicholas Roosevelt and John Stevens and his son Robert began to build similar vessels. Just four years later Fulton's Pittsburgh-built *New Orleans* departed for its namesake port, and a new era in river navigation in the United States began.

HIGH PRESSURE

In 1804 the American inventor Oliver Evans (1755–1819) provided the major impetus for the American steam revolution when he successfully operated an experimental engine that employed high pressure steam. Richard Trevithick made the same breakthrough completely independently in England at the same time. "High pressure" engines were, for a given power output, more compact than Watt-type engines. Their economy was such that they could be

designed for use in both modest and large applications—thereby extending steam power's reach beyond steamboats and pumping installations into flour, sugar, and saw mills. Despite being covered by Evans's patent, the subsequent building and refinement of high pressure engines and boilers took place largely outside the patent system—a circumstance helped no doubt by the isolation of many installations and compounded with grass roots ingenuity, expediency, and commercial considerations. Evans, already known for his 1795 work, *The Young Millwright and Miller's Guide*, also had considerable influence through his 1805 *Abortion of the Young Steam Engineer's Guide*, perhaps the most accessible steam treatise of the period. The ubiquitous horizontal stationary engine of nineteenth-century America owed its bare-bones sophistication to the high-pressure steam engine as first applied and adapted to river navigation.

RAILROADS

By the late 1820s another era of steam power in America was just beginning—that of the railroad. The earliest successful steam locomotives had been developed for use in English collieries, and by the mid-1820s this technology was being applied to public railways connecting towns and rural communities in the north of England. Predictably, accounts of these ventures found their way to the United States. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, organized in 1823, proposed the incorporation of a section of railroad into their planned canal route and to that end ordered four locomotives from England. The first to be steamed, the *Stourbridge Lion*, was road tested in August and September of 1829. It was an outright failure, largely because the locomotive was too heavy for its track. But this, unlike the failures of the earliest steam installations on the American continent, was only the slightest of setbacks. By this time the numbers of practical mechanics—a groundswell of mechanical knowledge diffused in the close to four hundred steamboats plying the Mississippi and its tributaries, and concentrated in machine shops and foundries in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, and elsewhere—was such that this false start did no more than neatly presage the ensuing divergence of American and British railroad practice. At the end of the 1820s working methods rooted in the American situation had emerged—methods that were poised to fully adapt steam technology to the American situation.

See also **Inventors and Inventions; Railroads; Steamboat; Technology; Waterpower.**

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SUGAR ACT The Sugar Act (1764), also known as the American Revenue Act, was the first overt imperial tax raised by Parliament in British America. It was one of a series of measures introduced by the ministry of George Grenville in an effort to reduce Britain's national debt by defraying the cost of colonial administration and the defense of a much-expanded empire in the aftermath of the French and Indian War (1756–1763). The Sugar Act yielded the largest revenue of any imperial tax before the Revolutionary War.

The Sugar Act revised the earlier Molasses Act (1733). It decreased the duty on foreign molasses imported into North America from six pence per gallon to three pence, prohibited the importation of rum, and increased the tax on sugar imports from five shillings to one pound seven shillings per hundred-weight. It imposed new or higher duties on foreign textiles, coffee, and indigo and on wines directly imported from the Madeira and the Canary Islands. In an effort to close a tax loophole, it doubled the duties on foreign goods reshipped from Britain to America. It added iron, hides, whale fins, raw silk, potash, and pearl ashes to the list of goods permitted to be exported by the colonies to Britain. Of perhaps greater significance, it introduced elaborate enforcement regulations and new trial procedures in the vice-admiralty courts. Furthermore, it was more effectively enforced than the earlier Molasses Act, partly in consequence of more rigorous efforts by the collectors of customs but also because of the intervention of the Royal Navy.

The act did not provoke the same unity of opposition among the thirteen colonies as the Stamp Act

did the following year. This was because, although the preamble had clearly stated that it was a revenue measure, it conformed in many ways to the tradition of navigation acts that sought primarily to regulate trade. Furthermore, it did not affect all levels of society or equally impact all the thirteen colonies. The opposition was therefore limited primarily to merchants in the northern and middle colonies, where refineries depended upon the cheap and plentiful supply of molasses from the French Caribbean. The Sugar Act was soon overshadowed by the much more unpopular Stamp Act. Nevertheless, it caused colonies to correspond with one another and some cities to sign nonimportation agreements, thereby setting precedents for opposition to the Stamp Act. The Sugar Act was relatively popular in the British Caribbean, where planters wanted to secure the monopoly of the North American market because they were unable to compete profitably with the rival French. Indeed, the Patriot opposition complained that it was sacrificed to the lobbying power of the British planters in the Caribbean. The act was a major obstacle to a united colonial alliance of the North American and West Indian lobbies in London.

The Rockingham ministry revised the Sugar Act when it repealed the Stamp Act in 1766, reducing the tax on the import of molasses from three pence to one penny per gallon. North Americans nevertheless protested the new Sugar Act with formal petitions from the merchants of New York, followed by Boston and the legislature of Massachusetts. Their attempts to win further concessions to trade openly with the French Caribbean widened the breach with the British Caribbean and diverted the colonial lobbies from uniting against other measures like the Currency Act (1764) and Townshend Act (1767). The legislation played an important role in alienating colonial opinion against the vice-admiralty courts and the Royal Navy.

See also **British Empire and the Atlantic World**.

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SUMMER OF 1816 *See Natural Disasters.*

SUPREME COURT The “least dangerous” branch was Alexander Hamilton’s classic description of the U.S. judiciary in Federalist No. 78 (1788), because it had “no influence over either the sword or the purse.” This description was still accurate in 1828, but dramatic changes had occurred during the intervening four decades. However committed to the separation of powers, the framers of the Constitution emphasized the political branches. The order of their presentation demonstrates the level of their concern. Article I defines legislative authority in 2,279 words. Article II presents the executive in less than half that space, 1,012 words. By comparison the judiciary, provided for in Article III, seems almost an afterthought, described in only 365 words. The Supreme Court is established in the first sentence: “The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.” Another sentence provides a brief but highly significant list of authorities granted to this court (or courts), including “all cases . . . arising under this Constitution and . . . the laws and treaties . . . under their authority.” Seven additional sentences assure judicial independence, assign areas of original and appellate jurisdiction, guarantee criminal jury trials, and define rules for treason cases.

JUDICIARY ACT OF 1789

Original jurisdiction granted by the Constitution to the Supreme Court was limited to “Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party.” All other cases were supposed to reach the Supreme Court through appeals—but appeals from whom? The most contentious judicial issue in the Constitutional Convention, whether there should be subordinate federal courts or whether state fears should be mollified by advancing federal issues only from state courts, was left for the first Congress to resolve. Therefore, it was important that Congress act promptly and creatively in determining the structure of the federal judiciary, including even the structure of the Supreme Court. The first Senate rose splendidly to the challenge. While the House of Representatives focused on economic and administrative issues, the Senate’s first major assignment was to create the Judiciary Act of 1789, described as one of the great-

est, and certainly one of the longest lasting, laws in American history. It survived nearly unchanged for a century and early in the twenty-first century remains an essential part of the American judiciary.

Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut chaired the Senate’s grand committee, ably abetted by William Paterson of New Jersey. Having succeeded in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 in guaranteeing a strong role for small states such as theirs, they now cooperated in the Senate to establish a strong judiciary despite their earlier concerns that state judiciaries would be weakened unjustly if forced to compete with federal courts at the local level. Both would soon be appointed to the Supreme Court that they created, Paterson in 1793 and Ellsworth in 1796 as chief justice. The legislation was reported in June and then debated for sixteen weeks until it became law on 24 September 1789. It established a Supreme Court of six justices, augmented by thirteen district courts and three circuit courts to which federal issues could be appealed. Districts were linked to state boundaries, except that Maine and Kentucky, which were not yet states, each had its own district court. Because of delays in the ratification of the Constitution, North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet been added to the new nation while the judicial legislation was in process. The single judge in each district court would sit with two Supreme Court justices to staff the circuit courts. Most important (and controversial) was section 25, which allowed appeals to the Supreme Court from state courts. President George Washington, obviously waiting anxiously for passage of this legislation, sent the names of six justices on 24 September; they were confirmed two days later by the Senate.

JUSTICES ON HORSEBACK

The Supreme Court justices’ early years were devoted to incessant travel to circuit courts and to vigorous protection of judicial independence. They soon learned how exhaustive service in circuit courts ranging from New Hampshire to Georgia could be. Congress granted a single concession in response to continual complaints and occasional resignations regarding this burden. Beginning in 1793 only one justice was required for each circuit court, sitting with a district judge. Despite the resentment and exhaustion, the justices’ presence in local courts provided important opportunities for them to establish their independence. In particular, on circuit they were able to establish a foundation for the judicial review that would be confirmed later by the Marshall Court. Without strong objection, circuit courts ruled ac-



The Old Supreme Court Chamber. The U. S. Supreme Court met in this room in the Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., from 1810 to 1860. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

tions by the Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont legislatures to be in conflict with the U.S. Constitution. In *Hayburn's Case* (1792), two circuit courts ruled that Congress had exceeded its constitutional limits by assigning Supreme Court justices to non-judicial functions. The justices softened this affront by carrying out their assignment as "special commissioners" rather than as judges. In *Hylton v. U.S.* (1796), the Supreme Court ruled that a carriage tax passed by Congress was not a violation of the Constitution; ruling that the tax was constitutional at least implied that it might instead have been found to be unconstitutional.

Nine of Washington's ten appointees were Federalists in both senses of the word: strong supporters of the Constitution as well as active participants in the political party that would soon be known as Federalists. The exception was Samuel Chase, whose strident Federalist partisanship offset his initial opposition to the Constitution. John Adams's three appointees all voted Federalist, while all seven of the

justices appointed after Marshall were Republicans—although Joseph Story embraced John Marshall's Federalist jurisprudence. Marshall and Henry Brockholst Livingston had likewise supported ratification of the Constitution as young men.

JUDICIARY ACT OF 1801

Partisanship proved a massive barrier to Congress's one attempt to remove the responsibility that caused so many to resign or refuse appointment to the Supreme Court. The Judiciary Act of 1801, approved just weeks before Thomas Jefferson became president, sought to relieve the justices of circuit-riding responsibilities. It created six new circuit courts and, most important, provided circuit judges for all of those courts. Under it, Supreme Court justices would no longer rule on issues that they had already decided on circuit. Much of value was included in the legislation, but the timing was abominable. President Adams and a Federalist-dominated lame duck Senate quickly proved the accuracy of Republican assump-

tions that all sixteen new circuit judges and their accompanying clerks and marshals, plus a few new district judges, would be Federalists. Even decreasing the Court from six to five, which had the virtue of reducing the number of tie votes, was also suspect because it would not become effective until the next justice died or retired. Jefferson would not only inherit Federalist judges with a prospect of lifetime service, he would not even be able to appoint a replacement when the first Federalist Supreme Court justice died. Worse yet, these “midnight appointees” to the circuit courts were given increased jurisdiction, further threatening the viability of the state courts.

The Republican Congress rescinded the Judiciary Act of 1801 at the first opportunity, early the following year, abolishing the new courts and judges and consigning Supreme Court justices again to the circuit courts. This blow was softened somewhat by the Judiciary Act of 1802. It increased the number of circuit courts to six, with one justice assigned to each one for two sessions. Justices’ travel burdens were lessened further by decreasing Supreme Court responsibilities from two two-week sessions annually to a single four-week session. Judicial reform was so politicized in 1801 and 1802 that significant change remained nearly impossible for decades.

Fortunately, the Federalists who still packed the Supreme Court shared the realism of their new leader, the politically adept Chief Justice Marshall. He recommended quiet acquiescence in the changes; only the volatile Samuel Chase demanded that they refuse to return to the circuit courts. Paterson, who had been second only to Chase in blatant partisanship when addressing juries in sedition cases, rendered his greatest service as a justice when he ruled in *Stuart v. Laird* (1803) that the Judiciary Act of 1802 was constitutional.

FINALLY SOME REPUBLICAN JUSTICES

Federalist justices maintained their majority on the Supreme Court throughout Jefferson’s presidency and most of Madison’s first term. The first Republicans were appointed in 1804 and 1806. Even Kentuckian Thomas Todd’s appointment in 1807 did not bring the Republicans to equal representation, because he was named to a seventh position, established to serve the new western circuit. Not until 1812, after Gabriel Duvall (November 1811) and Joseph Story (February 1812) had replaced two deceased Federalists, did Marshall and Bushrod Washington finally become a Federalist minority, albeit a very influential one.

In fact, Marshall’s most productive years came during the Republican ascendancy. Republicans on the bench did not really become Federalists, as Jefferson sometimes contended, but Marshall’s congenial personality and the responsibilities of the bench often persuaded them to side with his judicial nationalism. Because Madison did not share the antagonism that Jefferson had long felt for Marshall, the chief justice in turn acted less politically on the bench during Madison’s presidency. Marshall never crossed over to the Republicans, but by 1817 there was really no Federalist Party to abandon.

Chief Justice Marshall introduced significant revisions of court procedures without need for additional judiciary legislation. His first decision, *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), marked an advance from *seriatim* decisions (in which justices individually read their own opinions) to majority opinions that could be accompanied by dissenting and concurring opinions. During Chief Justice Ellsworth’s brief tenure, individual decisions were sometimes abandoned; after 1803 *seriatim* decisions were rare. The Jay Court, where each justice stated his own opinion with the chief justice speaking last, sometimes left the public wondering just what the Supreme Court had said. When John Marshall spoke for the majority, the message came loud and clear.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Constitutional Law; Judiciary Act of 1789; Judiciary Acts of 1801 and 1802; *Marbury v. Madison*; Marshall, John; Presidency, The; John Adams; Supreme Court Justices.**

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Donald O. Dewey

SUPREME COURT JUSTICES Half of the twenty justices of the U.S. Supreme Court who served from 1790 to 1828 were appointed by Presi-



John Marshall. Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court from 1801 to 1835, in a portrait by James Reid Lambdin after Henry Inman. THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY/SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

dent George Washington. When John Adams's three appointees are added to Washington's ten, the two Federalist presidents named nearly two-thirds of the justices in the nation's founding years. Thomas Jefferson complained to Connecticut merchants on 12 July 1801 about the lack of vacancies in federal offices: "Those by death are few, by resignation none." This would prove especially true of Federalist justices. During seven consecutive Republican administrations, Jefferson named three justices, James Madison two more, and James Monroe and John Quincy Adams one each. Two of the Federalists, Chief Justice John Marshall and Bushrod Washington, outlasted Jefferson, who died in 1826. Marshall served until 1835, near the end of Andrew Jackson's two terms as president.

FEDERALIST DOMINANCE

Selection of the six members appointed to the first Supreme Court of the United States was largely influenced by two dominant considerations: the need for geographical balance and for extensive government or judicial experience, including a demonstrated commitment to the success of the newly adopted U.S. Constitution. Because the justices spent much

more of their time in the circuit courts than in the Supreme Court, it was essential that they be widely distributed. The order of appointment of the initial six justices followed a clear North-South pattern while also rewarding the populous states: Chief Justice John Jay (New York), John Rutledge (South Carolina), William Cushing (Massachusetts), John Blair (Virginia), James Wilson (Pennsylvania), and James Iredell (North Carolina).

All members of this first Supreme Court had demonstrated firm commitment to the Constitution. Jay's lengthy career in the Continental Congresses and in diplomacy had made him one of the leading American nationalists. He was not at the Constitutional Convention that developed the Constitution but wrote three important essays urging ratification in *The Federalist* (1787–1788) and would have written several more if not prevented by poor health and injuries. Wilson and Blair were signers of the Constitution and members of their state ratifying conventions; Wilson's contributions to the Constitution were exceeded only by those of James Madison. Rutledge was also a signer. Cushing supported the Constitution in the Massachusetts ratifying convention and Iredell supported it both in the North Carolina convention that rejected it in 1788 and in the reconstituted convention that approved it in 1789.

Similar credentials were held by all but one of Washington's remaining appointments. Thomas Johnson (1791) was in the Maryland ratifying convention. William Paterson (1793), another signer, worked avidly in the convention and afterward as a New Jersey senator to develop a strong judiciary based on the supremacy clause that he contributed to the Constitution. He and Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, who would become the third chief justice in 1796, were the principal authors in the first Senate of the Judiciary Act of 1789, which provided the basic ground rules of the federal judiciary for the next century. Ellsworth was on the committee of detail, which assembled the first draft of the Constitution, as were Wilson and Rutledge, who chaired it. Ellsworth led the campaign for Connecticut's ratification of the Constitution, as did Paterson in New Jersey.

Samuel Chase, also appointed in 1796, represented a new criterion of eligibility. During his radical years he had opposed Maryland's ratification of the Constitution. In Congress during the Revolutionary War, however, he had consistently supported General Washington and, more important, by 1796 he had become deeply committed to the Federalist Party. Commitment to the new political parties

would from that point be joined with geographical balance to determine appointments. John Adams appointed only Federalists and his four successors appointed only Republicans.

Federalist Senates dutifully confirmed all but one of Washington's appointments. Rutledge was twice appointed but only once confirmed, thus confusing statistics on Court membership. Technically the senior associate justice, Rutledge had sat with circuit courts but never attended the Supreme Court when he resigned in 1791 to become South Carolina's chief justice. He later changed his mind and requested appointment as Jay's successor. Washington promptly granted an interim appointment and Rutledge acted as chief justice for the August 1795 term. By the time the Senate convened four months later, however, Rutledge's attacks on the Jay Treaty (1794) had made him politically unacceptable to Federalist senators, and he was rejected by a narrow vote.

Rutledge was not alone in deciding that the Supreme Court was less appealing than he had expected. Jay found the office too limiting and the time and energy devoted to circuit court duties too enervating, so—while still sitting on the Court—he became Washington's special envoy to Great Britain, where he negotiated Jay's Treaty (1794). He was elected governor of New York while abroad and resigned from the Court in 1795. In 1800 he was reappointed and confirmed as successor to Chief Justice Ellsworth (ironically his own successor), but he rejected the position, which he described as lacking "energy, weight and dignity." Ellsworth also took a year off to negotiate peace with France and resigned upon his return. Despite the brevity of his period as chief justice, Ellsworth achieved a major procedural change. Sometimes he persuaded his colleagues to replace *seriatim* opinions (justices individually reading their own opinions) with majority opinions that might be accompanied by dissenting and concurring opinions. Thomas Johnson served only two years before refusing ever again to ride circuit. Alfred Moore of North Carolina, who joined the Court in 1800, served only four uneventful years before making the same decision.

JEFFERSONIANS GAIN GROUND

Adams's two Virginia appointees were major exceptions from this pattern of short tenures. Bushrod Washington, favorite nephew of George Washington, served from 1799 to 1829. John Marshall was an even greater political coup, serving as chief justice from 1801 to 1835. Taking note of the young ages of Adams's successful appointments (Marshall at age

forty-five and Washington at age thirty-six), the three succeeding Virginia presidents appointed Republicans young enough to survive all but those two Federalists. William Johnson (South Carolina) served thirty years from 1804, Henry Brockholst Livingston (New York) sixteen years from 1806, Thomas Todd (Kentucky) nineteen years from 1807, Gabriel Duvall (Maryland) twenty-three years from 1811, Joseph Story (Massachusetts) thirty-four years from 1812, and Smith Thompson (New York) twenty years from 1824. The exception was John Quincy Adams's lone appointee, Robert Trimble, who served only two years before dying in 1828.

Political affiliation trumped geography when it came to appointments of chief justices. Washington appointed the South Carolinian Rutledge to become chief justice as successor to Jay of New York, Washington then gave consideration to the Virginian Patrick Henry as Rutledge's successor (after Rutledge was rejected by the Senate) before finally turning to Ellsworth. Next, Ellsworth was succeeded by Marshall, even though another Virginian Bushrod Washington was already on the Court.

LIMITS ON JUDICIAL GRANDEUR

Ironically, neither of the great early justices was first choice of his presidential appointer. John Adams turned to Secretary of State John Marshall only six weeks before the presidency and the appointment would be lost to Jefferson. Jay had been appointed but declined. A young Philadelphia attorney was next considered and Adams at least talked of considering the ailing Justice Cushing, who had been unwisely appointed and confirmed as chief justice in 1796. Fortunately, Cushing recognized even then that his physical and mental health would not allow him to accept. (Ninety-eight years would pass before the next associate would be appointed chief justice.) Unwilling to wait longer, Adams turned to Marshall, from whom he could receive a timely response because they were face-to-face in Washington, D.C. Even at that precarious moment, High Federalists in the Senate stalled in hopes of coercing the president to appoint William Paterson instead. Marshall would soon become so powerful a figure on the Court that there were only limited opportunities for others to shine.

The monumental exception was Joseph Story, whose appointment by President Madison was even more confused because finding a reliable Republican lawyer in New England was difficult. Former Attorney General Levi Lincoln of Massachusetts was appointed and confirmed but declined because of ill

health and near blindness, Alexander Wolcott of Connecticut was appointed but overwhelmingly rejected by the Senate, and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts was appointed and confirmed unanimously but preferred to remain ambassador to Russia. Only after trying Lincoln one more time did Madison conclude that Story was adequate despite Jefferson's strong objections. While lobbying for Lincoln, Jefferson described Story as "unquestionably a Tory and too young." Elsewhere he branded him a "pseudo-Republican." At age thirty-two Story became the youngest justice in the history of the Supreme Court. He was Marshall's perfect teammate, providing the legal scholarship to enhance Marshall's common-sense decisions. Most of the memorable decisions that were not delivered by Marshall were written by Story.

Samuel Chase might have achieved greatness if not for his rapidly declining health and his violent temper and partisanship. His first opinion (*Ware v. Hylton*, 1796), ruling that legislation violating a U.S. treaty was unconstitutional, is regarded as the greatest Supreme Court opinion prior to Marshall's *Marbury v. Madison* (1803). Chase's *Calder v. Bull* (1798) set permanent limits on the Constitution's ex post facto clause. Sadly, his offensively partisan charges to juries, especially in Sedition Act cases, while on circuit made him in 1804 the only member of the Supreme Court ever to be impeached. The following year, the Republican-dominated Senate fell well short of the two-thirds majority required for removal. Thenceforth, the Jeffersonians' impeachment threat was withdrawn and the judges, in turn, became less politically pugnacious.

Judicial experience was desirable for would-be justices, but not mandatory. Only Cushing, Chase and Blair had extensive judicial experience and Todd had spent considerable time on the bench. At the other extreme, Wilson, Paterson, Moore, Washington, Marshall, and Story had been in court only as lawyers. The others had spent limited time on various local benches. It should be added that Story and Wilson could be fairly described as the Supreme Court's prominent early scholars.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Judiciary Act of 1789; Marshall, John; Supreme Court.**

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SURVEYORS AND SURVEYING Despite their generally poor training, colonial surveyors played an important role in shaping the early American landscape. Their primary instrument was the Gunter's Chain, which helped minimize the errors made by surveyors with limited mathematical skills. The chain contained one hundred links and measured sixty-six feet. A square with ten-chain sides enclosed an acre, and eighty chains measured 5,280 feet, or one mile. Most early surveys were done by traverse, which meant that from a starting point the surveyor created the boundaries around a property using a mariner's compass to measure the angles and a Gunter's Chain to measure the sides. In the North, most colonial land surveys were roughly rectangular and contiguous, but in the South surveying by "metes and bounds" meant that claimants were free to draw boundaries around any piece of land unclaimed by another. Surveys were recorded in two ways. A written description of the tract was usually accompanied by a map or plat, while on the land itself boundaries were identified by markings on trees, buried stakes, or piles of stones.

In the mid-eighteenth century, surveyors were in high demand by large landowners whose lands were vulnerable to squatters. A recorded survey meant that landowners could persuade squatters to take on a lease or be forced out. In Virginia, Lord Fairfax employed as surveyors both George Washington and Peter Jefferson, the father of the future president. The hardships of surveying and the value of the service meant that surveyors commanded salaries on a par with lawyers. For George Washington and many others, however, surveying not only provided large fees but also the opportunity to identify desirable tracts for their own land speculations.

In 1763 the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania hired the English astronomers Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon to conduct a survey of

the long-disputed boundary separating their colonies. Assisted by the colonial astronomer David Rittenhouse, the group used custom-built equipment and astronomical surveying techniques to ensure the accuracy of the 244-mile border of the present states of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. This boundary became known in the nineteenth century as the Mason-Dixon Line, the division between slave and free states.

In the decade prior to the American Revolution, speculators formed several companies for the purpose of acquiring lands in the trans-Appalachian West. Despite the Proclamation Line of 1763 prohibiting settlement in this region, George Washington and Benjamin Franklin were two of the many prominent colonial figures involved in these ultimately futile attempts to make large-scale land acquisitions. Men such as Daniel Boone pushed far into the wilderness in the employ of private speculators and land companies who paid them to find and survey choice tracts for future purchase.

Following the American Revolution, a surge in western migration caused the Continental Congress to pass the Land Ordinance of 1785. In an attempt to prevent widespread squatting, this law called for the western territories recently ceded by the states to be surveyed and sold by public auction. The land was to be divided into townships of six miles square, each subdivided into thirty-six sections. North-south boundaries were called township lines and east-west ones range lines. The starting point for the survey was designated as the place where the Ohio River crossed the western border of Pennsylvania. Thomas Hutchins was given a three-year commission by Congress to serve as the first geographer of the United States. He received a salary of six dollars per day to supervise a team of surveyors to be drawn from each of the states. They were to survey the first seven ranges north and west of the Ohio River, and on 22 September 1785 Hutchins began surveying the first range line. With teams of axmen clearing the path ahead, the rear chainman stood by the starting stake holding one end of the chain while the front man carried the chain toward a mark sighted using compass bearings, unrolling it as he went. At the end of sixty-six feet, the spot was marked, the rear chainman came up, and the process was repeated. In this manner the surveying teams inched their way across the landscape.

Hutchins's efforts were hampered by conflicts of interest involving his surveyors, several of whom

were agents for land companies seeking to purchase large tracts for resale to individual settlers. Indian unrest also helped delay the survey, and the work itself was not only late, but poorly done. Hutchins died in 1789, but the general speed and accuracy of survey work did not improve until the appointment of Jared Mansfield as surveyor general in 1803.

Mansfield was a Yale-educated mathematician who began immediately to regularize the survey system. Beginning one mile west of Indiana's border with Ohio, Mansfield designated the First Principal Meridian. This was a carefully surveyed north-south township line from which east-west range lines were run at precise right angles. He then personally surveyed the Second Principal Meridian. From that point the landscape began to take on the checkerboard pattern that is still recognizable from the air. Mansfield's successor, Edward Tiffin, introduced the practice of correcting for the convergence of longitude lines (as they approach the poles) by decreeing that after every four or five ranges, new meridians be marked off at precisely six-mile intervals.

In 1816 Ferdinand Hassler, a professor of mathematics at West Point, was appointed the first superintendent of the U.S. Coast Survey and he began the massive job of surveying the nation's coasts. Within two years, however, the survey was suspended by Congress, which feared that Hassler's methods were too slow and expensive. Work on the survey resumed in 1833 after Hassler's reappointment by Congress. He continued to work on the coast survey until his death in 1843.

See also **Land Policies; Land Speculation.**

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TAMMANY HALL See **Society of St. Tammany.**

TARIFF POLITICS A tariff, or schedule of custom duties on goods, generally serves one of three purposes: raising government revenue, protecting domestic production, or attempting to persuade foreign countries to change specific policies. Tariff policy in the early Republic was a particularly divisive issue, highlighting the nation's diversity of philosophies and interests and, in some cases, sparking constitutional debates.

THE FIRST TARIFF

Under the Articles of Confederation, states set tariff levels, often leading to conflicting policies and leaving the general government dependent on the states for revenue. To end this, the drafters of the Constitution of 1787 required uniform duties and in Article I, section 8 gave Congress the sole power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts, and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States." To ensure open access to overseas markets, they also expressly forbade

Congress from passing export duties. This seemingly simple framework, however, left considerable room for disagreement over the means and ends of tariff legislation.

On 8 April 1789, only days after the first Congress reached quorum, James Madison introduced the first piece of tariff legislation, a revenue proposal designed to ensure that the Treasury benefited from spring imports. Almost immediately, several members of Congress questioned whether duties should not also protect American manufacturers. Representatives from Pennsylvania, a state with a history of protective state duties, sought higher levels. Southern states, committed to exporting staple crops, desired little or no protection for manufacturers. After serious debate, a compromise measure passed both houses. It set ad valorem rates of from 7.5 to 10 percent on specific luxury and manufactured goods and 5 percent duties on the rest.

HAMILTON'S REPORT ON MANUFACTURES

The following year Congress asked Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to assess the best way to promote national manufacturing. His famous *Report on Manufactures* was submitted to Congress on 5 December 1791. This document laid the groundwork for an activist government by supporting high tariffs and promoting a diversified economy. The Re-

port suggested the usefulness of government aid for manufacturing through duties, patents, and especially direct subsidies or bounties. Yet Hamilton's commitment to an active international commerce and the revenue it brought (which helped fund the national debt) led him to advocate only modest tariff increases. He proposed raising rates on some twenty products by from 5 to 10 percent, eliminating or reducing tariffs on others deemed necessary for manufacturing, and temporarily increasing the base ad valorem rate from 5 to 7.5 percent. Subsequent opposition to Hamilton's plan, much of which Congress passed over southern objections in early 1792, targeted not specific rates but the *Report's* broad construction of the "general welfare" clause in offering bounties to specific industries. While Hamilton favored the encouragement of manufacturing, his policies do not suggest he favored high tariffs to protect them. As with most of his contemporaries, Hamilton envisioned a national economy founded primarily on commercial agricultural production for Atlantic markets. By 1797 the base tariff had been incrementally raised to 12.5 percent as part of the efforts to further reduce the national debt.

WAR, PEACE, AND PANIC

Military and commercial warfare during the Jefferson and Madison administrations slowly began to change some groups' perspectives on the appropriate economy for the country. Restricted trade led many Republicans to praise a more diversified national economy and the realities of war drove tariffs to new heights. In 1804, support of a small navy to protect ships against Barbary pirates raised the ad valorem schedule another 2.5 percent. Jefferson's embargo and the War of 1812 against Britain created conditions favorable for industrial growth, leading many Republican artisans and manufacturers to support protection. When war with Britain began, tariff rates were doubled in July 1812.

The return of peace in 1815 raised concern that British goods would destroy nascent American industries. Over the objection of most (but not all) southern Republicans and many Federalists, National Republicans in Congress retained protected levels to support iron and textile producers. These efforts proved only marginally successful, and when the Panic of 1819 threatened to ruin manufacturers, Philadelphia publicist Mathew Carey (1760–1839) and U.S. representative Henry Baldwin (1780–1844) from Pittsburgh called for further increases of between 5 and 10 percent. Though successful in the House, the measure failed in the Senate by one vote,

as its supporters were unable to overcome the South's almost unanimous opposition (1 to 15 against).

By 1824, however, despite continued resistance in New England and the South, heavy majorities from the mid-Atlantic region and the West narrowly passed a tariff raising average rates from 27.4 to 34.5 percent. The legislation's success rested on support for an expanding home market for American goods and a belief that self-sufficiency, rather than a favorable balance of trade, determined national wealth. Besides manufacturers, western grain producers—seeking federally funded internal improvements and restricted in lucrative markets by the British Corn Laws—also supported higher tariffs, a major plank of Henry Clay's emerging American System. Southern tobacco, rice, and cotton producers, however, sent over two-thirds of their crops to foreign markets. Joining some northern merchants in opposition, they contended that the measure forced them to pay more as consumers and restricted trade with European nations, which might look elsewhere for their supplies. According to these free traders, protectionists sought a monopoly of southern trade and a redistribution of southern wealth to the North.

THE TARIFF OF ABOMINATIONS

Efforts on behalf of and against the tariff reemerged in 1827, when protectionists sought to raise the tariff on woolen textiles to nearly 50 percent. The bill passed the House by 106 to 95 but failed in the Senate when Vice President John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) of South Carolina cast the tie-breaking vote against. Both angered and emboldened, manufacturers organized a large convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to gather their strength. Fearing the inevitability of a higher tariff and the increased consolidation of wealth and power that might result, South Carolinians Thomas Cooper (1759–1839) and Robert Turnbull (1775–1833) argued it was time for the South to "calculate the value of union" and suggested radical constitutional remedies such as state nullification of the tariff or even secession. Other former nationalists, including George McDuffie (1788–1851) and Calhoun, hoped that the tariff could be rolled back by political means.

When tariff legislation was offered in 1828, southern Congressmen sought to make the bill objectionable to key New England senators by helping to pass extremely high tariffs on raw materials for manufacturing. This strategy of out-protecting the protectionists backfired, however, when former free

trade allies such as Massachusetts senator Daniel Webster (1782–1852) “swallowed the bitter pill,” accepting the higher tariff on raw materials in exchange for protective levels for their manufactured goods. The resulting tariff was as high as 50 percent on many goods. According to most southerners, this “tariff of abominations” confirmed the region’s minority status and violated at least the “spirit of the Constitution.” Subsequent efforts at legislative compromise in 1832 defused the issue for many but failed to appease the most avid southern free traders. Some called for a constitutional convention, others for nullification, a strategy that a number of South Carolinians believed might be a useful tool in an anticipated struggle to protect slavery. Only after a convention of South Carolinians nullified the tariff and President Andrew Jackson threatened to force compliance with tariff laws did legislators reach a compromise that resolved the impasse by incrementally reducing the tariff to revenue-only levels.

Until the 1980s, modernization theory and developmental economics led historians to see free trade opposition to protective tariffs as a reaction against modernity. A more positive understanding of free trade, however, has led many economists to suggest that, at least until the 1850s, antebellum tariffs, in addition to harming southern interests, were probably too high to optimize national economic production. Regardless of its effects, the debates over the tariff left lasting scars in both the North and the South and continued to remain an important issue up to and through the Civil War.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Hamilton, Alexander; Jackson, Andrew; South Carolina.**

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1903. Reprint, 2 vols., New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.

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TAVERNS In the beginning, there was a tavern—literally. In what became the first permanent British outpost on the mainland of North America, Jamestown, the Virginia Company directed workmen to build a tavern before they constructed a church. By the colonial and early national periods, taverns were common, especially in cities and towns, along roads and paths, at the intersections of major thoroughfares, and at ferries. Called “ordinaries” in some places, taverns provided food and drink, lodging, stabling, and news, much as similar institutions had in the Old World.

In these public houses local courts met, commercial and social exchanges occurred, mail arrived, and a variety of contests played out in their rooms and on their grounds. Colonial legislatures often mandated their existence and tried to regulate what went on inside them, in part by requiring keepers to obtain licenses. The keeper was the “master,” and after he or she paid a fee and offered a “surety,” a bond backed up by others who knew and vouched for the individual, the keeper was responsible for providing particular services and for keeping order. Legislation and local bylaws specified the prices tavern keepers could charge for everything from drink to stabling and the behaviors keepers were not to permit: disorderliness, excessive drinking, gambling, and, at times, loitering by seamen and laborers, and, in some places, visits from African slaves and native Americans.

Also from the beginning, agents of official culture tied tavern regulation—or at least, their attempts at regulation—to economy and social order. They recognized that alcoholic beverages, which had some health benefits, could stimulate fights or worse, and that the frequent games of chance engaged in and feats of prowess displayed at taverns could lead not only to reputations made but also to the ruin of rank and resources. The fears of early American authorities were not unfounded; dire consequences could and did result.

Magistrates rarely achieved the level of control over taverns they sought, however, and contesting over and in taverns among customers, keepers, and authorities became more evident from at least the late seventeenth century onward, especially in urbanizing areas. In major cities, which had larger and



Fraunces Tavern. George Washington said farewell to his officers in December 1783 at this tavern in lower Manhattan. The building, which was rebuilt several times in the 1800s due to fires, was restored by the state of New York in 1907. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

more diverse populations, laborers who expected drink as a part of pay, a persisting tradition, railed against authority from tavern to street, and in both places they allied occasionally with aspiring, populist-leaning factional leaders. In New York City in 1741, for example, white and black patrons of John Hughson's harbor tavern launched the "New York Conspiracy" against the local mercantile and political elite in a quest for money and freedom, not just for slaves but also for the much larger population of poor whites. Three decades later, Samuel Adams and John Hancock discussed their ideas for a far more famous conspiracy, the Boston Tea Party, in Boston's Green Dragon tavern.

Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, taverns remained sites from which various

collections of people launched campaigns against authority. The War of Independence, the Whiskey Rebellion, and numerous local, economic-policy resistance efforts were all nourished on the public stage, as the historian David Conroy has termed it, that was the early American tavern. The alliances made there were not, however, all of the same kind. Allegiances, and the drinking that cemented them, varied from local collections of laborers, to white workingmen and black slaves, to wage laborers and middle-rank professionals.

The class- and race-based alliances that figured so prominently in the political actions against authority in the eighteenth century weakened or, in some places, dissolved during the early Republic, and again the tavern was a critical public stage. Histori-

ans have made much of the specialization that diminished the centrality of taverns—the ordinariness of the “ordinary”—especially after the Revolution and especially in urban areas. British-inspired coffeehouses spread; boardinghouses offered alternative sleeping and eating facilities; hotels attracted well-to-do travelers, as well as local families of substance; grogshops and other “mean” drinking facilities began to proliferate; and a broad range of eating establishments, including oyster houses often run by African Americans who were unable to obtain tavern licenses in a city such as Baltimore, emerged. Underlying this specialization were the same processes that altered earlier alliances: a rapidly expanding and diversifying population, the transition to capitalism (which included expanding trade in and an ever-widening variety of food and alcoholic beverages), and changes in social relations.

The experiences of urban women of European descent figured in and help to illustrate many of the changes that affected late colonial and early national taverns. Until the 1780s women had a substantial presence in taverns, especially as keepers and occasionally as customers. Across the colonies statutes had actually encouraged widows and single women to acquire licenses. Running a tavern, authorities believed, enabled women to sustain themselves and avoid the poverty that rulers had long feared. Through the 1820s, however, fewer women acquired licenses, and apparently fewer still frequented taverns unattended by male escorts. Some women may have chosen to get a boardinghouse license rather than one for a tavern. Others, however, were unable to afford tavern licenses and to compete with the newly arriving male immigrants, who worked as keepers for one of the local landlords who now owned and rented out multiple properties on which taverns sat.

Some poor women also used the only resource they “owned,” their bodies, in specialized occupations in taverns, including “physical culture” exhibitions, displays that combined body poses and acrobatics, and prostitution in taverns. Evidence from the largest cities—New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and New Orleans—points to the increasing presence of prostitutes and the legal construction of prostitution in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Moreover, prostitutes did not ply their trade only or even primarily in the taverns; rather, they operated in another emergent facility, the bawdy house, some of which women ran.

Not all taverns underwent the kinds of changes evident in late colonial and early national cities, of

course. Rural taverns of colonial and early national America have not received the attention that urban ones have, but some patterns seem likely. Travelers who made their way to the still vast rural areas—both of the initial British, Dutch, and Spanish colonies on the East Coast and of territories-become-states west of the Appalachians—were likely to find public houses along roads, at ferries, or even in river-bank caves. Their keepers were still likely to be militia colonials, merchants with substantial local influence, or widows who had inherited the place from their husbands. The tavern trade—the exchange of money or services for drink, food, lodging, and stabling—was significant in the local economy, and the tavern fare—refreshments, games and exhibitions, meetings, weddings, and more—was vital within the life of the community. Tavern signs made visible both the place and its name, so whether people were literate did not matter. Men and women were patrons, and everyone in the locale knew who was and was not welcome inside. Political discussions reverberated inside, and alliances formed. Cider made from local apple orchards, along with rum, beer, and whiskey, sold well. Until the temperance movement organized, early national rural taverns resembled the ordinary, the public house that was so common a thousand or even a hundred miles to the east and that had long ago ceased to exist.

See also **Alcoholic Beverages and Production.**

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TAXATION, PUBLIC FINANCE, AND PUBLIC DEBT Crises in taxation and public finance often cause major political transformations. The U.S. Constitution is one such case. Its adoption and the ensuing policies pursued by the Federalist administration under George Washington (1789–1797) in turn brought dramatic and controversial changes in the American fiscal and financial regime. These reforms became a permanent fixture of the political economy of the early Republic. Despite vociferous criticism of Federalist policy while in opposition, the Democratic Republicans made only minor changes to the fiscal and financial system after they came to power. By far the most important changes in taxation, public finance, and public debt management between the founding and the Age of Jackson took place within a few years of the adoption of the Constitution.

TAXATION AND EXPENDITURES

When the Constitutional Convention convened in May 1787, the nation's public finances were in a critical state. Under the Articles of Confederation (drafted in 1777, ratified in 1781), Congress had no power to tax but had to requisition funds from the state governments to meet expenses, above all the payments on the public debt created by the War for Independence. After the war, most of the states adopted ambitious tax programs to raise money for these requisitions and for servicing their own debts. While these taxes gave rise to hardships and protests, among them Shays's Rebellion in 1786–1787, they did not generate much money for Congress. Instead, popular protests made the state governments put an end to their tax programs, and by early 1787 money had virtually stopped flowing into the federal treasury. Congress could not pay its handful of civil officers or its few troops. Nor could it honor the claims of its creditors and therefore had difficulties raising new loans. This was a matter of great consequence: like modern wars, eighteenth-century wars cost enormous amounts of money. And like modern wars, they were paid for with borrowed money. A government unable to borrow money was therefore in a dangerously exposed situation in the event of a crisis that might lead to war.

Article I, section 8 of the Constitution gave Congress the power to "lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States." The only constitutional restrictions on federal fiscal power were that duties had to be uniform throughout the Republic; that any direct tax

had to be proportionate to the census; and that no duties on exports could be imposed. Under the leadership of Alexander Hamilton, who served as secretary of the Treasury from 1789 to 1795, the Federalists used Congress's new power to completely restructure the American fiscal system.

Eighteenth-century American governments implemented three basic types of taxes: direct taxes on persons and property; excises on retail sale and production; and customs duties. In most of the states the most important taxes in the 1780s were on persons and property. Excises, particularly on spirits, were used in many of the states, but they raised only a minor part of total revenue. Customs duties were important in some states, particularly New York. The Federalists were well aware that the direct taxes which the states had levied had been both unproductive and unpopular. They also knew that there were strong objections to excise duties because they required a high level of supervision and control. Finally, they knew that customs duties were regarded as a light form of taxation and that there was general support for granting Congress an independent income in the form of the impost. This led them to create a fiscal regime that relied almost exclusively on customs duties to raise federal government revenue.

Apart from the Quasi War (1798–1800) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815), customs duties accounted for more than 90 percent of total federal tax revenue between 1789 to 1829. For long periods (1804–1813, 1822–1862) it was the only federal tax levied. It was a very productive tax: in 1792 alone, the receipts from customs duties, \$3.4 million, superseded the total amount paid by the states on Congress's requisitions between 1781 and 1787. As American trade grew during the Wars of the French Revolution (1793–1801) and the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), the income from customs duties grew as well. In constant prices, the annual income had doubled by 1800 and grown fourfold by 1807. The following fifteen years were volatile, but by the end of the 1820s customs duties had reached a level twice that of 1807, or roughly \$23 million.

Internal taxation played only a minor part in the Federalists' fiscal system and created far more conflict than revenue. Congress introduced an excise duty on alcohol in 1791, and later the Washington administration levied taxes on snuff, sugar, carriages, and auction sales, while the administration of John Adams (1797–1801) taxed slaves, houses, and land to finance the Quasi War. President Thomas Jefferson (1801–1809) intensely disliked federal internal taxes and managed to eliminate them by his sec-



Seizing the Tax Collector. This eighteenth century engraving by French artist François Godefroy depicts an incident in 1774 in which angry Boston residents tarred and feathered tax collector John Malcolm. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

ond term. Nevertheless, a program of internal taxation far more ambitious than anything tried by the Federalists was launched by Republican president James Madison (1809–1817) to finance the War of 1812. Federal internal taxes are best known for provoking the Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 and Fries's Rebellion in 1799, but although these revolts certainly demonstrated the narrow confines of legitimate federal taxation in the early Republic—and how perilous it was to challenge them—they were of only limited significance in the general development of the American fiscal system.

In the states, Congress's requisitions and the charges on the public debt had been by far the greatest items of expenditure before the adoption of the Constitution. When the federal government assumed responsibility for the debt, these expenditures disappeared from the state budgets. As a result, direct state taxes were reduced by at least 75 percent. Because these were the taxes that had brought hardship in the 1780s, the Federalist reform in effect provided relief

for the taxpayers. It also made conflicts over fiscal policy disappear from the agenda of state politics.

As state taxes fell and income from the federal impost grew, the federal government came to raise far more money than the states in both absolute and per capita terms. However, since the impost was collected directly from merchants, most ordinary taxpayers made no direct contribution to the federal government. At the same time, state taxes on persons and property continued to be low and state governments tried to raise revenue from other sources, such as taxes and fees on banks and income from investments. As a result, the American people were very lightly taxed in the four decades following the adoption of the Constitution.

On the expenditure side, payments on the public debt and appropriations for the military dominated the federal budget. There was little difference between Federalists and Republicans in this respect. Between 1789 and 1815, debt payments and support

Per Capita Taxation, 5 Year Average, Current and 1840 Prices (dollars)

Year	US	MA	NY	VA	CT	SC	OH
1790	0.50/0.46	0.21/0.20	0.00/0.00	1.05/1.00	—	—	—
1795	1.33/0.96	0.35/0.26	0.00/0.00	0.44/0.33	—	—	—
1800	1.86/1.34	0.37/0.26	0.09/0.06	0.41/0.29	0.20/0.14	0.46/0.33	—
1805	2.08/1.53	0.36/0.27	0.03/0.02	0.31/0.23	0.18/0.13	0.34/0.25	—
1810	1.51/1.03	0.35/0.24	0.02/0.02	0.31/0.21	0.18/0.12	0.25/0.17	0.17/0.11
1815	2.41/1.57	0.33/0.20	0.26/0.18	0.45/0.29	0.41/0.26	0.69/0.44	0.37/0.24
1820	1.76/1.38	0.26/0.20	0.26/0.20	0.40/0.32	0.18/0.14	0.52/0.41	0.18/0.15
1825	1.78/1.70	0.07/0.06	0.15/0.14	0.39/0.37	0.13/0.13	0.54/0.51	0.15/0.14

of the army and navy accounted for almost 90 percent of total expenses. Foreign relations and the Indian Department accounted for roughly 4 percent of total expenses and the civil list and “miscellaneous” civil expenses for the remainder. In the final category, the central government apparatus accounted for more than half the costs. The only significant other “civilian” expenses were payments for lighthouses and buoys and pensions for invalids. By the late 1820s, however, the federal government had begun to make considerable outlays on internal improvements. The administration of John Quincy Adams (1825–1829) spent \$2.1 million, more than 3 percent of total expenditures, on roads and canals.

In the states, the major expenditure items in the budgets from the 1790s and onward were the costs of executive, legislative, and judicial departments of government. Some states also spent considerable sums on education. In the late 1820s state governments, too, had begun to spend on internal improvements. However, the real boom in state-financed internal improvements began in earnest only in the 1830s.

PUBLIC DEBT

The War for Independence was fought on credit and both the states and the federal government were heavily in debt when the war ended. In 1790 the collective state debt was estimated at \$26 million, while the federal debt stood at \$52 million. In the years immediately after the war, public creditors received different treatment in different states. Congress, however, was unable to honor the claims of both domestic and foreign federal creditors, with the sole exception of the investors in its Dutch loans. Congress defaulted on the debt owed to France and paid interest on its domestic debt in so-called indents or certificates of interest. Both federal securities and indents fell sharply in value in the 1780s. Since Congress paid neither principal nor interest in specie, the

value of securities was determined by the likelihood that either the states or Congress would redeem them, or at least begin to pay interest in specie, at some future date. The securities had been issued as payment for services rendered and goods received during the war and had been given to a great number of soldiers and military suppliers. Most of these original holders did not possess the means to wait for a possible future redemption, but sold their securities to the highest bidder at prices far below face value. Over time, the debt was concentrated in fewer hands. According to one estimate, some fifteen thousand to twenty thousand people held securities in 1790.

The funding and assumption plans, which Hamilton presented to Congress in 1790, rapidly restored the value of securities. In a first move, the federal debt was “funded” on the British model. Old securities were exchanged for a new emission on which the government promised to pay interest in specie from the proceeds of earmarked taxes. While the government did not pledge to redeem the principal, securities could be sold on the market when a creditor needed specie. In a second move, the federal government assumed \$18 million of state debt. In this way, the public debt was nationalized and the majority of the states became debt free. With a few exceptions, state borrowing did not become a factor in public finance again before the 1830s. In a final move, Congress created the Bank of the United States, which formed an integral part of the Federalists’ system of public finance.

The Federalist program restored public credit, and from this time on the public debt was regarded as a near risk-free investment by Americans and foreigners alike. Yet the program was not universally endorsed. The opposition argued that securities appreciation would benefit the final and not the original holders and demanded that the government discriminate between final and original holders so as to benefit both equitably. Congress soundly defeated this

**Federal Revenue, Expenditure, and Indebtedness,
Current and 1840 Prices**

(millions of dollars)

Year	Total Revenue	Customs	Total Expenditure	Public Debt
1790	2.0/1.9	2.0/1.8	2.3/2.2	78.8/72.8
1795	6.7/4.6	5.8/4.2	6.2/4.5	80.8/59.5
1800	10.8/7.5	9.2/6.6	9.1/6.5	80.4/57.5
1805	13.7/10.1	13.0/9.6	9.0/6.7	75.8/56.0
1810	11.7/8.2	10.9/7.4	11.3/7.7	51.9/35.3
1815	24.4/15.1	17.8/11.7	30.3/18.5	107.1/66.9
1820	19.8/16.2	16.6/13.1	18.1/14.2	92.2/73.0
1825	22.0/21.2	20.0/19.1	16.8/16.1	79.3/75.5

proposal because it would have jeopardized the restoration of public credit and thereby seriously restricted the ability of the federal government to raise new loans. The Republicans, however, continued to see the funding plan as a way to line the pockets of speculators with tax dollars, a view that modern historians largely share. The assumption of state debts also met with opposition. Assumption was proposed when Congress was still investigating the relative contribution of the states to the common war effort. Some members of Congress feared that assumption would lead to a premature settlement that would be disadvantageous to their states. In the end, it required the famous deal over the location of the new capital to enable the measure to gain Congressional approval. When the final settlement of accounts was reported in 1793, however, the issue died down. The chartering of the Bank of the United States was also controversial. Republicans deemed it unconstitutional and Congress refused to re-charter the bank when its twenty-year charter expired in 1811. Congress, with the support of President Madison and other leading Republicans, chartered the second Bank of the United States in 1816, but it suffered the same fate as its predecessor when Andrew Jackson used his presidential veto to prevent its re-charter in 1832.

The federal government made use of its ability to borrow money almost from its inception. New securities were issued to consolidate the foreign debt and to finance the naval and army buildup during the Quasi-War. Short-term loans from the Bank of the United States covered budget deficits and financed the expedition to quell the Whiskey Rebellion. However, despite their criticism of Federalist public finance, it was the Republicans who made the most use of loans. Jefferson purchased Louisiana in 1803 by issuing \$11.25 million in securities that were eagerly picked up by British and Dutch investors on the

Amsterdam market. Madison borrowed \$82 million, mostly from domestic creditors, to prosecute the War of 1812. But if the Republicans borrowed more than the Federalists, they also redeemed the debt more rapidly. Because they saw the public debt as an evil, they used a long series of budget surpluses to reduce it. By 1829 the debt was down to \$48.6 million. Five years later it was entirely paid off.

CONSEQUENCES

The fiscal and financial reforms carried out by the Federalists in the early 1790s had several important long-term consequences. First, while a fiscal system totally dependent on income from customs duties may have been popular with taxpayers, it was also very vulnerable to trade disruptions. English and French attacks on American trade during the Wars of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars had direct repercussions for government income and public credit. Thus, if the new fiscal regime gave the federal government a certain independence from its taxpaying citizens, it made the nation vulnerable to the actions of European states. The attempts to deal with these powers dominated much of American politics up to 1815, from Jay's Treaty (1794) and the Quasi-War to Jefferson's Embargo (1807) and Madison's war with England.

Another important consequence of the Federalists' reforms was that the federal government became far stronger than it had been in the 1780s. In 1787 the American Republic was an impotent and bankrupt union of thirteen former colonies strung out along the Atlantic seaboard. Five decades later, it had conquered most of the North American continent. By the end of the nineteenth century, the American Empire extended to Asia. Sound public credit, backed by a regular revenue, was an important prerequisite for this development, whether it was used to raise money for territorial purchases or wars of conquest. In the struggle over North America, it is no coincidence that the two powers that emerged victorious—the United States and Great Britain—had the soundest public finances, while those that had to give way—France, Spain, and especially Mexico—all had considerable fiscal and financial difficulties.

The most important consequence of the reforms of the early 1790s was the creation of a financial system. In both the Netherlands and England, government borrowing had given rise to an active securities market that also allowed private enterprises to raise capital from investors. In the United States the same development occurred. The funding and assumption

of the public debt gave rise to a rapid expansion of the securities market and the banking sector, which mobilized domestic and attracted foreign capital and made it available to entrepreneurs. Virtually every major economic activity in the early national period was financed by loans and bonds. In particular the large-scale investments in canals, turnpikes, bridges, and railways, which were so important in extending market expansion throughout the nation, would not have been possible without banks and a well-developed securities market. It may well be the case that the financial system created by the Constitution and the Federalists' policies was the primary cause of the spectacular growth of the American economy that had made these erstwhile colonies outgrow their former mother country by the time of the Civil War.

See also **Bank of the United States; Hamilton, Alexander.**

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Max M. Edling

TEA ACT Perhaps the greatest irony surrounding the Tea Act is that America was only a secondary consideration in the minds of most of its parliamentary sponsors. Instead, Parliament focused upon the distress of the East India Company, which was important for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was its leading role in the British penetration of India. Most particularly, the East India Company experienced difficulty in selling its tea, millions of pounds of which lay rotting in the company warehouses, due primarily to the continuing boycott of British tea by the American colonies (a market that consumed millions of pounds of tea annually) as a reaction to the continuation of the Townshend tea tax. Though some British tea was sold in the colonies and Americans seemed disposed to buy more if the price was right, the taxes caused British tea to be undersold by the Dutch variety that was widely smuggled into the colonies. In searching for means to assist the company, parliamentary leaders rejected repeal of the tea tax, fearing that Americans would consider this an admission that they lacked the right to tax the colonies. Instead, they decided to exempt the East India Company from taxes charged upon tea landed in England, as was required of all tea, before reshipment to the colonies. This seemed a perfect answer, beneficial to all: the price of East Indian tea would be reduced, enabling the company to compete favorably with the smugglers, while the principle of parliamentary taxation would be upheld. For their part, Americans would enjoy cheaper tea prices. Thus, the Tea Act passed in Parliament without a division, and practically without comment, on 10 May 1773.

Americans, however, viewed the Tea Act in an unexpected light. Merchants were upset by the clause that allowed the company to select the tea consignees, leaving the valuable trade to be monopolized by a fortunate few. Even worse, these consignees were often unpopular, politically connected merchants, such as the sons of Governor Thomas Hutchinson in Boston. Vocal opposition came also from the tea smugglers who recognized immediately the disastrous effects that the Tea Act might have upon their profits. Finally, the Tea Act met determined opposition from radical agitators like Samuel Adams, who with a jaundiced attitude towards any parliamentary legislation, insisted that the real purpose of the Act was to lure unsuspecting or unpatriotic Americans into paying the Townshend tea tax. Once Americans purchased the dutied tea, the constitutional principle would be surrendered, and new taxes would be placed upon a wide variety of goods.

The combination of the radical political element with the leading seaport merchants produced a dynamic opposition to the Tea Act, one that had not been seen since the days of the Stamp Act.

As tea ships approached four ports (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town), radicals and merchants organized to prevent the landing of the cargo. In Boston, local conditions practically guaranteed trouble. Here the radicals, still smarting over suspicions that Boston merchants had evaded the earlier nonimportation association, were determined to prove their patriotic credentials through an unyielding stance. Governor Hutchinson, on the other hand, humiliated by the recent publication of selectively edited versions of his correspondence that undermined the governor by effectively portraying him as a determined advocate of repressive policies, saw an opportunity to achieve a rare victory over his radical tormenters. Hutchinson's victory seemed likely, since once the tea ships entered the harbor, as they did in late November, they could not legally depart until all duties were paid. If this did not occur within twenty-one days, the cargo would be landed and confiscated. With naval vessels patrolling the harbor and himself the only official authorized to release the ships, Hutchinson considered himself master of the situation: the tea would be landed. But Hutchinson had underestimated the determination of his opponents. When threats, pleas, and negotiations failed, the radicals boldly destroyed the entire cargo of 342 chests of tea worth approximately ten thousand pounds on the evening of 16 December 1773.

Events transpired more peacefully at New York and Philadelphia, largely because the respective governors wisely decided against pressing matters and allowed the ships to depart without payment of duties. Charles Town was the only port to land the tea, due to the quick thinking of Lieutenant Governor William Bull, who defused a gathering crisis by ordering the tea landed early on the morning of 22 December 1773 and stored securely in the basement of the Exchange building.

News of the proceedings in the colonies raised an outcry of anti-American resentment in England. Though offended by the reaction of America at large, King George III, Lord North, and Parliament were in agreement that Boston in particular had assumed a revolutionary position and merited a clear demonstration of British authority. Thus, General Thomas Gage, the commander in chief of the British army in America, was dispatched to replace Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and the Coercive Acts were passed between March and May 1774. Such an

overreaction served to rally American support behind Boston. Though many thought that Boston had acted rashly in destroying the tea, most Americans considered the Coercive Acts to be excessive and, indeed, "intolerable," as they were labeled. Thus, a new crisis was begun, one which would result in the Continental Congress and, within a year, the fighting at Lexington and Concord.

See also **Boston Tea Party; Intolerable Acts; Townshend Act.**

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Daniel McDonough

TECHNOLOGY The first generations of colonists brought their traditional tools with them from their homelands. Faced with a new environment, they soon supplemented their well-known practices with the skills and knowledge of Native Americans and enslaved Africans imported to North America. Although the word "technology" had been introduced in the seventeenth century, colonists spoke of the "mechanick arts," "tools of husbandry," "useful arts and sciences," and "ingenious improvements," all reflecting the combination of practical knowledge and artifacts.

Early American technology involved simple hand tools, made largely of wood, and consumer goods produced, like the tools themselves, one at a time by skilled artisans. Improvements came haphazardly, indicated directly by the experience of tool users, and tended to have only local, fleeting impact. However, colonists recognized the limits of their knowledge, the constraints of their tools, and the potential benefits of improvements. Thus they learned how to adopt, adapt, and invent technologies.

Between 1690 and 1780 Americans revolutionized their technological and material world as well as their political world. Indeed, technology would come to have a special role in the development of an American identity and political ideology. Technology's political significance was every bit as important as its role in the new nation's economic system and the everyday lives of its citizens.

INNOVATIONS

Despite innovations in agricultural technology, such as Thomas Jefferson's plow design and the evolution of the cradle scythe for wheat harvesting, the major influences on agricultural practice came from mechanical innovations in processing. Hand tools were augmented by complex machines and inanimate power sources. Eli Whitney's 1793 cotton gin increased the efficiency of preparing cotton fibers for spinning and weaving, permitted the use of short-staple cotton, which was better suited to the inland climate and soil conditions, and encouraged the western spread of a cotton monoculture tended by slaves. The automatic flour mill invented by Oliver Evans in 1795 not only increased the efficiency and quality of milling but demonstrated the principles of product flow, mechanical systems, and automation through mechanical contrivances.

Woodworking, textile, and papermaking machinery required higher speeds, greater precision, and improved durability of machine components. To meet this need, iron was substituted for wood. However, because those skilled in these fields recognized that machinery might be improved or replaced before it wore out, wood, the less expensive material, often sufficed. Still, at the time of the Revolution, America was the world's third-largest producer of iron and also produced steel needed for edged tools and arms. After the Revolution both trades were decimated by the importation of cheap British iron. The drive to succeed inspired an extensive and increasingly sophisticated machine-tool industry. These "machines to make machines" enabled the necessary and continuous changes in technology.

The adoption of steam power for manufacturing was slowed by the abundance of the more familiar, less expensive waterpower available to Americans. But the very existence of America's extensive river system made the application of steam power to transportation even more attractive. John Fitch's pioneering work in 1787 and the prominent success of Robert Fulton's *North River Steamboat of Clermont*—better known as the *Clermont*—in 1807 began a rapid expansion of steam-powered water commerce, communication, and travel. By 1830 America had steam locomotives traveling some thirty miles of track and, within the decade, more than two thousand miles.

The need for easily repairable rifles led government gun makers to seek interchangeable parts, a concept that Jefferson had encountered in France and the British had come close to developing in the production of naval block-making machinery. Eli Whitney promised to produce guns with interchangeable

parts in 1798 but failed to deliver. Between 1812 and 1830 innovators such as Roswell Lee, John Hall, and Simeon North in Springfield, Massachusetts, and later Harpers Ferry, Virginia, developed the system by employing uniform gauges, special-purpose machine tools, and a division of labor that focused each man on a specific tool or task. They also learned that these new techniques required the imposition of a new sense of discipline and organization among workers. Connecticut clock maker Eli Terry employed similar techniques in the quantity production of identical wooden-movement clocks between 1800 and 1830.

Seeking to exploit a growing worldwide demand for cloth and new British inventions, entrepreneurs organized textile production outside of the traditional household. The organization of production into factories challenged traditional family roles and community structures. Change began with the arrival in the United States of Samuel Slater, a British mechanic, who knew how to build spinning machines modeled after Richard Arkwright's seminal invention. Funded by the Quaker merchant Moses Brown and his son-in-law, William Almy, Slater's mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, began operation in 1790. In 1810 Francis Cabot Lowell formed the Boston Manufacturing Company with a dozen investors and hired a mechanic, Paul Moody, to construct a power loom. Lowell developed the pattern of combining waterpowered spinning and weaving machines under one roof and employing young women to tend them. Waltham and, after 1825, the company town of Lowell, Massachusetts, became the symbols of factory towns. Smaller mills spread throughout rural areas used similar technologies but hired entire families as workers and offered a different image of industry amidst a rural environment. Whether located along a rural stream or in a planned city, tended by "Lowell girls" or men and their families, these factories effectively combined innovative technology with an equally innovative vision of society.

IDEOLOGIES

In technology as well as politics and morals, a "spirit of improvement" appealed to Americans. Yet they debated how technology related to their notions of freedom, progress, and perfectibility. What would be the role of manufactures in establishing economic independence and social stability in the new, overwhelmingly rural nation? Would innovations provide prosperity and would prosperity contribute to republican virtue or inequality and despotism?

Thomas Jefferson, well-known as a gentleman inventor, initially opposed manufacturing, fearing the growth of poverty, class distinctions, and urban blight. By 1812, however, he had moderated his views in light of the nation's economic needs. Labor-saving devices might even allow women and children to tend machines while men stayed in the fields; Jefferson's main hope for democracy lay in the maintenance of an agrarian society of economically independent small property owners. Philadelphia merchant Tench Coxe became the most prominent promoter of a political economy and republican virtues based on factory production.

For better or worse, technical innovation involving broad social consequences as well as immediate, practical results was now a common American experience, seemingly self-reinforcing and unremitting. When the Harvard lecturer Jacob Bigelow brought the word "technology" to the general public's attention with the 1829 publication of his *Elements of Technology*, Americans finally had a single word to convey the concept.

See also **Iron Mining and Metallurgy;**

Manufacturing; Manufacturing, in the Home; Steam Power; Waterpower; Work: Agricultural Labor; Work: Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop; Work: Factory Labor.

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William S. Pretzer

TEMPERANCE AND TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT From the 1780s through the 1820s, Americans drank a great deal of alcohol. The per capita consumption in those decades, more than twice that at the beginning of the twenty-first century, was the highest ever recorded in American history. Distilled spirits, especially rum and whiskey, were the favorite drinks, with beer and wine consumed much less

often. Because so many farmers turned their grain into whiskey, the price was low and the supply plentiful. Homemade hard cider was also cheap and easy to make.

PERVASIVENESS OF ALCOHOL

Before the 1820s, most Americans had no misgivings about the moderate use of liquor. In towns and cities, it was purer than water, more readily available than milk, and less expensive than tea and coffee. At meals, a glass of whiskey or cider enlivened the ubiquitous diet of fried meat and corn. At work, manual laborers believed that frequent small drinks throughout the day improved their stamina. In sickness, liquor was believed to have medicinal value, and few doctors disputed that claim. At community ceremonies—barn raisings, elections, court days, fairs, dances, militia musters—alcohol appropriately enhanced the festivities. In short, Americans had made liquor an integral part of everyday life.

In those years, oversight by the government was modest. Local and county officials issued licenses for the sale of liquor, granting the privilege to innkeepers, retailers, and dramshops (later called bars). Although unlicensed vendors were occasionally prosecuted, enforcement of license laws was sporadic. Drunkards were frequently arrested, but usually for disorderly conduct rather than intoxication. Another means of regulation, taxation, was unpopular, as western farmers made clear by their fierce opposition to the federal tax on domestic distilled spirits levied in 1791.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT BEGINS

In the 1810s, organized opposition to heavy drinking began to take shape. Evangelical Protestant ministers in various states became more outspoken, dwelling on the spiritual dangers to Christian youth who drank. Salvation depended on proper conduct, not just pious beliefs, and even moderate drinking could be harmful. Religious revivals spread the conviction that sin was not ineradicable; free will could and should be exerted to combat threats to moral purity.

In 1813 the first sizable temperance society emerged. The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance (MSSI) attracted several hundred prominent Boston men and sponsored local auxiliaries throughout the state. The nonsectarian MSSI assailed intemperance on religious grounds but, as would be the case with temperance advocates throughout the century, they also stressed the economic and social consequences of inebriation. Poverty, crime, and insanity supposedly stemmed from

the abuse of liquor. To improve conditions, the MSSSI urged town officials to arrest illegal sellers as well as drunkards. The MSSSI members also hoped that the example of their own moderate drinking would prompt others to emulate their restraint, although they doubted that habitual drunkards could be reformed. Within five years, it was clear that the MSSSI's exertions had made little headway. Without full time staff, charismatic leadership, newspapers, and other methods to gain widespread support, the MSSSI never rallied enough people to convince local officials to do what the MSSSI wanted.

AMERICAN TEMPERANCE SOCIETY

A more vigorous organization, the American Temperance Society (ATS), spread rapidly after its creation in 1826. The ATS relied on evangelical ministers for its leadership, but it consciously sought a large nondenominational membership. Unlike the MSSSI, the ATS wanted every sober man and woman to remain so by joining a local temperance society and signing a pledge to abstain from all distilled liquors (after the mid-1830s, wine and beer were also proscribed by a "long" pledge). The goal was to make drinking unfashionable and disreputable by convincing every decent American to abstain.

The ATS worked hard to get people to join. Itinerant agents organized state, county, and local auxiliaries. The first temperance newspaper publicized the reform. Hundreds of short pamphlets disseminated sermons and addresses. The energetic recruitment yielded approximately 1.5 million members in 8,000 societies by 1835. Nearly one in every five free white adults joined, with the proportion lower in the southern states than elsewhere. As the numbers rose, many towns had more than one society, with young men's societies especially popular. Women, who accounted for approximately half of the national membership, occasionally formed separate groups. A group largely absent from the movement before the 1840s were former drunkards—their conversion was not a goal of the ATS—and free blacks, Indians, and slaves were not recruited.

THE POPULARITY OF TEMPERANCE

The sudden and widespread popularity of temperance cannot be understood solely in terms of evangelical religion or ATS proselytizing. Men and women devoted to causes other than temperance realized that the drink reform movement resonated with and strengthened their particular interests. They knew that the temperance pledge represented values they respected. For instance, employers in fac-

tories, mills, shops, and offices prized the punctuality, self-control, and frugality of a young man who abstained. Temperance became a symbol of dedication to economic as well as spiritual self-improvement. Furthermore, many women believed that abstinence was a pledge to a tranquil family life marked by kindness rather than cruelty. Temperance sermons and addresses often cast wives, mothers, and children as the victims of drunken rage.

The moral influence of the abstainers did not convince everyone. Although liquor consumption dropped sharply in the 1830s and 1840s, very few liquor sellers voluntarily quit their work. By the mid-1830s, some local and state temperance societies began to seek legal relief. Rather than prosecute illicit sellers, they pressured local and county officials to withhold all licenses. "Local option" allowed regions within a state to be "dry." Whig Party candidates and voters were more inclined to favor "no-license" than the Democrats, but the issue divided both parties and was approached warily whenever it arose in election campaigns. Because the illegal sale of liquor continued and remained difficult to prosecute, by the early 1850s temperance crusaders sought statewide prohibition. A surge of Irish immigrants at that time made the goal especially appealing as abstainers once again celebrated their reform as the quick and reliable way to determine who was and was not respectable.

See also **Alcohol Consumption; Alcoholic Beverages and Production; Reform, Social; Revivals and Revivalism; Whiskey Rebellion; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers.**

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TENNESSEE Tennessee, created out of land earlier held by North Carolina, joined the Union as the six-

teenth state in 1796. Four major groups of Native Americans—Cherokee and Creek in the East, Shawnee in the Middle, and Chickasaw in the West—also claimed the territory. The Proclamation of 1763, England's attempt to prevent settlement west of the Appalachian crest, proved futile as hunters from Virginia and the Carolinas continued to pursue deer and beaver over the mountains. The first permanent white settlers crossed into northeast Tennessee by 1769. When British officials ordered them out, the colonists ignored the British orders, united as the Watauga Association, and negotiated with the Cherokee for land concessions.

Feeling exposed to the British and their Cherokee and Chickamauga allies at the start of the American Revolution, the Wataugans sought and received incorporation as Washington County, a part of North Carolina, in 1777. Frontier elites like William Blount, a delegate to the Continental Congress and later the territorial governor, supported the Revolution to secure their land claims, while the North Carolina government eagerly sought the Tennessee lands to offer as bounties to military enlistees and veterans. Despite, or perhaps because of, the disorder of war, settlers continued pouring into Tennessee during the Revolution and pushing west, establishing Nashborough (now Nashville) in 1779 along the Cumberland River. After the war, Blount urged North Carolina's cession of its Tennessee claims, a maneuver meant to decrease the state's federal taxes and increase the value of Tennessee lands with the prospect of federal military protection. When North Carolina delayed in ceding its territory, Tennessee settlers decided to create their own government. Naming themselves the state of Franklin, the settlers unsuccessfully petitioned the Continental Congress for admission as the fourteenth state.

North Carolina finally relented, and in 1790 Congress organized the Territory Southwest of the River Ohio, or the Southwest Territory, to be governed by the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance with the important exception of allowing slavery. The 1791 census revealed 35,691 residents, enough to call the territorial assembly to meet at Knoxville in 1794; population grew rapidly, and by 1795 the territory had more than enough residents to apply for statehood. Delegates framed a constitution in early 1796, but the state's admission to the Union, the first under the Northwest Ordinance rules, was nearly scuttled by Senate Federalists who did not want to admit likely Jefferson partisans in an election year.

The first decades of statehood saw political power divided between personal factions headed by John Sevier and William Blount. In national politics, however, the state was securely Jeffersonian. The most important political issues continued to center around land access and taxation. A three-way battle over public lands—between North Carolina, Tennessee, and the federal government—was not fully resolved until the 1840s. Native American land claimants, left with few military options since the 1790s, gradually negotiated land sales or exchanges; the 1818 Chickasaw Purchase included all of West Tennessee and opened the way for the eventual growth of Memphis after the 1820s.

Buoyed by immigrants coming west from the Carolinas or south from Pennsylvania and Virginia, population grew rapidly in the first years of statehood, from 105,602 persons at the state's first census in 1800, to 261,727 in 1810, 422,813 in 1820, and 681,904 in 1830. These statewide figures mask some important trends, most notably the westward shift of population. By 1820 Middle Tennessee had more than two-thirds of the state's population and, after 1826, the state capital at Nashville.

Tennessee's early national economy was built on land, which was valuable for speculation and agriculture. In addition to cotton and tobacco, the farmers grew corn, as much as half of which was distilled into whisky, and hogs for local consumption or export to the Deep South. The state also produced iron; mid-state entrepreneur Montgomery Bell owned several furnaces, which he staffed with free and bound workers. Slave labor would be more prevalent, however, in agriculture. Although the 1791 territorial census tallied 3,417, the slave population had grown to 13,584 by 1800 and 44,535 in 1810, topped 80,000 in 1820, and climbed over 141,600 in 1830. Revolutionary-era antislavery sentiments held on more in the East but were overshadowed as slave-based agriculture grew in Middle and West Tennessee.

Although few Tennesseans had been directly affected by British actions leading to the War of 1812, large numbers of them volunteered for military service. An ambitious Andrew Jackson had already served Tennessee as both a U.S. representative and senator but gained national attention for defeating the British at New Orleans and battling Indians throughout the Southeast. The Tennessee legislature returned him to the Senate in 1823, and state voters strongly supported his presidential runs in 1824 and 1828 and his reelection in 1832.

See also **American Indians: Southeast; Democratic Republicans; Federalists; Jackson, Andrew; North Carolina; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Proclamation of 1763.**

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TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT See
Government: Territories.

TEXAS During a fifteen-year span, from 1820 to 1835, Texas changed from a sparsely settled outpost on the northeast fringe of the Spanish North American empire to a territory, dominated by approximately thirty thousand immigrants from the United States, on the brink of rebellion against Santa Anna's Mexico. The individual who set this transformation in motion was Moses Austin, a man who had spent most of his adult life in the borderlands between Spanish- and Anglo-America.

Austin was born in 1761 in Connecticut. As a young man he established himself as a businessman, first in Connecticut, then successively in Philadelphia and Richmond, Virginia. In 1789, in partnership with his brother Stephen, he acquired control of a lead mine in southwestern Virginia. Three years later he moved his family there to manage the enterprise; in 1797, facing financial difficulties with the Virginia mines, he relocated much farther west, to a site in Spanish Louisiana (now in Missouri) south of St. Louis, where he again acquired and developed rich deposits of lead.

Austin differed from most Americans who moved west in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. First, he had little interest in acquiring land for agricultural production. He was a businessman and a frontier industrialist, seeking to extract and process nonagricultural resources from the land. Second, his search for wealth was not con-

finied by national boundaries. In 1797 he crossed the Mississippi and established himself in Spanish territory, seeking and winning contracts from Spanish authorities to develop mineral wealth. Six years later the Louisiana Purchase returned him to American jurisdiction.

When the Panic of 1819 drove him into bankruptcy, Moses Austin again looked to Spanish America for opportunity. Familiar with the land hunger of his countrymen, Austin traveled to San Antonio in 1820 and convinced the Spanish governor there that as a former Spanish subject he should be allowed to bring in three hundred American families to colonize Texas. Austin intended to regain his fortune through the venture, with extensive land for himself and fees from his settlers. The Spanish, in turn, expected to gain needed population for their border province, securing it from external invasion and stimulating its economic development.

Neither party survived to achieve its goals. Other leaders under different political authority would carry out the colonization of Texas. Austin died in early 1821 after returning to Missouri to organize his Texas colony; his eldest son, Stephen F. Austin, took over the project. When he returned to Texas to finalize plans he learned that the Spanish authorities had been deposed, and a new independent Mexican nation was being organized. Austin traveled to Mexico City where he succeeded in convincing Mexican officials to reauthorize his father's project.

Stephen F. Austin was the most successful of the *empresarios* (colony organizers), and his colony rapidly transformed Texas. He settled the 300 families required by his father's contract and proceeded to award a total of 1,540 land grants, which by 1830 represented a population of 4,248. Other *empresarios* followed Austin's example. Colonists rushed to Texas, stimulated by the economic troubles of the early 1820s and plentiful supplies of cheap land. Mexican authorities estimated the 1830 population of Texas as 21,000 persons—15,000 Anglos, 2,000 African American slaves, and 4,000 Tejanos (Mexican residents of Texas). The Spanish plan to secure Texas through colonization succumbed to its own success. By 1830 Anglos, outnumbering Tejanos by almost 4 to 1, had essentially assumed control of the territory. Within a few years conflicts over slavery, immigration policy, taxation, culture, and politics led to rebellion and Texas independence.

See also **Expansion; Louisiana Purchase; Spanish Borderlands; Spanish Empire.**

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Cary D. Wintz

TEXTILES MANUFACTURING Textiles manufacturing appeared in the American colonies as soon as English settlers arrived. The colonies produced small amounts of coarse textile cloth, usually woolen and always homespun, for local use. However, the colonial relationship hindered development of American textile manufacturing. The British government established the colonies as sources of raw materials and as consumers of English-made goods so colonial charters prohibited textile manufacturing. Restrictive regulations and taxes, such as the Sugar Act of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765, affected textile production and contributed to colonial discontent. As the Revolution approached, imported cloth became more expensive and difficult to obtain and efforts towards colonial manufacture increased.

Dramatic change in the U.S. textile industry occurred in the late eighteenth century with the introduction of machines. They aided the development of textile manufacturing in the United States, which had been hindered by the high cost of labor and the scarcity of capital. The United States had a ready resource of highly skilled craftsmen to design, build, and improve the machines. Despite British efforts to stop the export of textile manufacturing knowledge and machines, American inventors based their earliest designs on those of the Englishman James Hargrave for the spinning jenny, which he patented in 1770. Jennies, machines to spin thread from fiber, appeared first in Philadelphia in 1774–1775. In the 1780s machines appeared for carding cotton and wool by cleaning and arranging their raw fibers.

THE SLATER SYSTEM

Rhode Island became the first textile manufacturing center in the United States, with mills established at Providence and Pawtucket in 1789. These new factories overcame initial difficulties with the arrival of the Englishman Samuel Slater in 1789, who had a thorough understanding of the advanced textile machinery used in the English mills in which he had ap-

prenticed. (He claimed to be a farmer to bypass British emigration laws.) Slater built the equipment and the mill, supervised it, and paid half the expenses. His partners, William Almy and Moses Brown, purchased the raw material, had the yarn woven into cloth, sold the cloth, and paid the other half of the expenses. Slater eventually used his financial success and expertise to build his own mills. After the introduction of the mills and the machinery, most U.S. cloth was factory-made rather than homespun.

The mills utilizing the Slater system were located in rural settings where water power was available; they used the Arkwright water frame, which originated in England. Initially, they used poor or orphaned children, ages seven to fourteen, as workers. This system evolved into a family labor system under which housing adjacent to the mill was rented to families. The paternalistic mill owners, usually individuals or family groups, imposed certain forms of conduct upon their worker families, such as church attendance, and often paid in goods at the company store.

Between 1807 and 1810, the number of U.S. cotton mills jumped from fifteen to eighty-seven in what was called “cotton mill fever.” This jump coincided with the 1807 Embargo Act, which excluded English manufactured textiles, and the growth in the supply of cheap cotton from the South. Cotton production vastly expanded there following the development of the cotton gin in 1793. By the 1820s the South had become the world’s leading supplier of cotton. This cheap and easily accessible supply of cotton facilitated a shift from woolen to cotton products in the early nineteenth century.

LOWELL, WALTHAM, AND INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Francis Cabot Lowell led a new revolution in U.S. textile manufacturing in the 1820s. The Lowell or Waltham system utilized power looms and limited liability corporations. The first mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, opened in 1814, and later mills followed at a site that became Lowell, Massachusetts. These mills based their system on an integrated production process, new machinery, and methods that required less skill than needed previously. The Lowell-Waltham system integrated the spinning and weaving into one facility. Raw cotton entered one end of the mill and finished cloth exited the other. These mills also focused on the production of cheap cotton cloth in abundant amounts. They used water power that rose upward through as many as four floors through a system of shafts and belts. They mechanized everything that they could mechanize

with the power loom and other new machines. Mill owners increased productivity by adding machinery rather than labor or wages.

The process of producing cloth was broken down into its simplest elements so that each worker performed only a single element and each position required less skill than workers had needed in earlier forms of manufacturing. Most of the positions described as unskilled, however, were filled by women who developed dexterity, quickness, keen eyesight, and other skills to work with the machines. But if workers became "too skilled," management increased the number of machines per employee (called a "stretch-out") or increased the machines' operating speeds (called a "speed-up").

The people, both owners and workers, came from outside the locality. Large, capital-intensive corporations rather than individuals or families owned the mills. The owners hired managers to run the mills. The workers were young, unmarried women recruited from farm families. They lived on the mill site and often had to abide by a strict moral code.

By 1839 Lowell, Massachusetts, had outstripped Manchester, England, as the world's leading producer of textiles. Twenty-nine mills there produced one million yards of cloth each week. The Lowell mills used a complex and integrated system that included capital, labor recruitment, supply purchasing, integrated production, and the sale of the finished product. This system provided a model for industrial growth and organization in the United States. The financial success of these mills, and their Boston owners, also provided a source of capital for further industrial growth.

PENNSYLVANIA AND FLEXIBLE PRODUCTION

Another center of textile manufacturing emerged in Pennsylvania in the 1820s. While the textile industry had created and shaped Lowell, Philadelphia shaped its textile industry. Proprietary firms or partnerships founded the Pennsylvania mills with small amounts of capital. The owners and workers came from the local communities. The mills focused on specialized items rather than bulk fabrics. Philadelphia became a center of specialized and flexible manufacturing enterprises of all types and sizes that produced woolens, hosiery, carpet, and silks in addition to cotton goods. The flexible firms at Philadelphia held up better during the uncertain financial times of the Civil War and provided an alternative model for industrial growth called proprietary capitalism.

Textile manufacturing coincided with the initial stages of an industrial revolution in the United States. It provided models for later industrial growth and spurred that growth by providing capital and pushing technological developments.

See also **Manufacturing; Work; Factory Labor.**

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Linda Eikmeier Endersby

THAMES, BATTLE OF THE Oliver Hazard Perry's victory over British naval forces on Lake Erie on 10 September 1813 rendered the resupply of British forces in Upper Canada difficult if not impossible. Now highly vulnerable to attack by the advancing American army commanded by William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory, the British decided to withdraw their troops from Upper Canada and concentrate on the Niagara frontier. The local commander at Fort Malden, Major General Henry Proctor, failed to notify his Indian allies, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, of that decision before beginning the dismantling of his fortifications at Malden. Tecumseh, enraged by what he regarded as British duplicity and cowardice, demanded that Proctor either fight or turn over British military supplies to his warriors. Stung by Tecumseh's reproach, Proctor modified his plan of retreat and made a stand at the Thames River near Moraviantown on 5 October 1813. Outnumbered by the Americans by at least three to one, British forces left the battlefield in some disarray. Tecumseh and a hard core group of warriors loyal to his pan-Indian cause remained to fight, but were soon defeated. Tecumseh died in battle. Several Americans later claimed the honor of having

killed the great Shawnee war chief. The most notable of these claimants was Richard Mentor Johnson, later the vice president of the United States from 1837 to 1841. But the greatest political beneficiary of the Battle of the Thames was Harrison, whose reputation as a heroic frontier fighter was essential to his election as president in 1840.

See also **War of 1812**.

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Alfred A. Cave

THEATER AND DRAMA Determining the role of the theater in the new nation from the post-Revolutionary period until the eve of Jacksonian democracy presents a challenge, since few Americans of that period could agree on the place of the playhouse in American culture, or even on whether such entertainments should exist. For this reason, any examination of theatrical and dramatic culture in the early national period must explore not only plays, performers, and audiences but also opponents of the theater and their motives.

FIGHTING OPPOSITION TO THE THEATER

Though colonists had enjoyed professional theatrical entertainments since 1752, many remained divided in their attitude toward play going. Some groups (like the Quakers and Puritans) objected to the theater on religious grounds, while others saw it as a welcome cultural link with Great Britain. In 1774, the Continental Congress outlawed all theatrical entertainments, stigmatizing them as a luxury and a corrupting British import. The country's resident professional troupe, the Old American Company, fled to Jamaica, returning to the United States in 1784. In cities like Charleston, which had supported prewar theater, they were welcomed home with enthusiasm. But in cities like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the company met with open hostility. Many cities had passed wartime and postwar bans on theatrical entertainments, and fined or arrested actors who tried to stage illegal performances. These laws were gradually repealed throughout the late 1780s and 1790s.

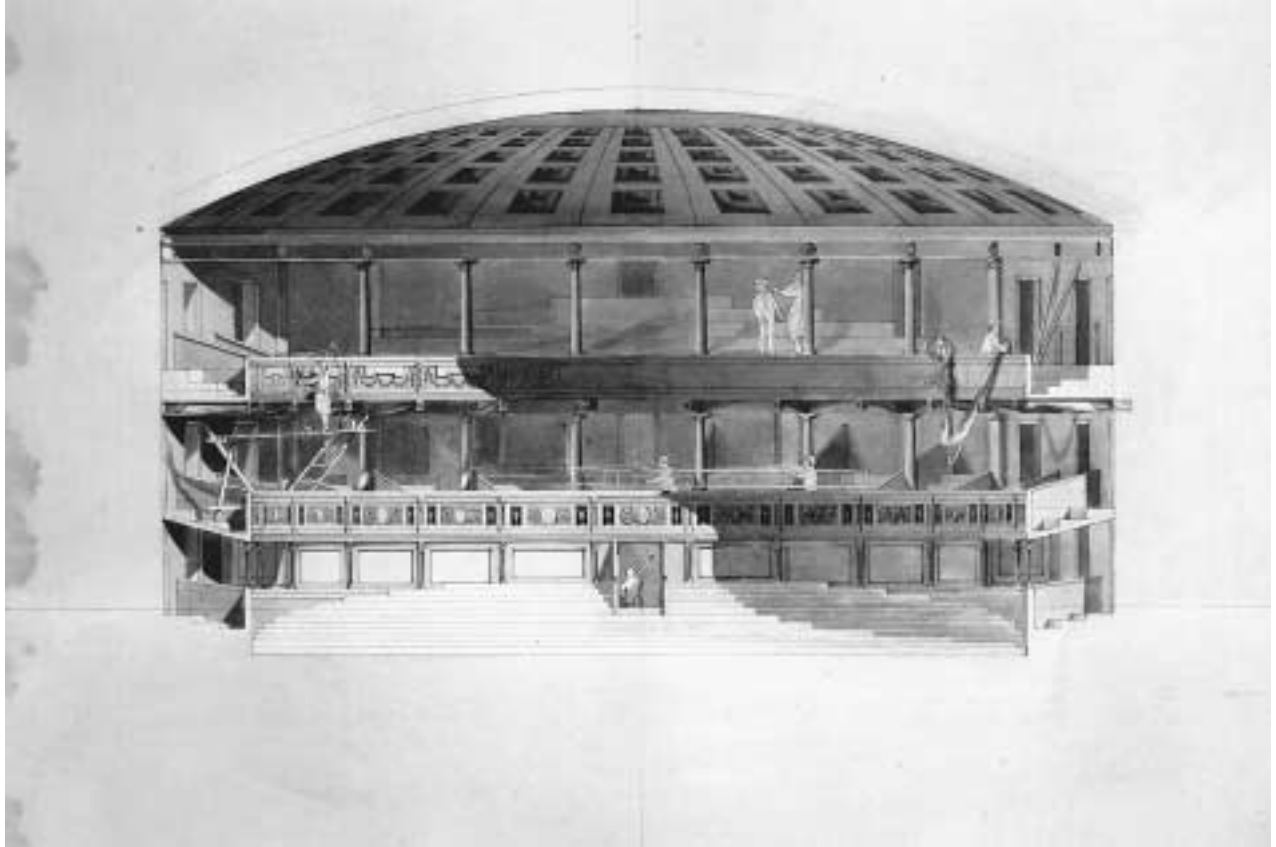
Religious opposition to the theater lingered in some communities; others objected to the theater because of its association with British culture. Yet none of these opponents could withstand the tides of economic and cultural reform sweeping the new nation. The exigencies of the Revolutionary War had brought new groups of men to power in every major urban center. These men saw the theater as a symbol of power in the new nation. They believed that if they built luxurious playhouses—complete with red velvet curtains and crystal chandeliers—they would show their fellow citizens and Great Britain that the fledgling nation possessed all the hallmarks of a civilized people. Indeed, theaters of the new nation offered more than venues for seeing plays. They served as social centers, where the elite could gather to play cards, gossip, and dance. They also served as political lightning rods.

PATRIOTIC THEATER AND PARTY POLITICS

The owners and managers of the early national theaters had promised that their productions would serve to “polish the manners and habits of society” and establish a “democracy of glee.” Yet many audience members objected that the British plays offered in the theaters did not reflect American tastes or values. Moreover, party politics sometimes disrupted the refined atmosphere that managers had struggled to establish.

Political disputes centered on the tension between Federalist and Republican factions within the audience. The most famous politically motivated riot took place on 30 March 1798 at the opening of William Dunlap's *André* in New York's Park Theatre. *André* tells the story of British spy, Major John André, executed by George Washington during the war. It features an American character named Bland, who, furious at Washington, tears the black cockade from his hat (a Federalist symbol), and throws it away. Outraged at this attack on American honor, the audience rioted, forcing Dunlap to revise the play's ending. Managers frequently altered plays to suit audience tastes, excising references to kings, aristocracy, and the like.

American playwrights were few and far between. Among the best known were Royall Tyler, Judith Sargent Murray, Mercy Otis Warren, Susanna Rowson, William Dunlap, and John Daly Burk. Moreover, despite their patriotism, audiences remained skeptical about whether American works could rival British ones. (This sense of cultural inferiority plagued the new nation well into the nineteenth century.) Even Tyler's *The Contrast* (1787) and Row-



Theater Design (c. 1797). Architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe's design for a theater, with assembly rooms and a hotel, to be built in Richmond, Virginia. The design was never executed. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

son's *Slaves in Algiers* (1794), two of the most famous plays of the early national period, received only a handful of performances.

By the end of the eighteenth century, many of the nation's playhouses faced financial disaster as rivalry between competing theaters drove some out of business. Other entertainments crowded into relatively small urban markets, including the circus and institutions like Peale's Museum in Philadelphia—sites many Americans found more “democratic” than the class-based seating arrangements of the formal playhouse. On the eve of the nineteenth century, the theater's continued success seemed doubtful.

THEATER FOR THE COMMONER

Jefferson's election in 1800 transformed both American culture and American drama. His presidency ushered in a new age of sentiment in the theater, coinciding with the trend toward Romanticism in literature. Managers turned to emotional melodramas that featured simple heroes and heroines. The plays that they produced between 1800 and the 1810s were largely American adaptations of European

melodramas, many by German playwright Augustus von Kotzebue. Some of the American playwrights of the period include James Nelson Barker, *The Indian Princess*, William Dunlap, *The Africans, or War, Love, and Duty*, William Charles White, *The Clergyman's Daughter*, and John Howard Payne, *Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin*. With the westward expansion of the Jeffersonian era, the theater moved into the frontier areas of Ohio, Kentucky, and the Louisiana Territory, as well as Washington, D.C., the new capital city. Under Jefferson, American artists and writers turned their attention to the development of a native drama and aesthetic. In 1802 and 1803 Washington Irving, writing under the pseudonym of Jonathan Oldstyle, wrote commentary on the theater in a series of letters for *The Morning Chronicle*, launching the nation's first sustained body of theatrical criticism.

Moreover, native subjects and themes gained in popularity. By the early nineteenth century, the “Stage Yankee” had become a fixture of the American theater, as had other “native” characters. At the end of James Nelson Barker's *Indian Princess* (an 1808

WILLIAM DUNLAP

William Dunlap (1766–1839) has been dubbed the “Father of American Drama” for the prolific number of plays he produced during his lifetime (some fifty original scripts, translations, and adaptations), his stewardship of New York’s Park Theatre (1798–1805), and his *History of the American Theatre* (1832), the first chronicle of the nation’s fledgling dramatic efforts. Devoted to the development of an American cultural aesthetic, Dunlap served as a director of the American Academy of Fine Arts (1817) and helped found the National Academy of Design (1826). In addition, he wrote the *History of the Arts and Design* (1834), in which he encouraged the new nation to shun the old European system of patronage and to allow artists freedom of thought and expression.

Dunlap united art and conscience, arguing that the arts could transform the new nation, and teach lessons of “patriotism, virtue, morality, and religion.” A passionate abolitionist, he served as secretary for the New York Abolition Society for a number of years and adapted the popular German play, *The Africans, or War, Love, and Duty* (1810), a story about the evils of slavery and the humanity of those trapped in the system. His many original plays—including *The Father, or American Shandyism* (1789), *Darby’s Return* (1789), *André* (1798), and *The Glory of Columbia* (1803)—exalt what he viewed as the American qualities of loyalty, courage, and selflessness. Dunlap was the first in the history of early American theater to see the theater as a “powerful engine” of moral enlightenment, and he beseeched the government to ensure that it would flourish in freedom by calling for a national theatre that would be under the auspices of the federal government, rather than at the mercy of particular groups with specific political agendas.

Heather S. Nathans

play about the life of Pocahontas), one of the characters predicts an age “when arts and industry, and elegance shall reign,” an age of “a great, yet virtuous empire in the west!” Yet American writers still felt inferior to British playwrights, who remained the mainstay of the theatrical repertoire.

The craze for British theater was fueled by English stars who roamed the American circuit throughout the early nineteenth century, including George Frederick Cooke, Edmund Kean, Fanny Kemble, and Junius Brutus Booth (father to Edwin Booth, one of America’s greatest stars, and John Wilkes Booth, one of its most infamous assassins). While these performers revolutionized American acting, they also revealed a need for a native talent.

THE RISE OF NATIVE TALENT AND NATIVE THEATER

Two stars rose to the challenge, and met with varying degrees of success in America. Ira Aldridge, a black tragedian, got his start in New York’s African Theatre (1821–1823), where he performed serious dramatic roles traditionally reserved for white performers, including *Hamlet* and *Richard III*. Persecution by white audiences closed the theater in 1823, and Aldridge moved to Europe, where he enjoyed a successful career. Edwin Forrest, a working-class hero, began in smaller roles on the western touring circuit before returning to the East to establish himself as a star.

For both American politics and theater, 1828 marked a pivotal year. As Andrew Jackson moved into power, the mood of the theater shifted from Romanticism to rugged individualism and homespun humor, reflecting “Old Hickory’s” rough masculinity. In 1828 Forrest announced a series of competitions for original plays written about American characters, and his contests launched a new age of American playwriting and a new style of American drama—plays with a heroic central character fighting oppression and injustice. These plays included John Augustus Stone’s *Metamora*, Robert T. Conrad’s *Jack Cade*, and Robert Montgomery Bird’s *The Gladiator*.

The year 1828 also witnessed the debut of Thomas “Daddy” Rice’s immensely popular “Jump Jim Crow” song and dance, a performance that inspired hundreds of imitators and started a nationwide craze for minstrel performance (ironically, one of the few theatrical genres American artists can claim to have originated).

By Jackson’s inauguration in 1829, American theater had firmly established itself in the new nation. Though its artists would continue to struggle against the stigma of home-grown drama, they had also created a theater that showcased what they defined as the uniquely “American” virtues of humor, simplicity, independence, and courage.

See also **Art and American Nationhood; Folk Arts; Music: Classical; Recreation, Sports, and Games.**

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Heather S. Nathans

THEOLOGY Theology means, literally, knowledge of God. From the 1750s to the 1820s the number of American theologians grew rapidly. The most significant feature of the era was the rise of popular theology, apace with popular government: Americans by the thousands and later by the millions strove for and believed they attained knowledge of God's will for all aspects of religion. Although a few, such as Benjamin Franklin, Ethan Allen, and Thomas Jefferson, questioned the authority of the Bible, the

American denominations, from Baptists to Unitarians, continued to regard Scripture as divinely inspired, however they differed in interpretations. Plentiful English Bibles, the growth of literacy, and the political empowerment of ordinary people fed the theological zeal of Americans, as did the freeing of churches from government regulation, the rapid growth of population, and headlong westward expansion.

SALVATION, FREE WILL, AND PREDESTINATION

Theologians drew various conclusions from the Bible regarding the path to salvation (soteriology). Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, among others, practiced infant baptism (pedobaptism), catechized their young, and encouraged them to live according to Christian teachings. In these traditions one typically followed a lifelong course toward salvation. But revivalists and others continued to hold a stricter standard: church membership was a privilege only for adults who had earned it by their behavior, their belief, and, in many congregations, their testimony of a conversion experience. For the Baptists (literally antipedobaptists, though they disliked the term), conversion preceded baptism, which, following the New Testament, was by immersion and for adults. For Baptists, as for most Protestants, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Holy Communion) was not a means to salvation but a privilege for those who had proved themselves already among the sanctified.

Two giants of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther and John Calvin, agreed that all were born sinners and could not achieve salvation except through the free grace of God, enabled through the atonement of Christ. The Arminian notion, which gained ground throughout the eighteenth and triumphed in the nineteenth century did not deny this, but suggested that all persons could freely choose to apply for this divine gift by prayer and reformation of character. Many Calvinists, though they exhorted everyone to seek salvation—Anglican George Whitefield (1714–1770), Puritan-Congregationalist Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758), and Baptist Isaac Backus (1724–1806) are striking examples—insisted that Christ's atonement was limited to those predestined for salvation. This doctrine has always seemed at best impractical, and at worst a spiritual elitism reminiscent of Christ's enemies as described in Scripture. To the devout predestinarian certain facts were inescapable: through original sin mankind was incapable of redemption without divine grace; the will to seek salvation was itself proof

of the workings of that grace; the rejection of salvation by sinners proved that Christ's atonement was limited. How else explain the rejection of so precious a gift by so many? Underlying all these beliefs was the idea of the absolute sovereignty of God, who wrote the spiritual script for all mankind.

From the eighteenth century to the present, when Americans speak of Calvinism they often mean predestination; when they speak of free will, they mean Arminianism. It should be noted, however, that the denominations strictly in the Calvinist line—Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Reformed Churches (both Dutch and German) all had their divisions over this issue. Baptists were mostly predestinarian until the era of the American Revolution, when the Free Will Baptists emerged and flourished. And Whitefield, who never left the Church of England, remained a predestinarian, as did many other "low church" Anglicans and Episcopalians, well into the nineteenth century. On the other hand, most Anglicans were Arminian; John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of the Methodist Episcopal Church, USA, who always considered himself a member of the Church of England, was a thoroughgoing Arminian.

PERSISTENT PIETISM

Another essential strand in Christianity was Pietism. Some denominations and sects embodied virtually all the elements of Pietism: a sincere effort to live in Christian love and harmony in both family and community, adhering to a strict code of personal behavior, and setting apart some time each day for religious devotions. German-speaking groups, mostly in Pennsylvania, including Mennonites, Dunkers, Moravians, and Schwenkfelders—strongly exemplified Pietism, as did the Quakers. But Pietism was present in all denominations, especially among Lutherans, Baptists, and Methodists. Wesley's mature faith was strongly shaped by his encounters with the Moravians. Wesley thus added Pietism to Arminianism, and capped his system with perfectionism: the belief that one could entirely transcend sinfulness in this world, even before graduating to the next. Both Pietism and perfectionism would grow and express themselves in different strands of American Christianity. The Second Great Awakening produced, along with a wave of revivals and their innovation, the camp meeting. It also produced a variety of reform agendas, led by missionary societies, Sunday schools, the temperance movement, and the early stirrings of the antislavery movement. The urge toward perfection began to suggest the approach of the

Second Coming; theological speculation began to dwell on the possibility of the Millennium.

IMITATING THE APOSTLES: ITINERANT MINISTRIES

Itinerancy, the practice of traveling from town to town and province to province for the purpose of preaching, became an issue during the Great Awakening of the 1740s and after. Where churches were established by law, as in most of New England, Maryland, and Virginia, established ministers often prevented itinerants from preaching, either by refusing them the use of their churches or by having them arrested for preaching in barns or fields. Whitefield, the greatest itinerant of the century, proved unstoppable; the rest, occasionally silenced in one place, soon found another. Where new congregations could not find suitably ordained ministers, Methodism's apostle, Francis Asbury (1748–1816), authorized intelligent laymen to lead congregations. As the nation matured, circuit-riding ministers visited such congregations until they could find suitably educated ministers. Similarly, the Baptists chose intelligent and devout laymen as ministers, launching the age of the Baptist farmer-preacher. The Methodists and Baptists expanded with the frontier, becoming the largest Protestant denominations in the United States. Ministers of the formerly established churches often criticized them for their lack of education, to which they replied that Jesus and his twelve apostles were not college graduates but itinerant ministers. Furthermore, as quickly as possible Methodists and Baptists founded colleges and seminaries.

SOME LEADERS IN THOUGHT AND ACTION

The most richly stored and original theological minds of the era either directly influenced religious developments or trained the ministers and laymen who did. Jonathan Edwards, of Connecticut and Massachusetts, was a revivalist as well as a theologian. He combined scientific insights from John Locke and Isaac Newton with traditional theology to write profound works on the religious affections and the sovereignty of God. John Wesley, who preached and wrote exhaustively to save the souls of millions, sent Francis Asbury, exactly the right man to make Methodists of Americans. Isaac Backus, successfully self-taught, led the Baptists in balancing Congregational independence with consistent beliefs and practices, while working for the complete freedom of churches from secular government. Yale's Nathaniel William Taylor (1786–1858) worked out a practical reconciliation between Calvinism and free will by redefining the doctrine of original sin. Not all develop-

ments were in this liberal direction. Archibald Alexander (1772–1851), from the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, helped found the Princeton Seminary in 1812, and persuaded two generations of students that Presbyterians should return to their Calvinist roots in sixteenth-century Geneva. Earlier, Henry M. Muhlenberg (1711–1787) of Philadelphia succeeded in bringing order to the various forms of German and Scandinavian Lutheranism that arrived with various waves of immigrants. Samuel Seabury (1729–1796) of Connecticut and William White (1746–1836) of Philadelphia saved Anglicanism by successfully separating the Episcopal Church from the Church of England. Both progressives and conservatives earnestly believed they were restoring and realizing essential, traditional Christianity.

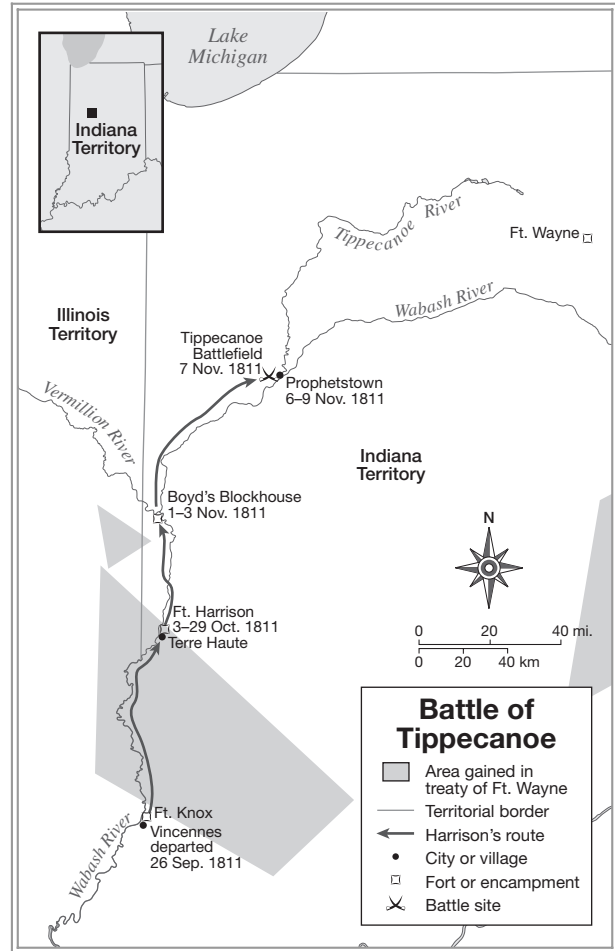
See also **Anglicans and Episcopalians; Antislavery; Baptists; Bible; Camp Followers; Catholicism and Catholics; Congregationalists; Methodists; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Moravians; Pietists; Presbyterians; Religion: Overview; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Revivals and Revivalism; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Unitarianism and Universalism.**

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Robert McColley

TIPPECANOE, BATTLE OF From the start, antagonism existed between Prophetstown, the pan-Indian nativist community established in 1808 by the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa and his brother,



the war chief Tecumseh, at Tippecanoe Creek in Indiana, and the territorial government at Vincennes led by Governor William Henry Harrison. But the following year the antipathy was exacerbated by the Treaty of Fort Wayne, a land deal wherein a number of tribal leaders agreed to an extensive new land cession. Tecumseh and the Prophet refused to accept the treaty and predicted war if it were not revoked. Harrison, concerned that opposition from Prophetstown would make it difficult if not impossible to survey and settle the newly acquired lands, demanded that its substantial non-Shawnee majority be expelled from the community. When the Prophet refused, Harrison took advantage of Tecumseh's absence on a recruitment mission in the South to stage a preemptive strike in the fall of 1811.

The Battle of Tippecanoe on 7 November later established Harrison's reputation as a heroic Indian fighter. But despite the mythology that surrounds Tippecanoe, the actual battle was indecisive. Although the Prophet's forces were scattered by Harrison's assault and his village burned, warriors from

a number of tribes soon rebuilt Prophetstown on a site nearby. In correspondence with his superiors, Harrison continued to warn of the menace to American expansion posed by the Prophet and his followers. Although legend maintains that the Prophet, ignoring Tecumseh's advice to stall for time, launched an ill-considered, poorly planned pre-dawn attack on Harrison's forces, the most reliable sources indicate that the fight began when several high-spirited Winnebago warriors, in violation of the Prophet's orders, skirmished with some of Harrison's sentinels. Equally dubious is the claim that Tecumseh, enraged by the Prophet's bungling, threatened to kill his brother and in fact removed him from the leadership of the movement. The evidence indicates unequivocally that Tenskwatawa remained its spiritual leader, continued to serve as the civil head of Prophetstown during Tecumseh's absences on diplomatic missions, and succeeded him as war chief after his death at the Battle of the Thames in 1813. Late-twentieth-century research also indicates that Tecumseh and the Prophet both desired a peaceful accommodation with the United States that would permit them to organize a pan-Indian nativist state on lands not yet settled by Americans.

The Battle at Tippecanoe was thus not, as myth would have it, fought to protect the frontier from an Indian aggressor supported by Britain, but was rather the outgrowth of Harrison's efforts to eliminate a community and a movement that threatened to obstruct plans for further Indian dispossession. Tecumseh and the Prophet were never tools of the British, whom they in fact distrusted. The true significance of the Battle of Tippecanoe is not that it secured the frontier from a fierce adversary, but rather that it provided a rich mythology that not only promoted the political career of William Henry Harrison, a future president, but expressed in epic terms the belief that American history is the story of the triumph of civilization over savagery.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations, 1763–1815; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; American Indians as Symbols/Icons.**

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Alfred A. Cave

TORIES See **Loyalists**.

TOWN PLANS AND PROMOTION Town and city populations grew even more rapidly than rural populations in the new American nation, particularly in the areas settled west of the Appalachian Mountains after the end of the War of Independence in 1783. New towns in this region were often the products of enthusiastic marketing campaigns designed to sell building lots and to attract businesses and residents. These promotional activities, often called boosterism, helped to define America's westward migration.

Town promotion also owed much to speculators and developers exploiting lands acquired by treaty and conquest from American Indians. Sir William Johnson set this pattern in western New York in late colonial times; subsequent promoters such as William Cooper followed his example. Huge land gains after the War of 1812 encouraged even more aggressive commercial ventures, often advertised by beautifully drawn imaginative maps and views.

A successful town needed a solid economic base. In an era when most bulk goods moved by water, whether river, lake, or canal, boosters planned their towns accordingly around their waterfronts and constantly lobbied for government subsidies to attract steamboats, or to construct levees, wharves, and docks. Artificial waterways followed. The Erie Canal, built from Albany to Buffalo, New York, after the War of 1812, was a particularly successful internal improvement, contributing to the growth of towns along its route.

Successful cities were often identified with the product they shipped. Cincinnati became known as "porkopolis" for its processing of hogs. Pittsburgh became an iron center, Memphis a cotton center, Louisville a tobacco port, and Galena, Illinois, the center of a lead-mining region. Preexisting French and Spanish towns shared in the growth after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. St. Louis became the center for the western fur trade; New Orleans became the South's largest city as most of the commerce of the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys passed through it.

on the way to the Gulf of Mexico. In a few years railroads would help other cities, such as Chicago, to grow and prosper as well.

As much as city leaders did not want their ventures to fail, they did not want their communities to remain mere dots on a post office map. Economic development often rested on borrowed money, and the desire for credit spurred the western banking industry. Cautious banking practices often yielded to pressure for riskier "wildcat" ventures. In times of rapid expansion loans might be repaid; but in times of commercial contraction, such as the Panic of 1819, many banks and businesses failed, taking their towns down with them, and many grandiose plans were thus never realized.

This threat of failure was a spur to even more intense promotional activity. Boosterism was evident in the carefully surveyed town street plan, or plat, which permitted lots to be sold with a clear legal title. Planners could choose from several popular designs. Those with roots in New England often created their sites around town commons, with important buildings such as churches facing a central grassy square. Many examples of such towns can still be found along the shores of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. Planners who hailed from the middle states often preferred to copy Philadelphia, with its rectangular grid centered on a market street. Examples of these towns are found on or near the National Road in central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Developers from the southern states showed a preference for towns built around central courthouse squares. These are common in the Ohio Valley and throughout the Southwest. A few developers emulated Pierre L'Enfant's more complex 1791 plan of Washington, D. C., with its diagonal avenues and dramatic public parks. Indianapolis is a good example.

Everywhere, town boosters sought to embellish their towns with impressive buildings. Architects worked in new high styles, designing copies of ancient Greek and Roman structures. False fronts on commercial buildings, tall steeples on churches, and elaborately carved or lathed wooden decorations were all designed to attract attention and convey a sense of importance. Town leaders gave particular attention to encouraging elegant hotels, large county courthouses and schools, and fine private homes; they welcomed colleges not only for the educational distinction they might confer but also for their imposing buildings. Town cemeteries, with elaborately sculpted monuments and tombstones, often doubled as elegant public parks. Boosters described their communities not as they were but as they might be, ex-

aggerating possibilities to convey hope and confidence. In their anticipatory fervor and ambitious plans, the present and the future of the new Republic came together.

See also **City Growth and Development; City Planning; Erie Canal; Expansion; Louisiana Purchase; Migration and Population Movement; Monuments and Memorials; Panic of 1819; Railroads.**

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TOWNSHEND ACT The Townshend Act was part of a broad legislative program introduced into Parliament by Chancellor of the Exchequer Charles Townshend during 1767. Contrary to American hopes, the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766 had led few in Parliament to question either their power to tax the colonies or the necessity of future taxes. Only the instability of British politics prevented an earlier exertion of British power under the Declaratory Act, passed on the same day as the Stamp Act repeal. By early 1767, further acts of American resistance had combined with the rising cost of imperial administration to make parliamentary action seem necessary.

Townshend had long favored a more active colonial policy, though the instability of the Chatham administration produced inaction. With the earl of Chatham absent and the duke of Grafton and other leading ministers opposed to new taxes, Townshend found it difficult to organize cabinet consensus on American policy. By late April 1767, however, Townshend had secured agreement on the New York Restraining Act and the establishment of an American Board of Customs Commissioners at Boston. He had also achieved consensus upon the establishment of an independent civil list, transferring the salaries of governors and other key officials from the provincial assemblies to the crown. In May 1767 Townshend surmounted Grafton's opposition to new taxes

by proposing his tax plan as a private member of the House of Commons rather than in his official position. The concept of taxation met the approbation of the Commons, and the next few weeks were spent in securing agreement over items to be taxed and tax rates. The final bill, passed without opposition on 16 June and approved by King George III on 29 June, included new taxes upon tea, glass, paper, lead, and painter's colors. Townshend estimated that these taxes would raise only forty thousand pounds annually, well below the revenue necessary to his purposes. Yet he made it clear that this was only a beginning and that other products would be taxed in the future.

Having expressly presented his taxes as "external" trade duties in response to American objections to the Stamp Act as an "internal" tax, Townshend expected only limited opposition from America. Initially, he was correct, as resistance was slow to develop. Though John Dickinson challenged the constitutionality of the taxes in his fourteen *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, published in late 1767 and early 1768, the colonial legislatures moved slowly. Even the Massachusetts assembly, which could usually be expected to proceed quickly to radical measures, hesitated before, on 11 February 1768, agreeing upon a circular letter to the other assemblies. In moderate tones, it questioned both the duties and the assumption of colonial salaries by the crown before concluding with an offer to consult upon a united plan of action.

This call met with mixed results and might have proved disappointing if not for the intervention of the newly appointed secretary of state for the colonies, Wills Hill, the earl of Hillsborough. On 22 April 1768, Hillsborough ordered Governor Francis Bernard to demand that the Massachusetts assembly rescind its letter, directing Bernard to dissolve the assembly if it refused. Hillsborough blundered further by ordering the other colonial governors to ignore the Massachusetts letter, again insisting upon dissolution or prorogation as the price of refusal.

Hillsborough's rash move caused the lukewarm opposition to the Townshend duties to become associated with the much more dynamic issue of assembly rights. As most of the assemblies were dissolved, aggrieved Americans stiffened in opposition to the new taxes and called extralegal popular meetings to protest British policy. These meetings adopted non-importation associations, agreements which all citizens were pressured to sign, promising a boycott of all nonessential British goods. Though enforcement varied in effectiveness, the associations marked a

critical juncture in the Revolutionary movement, as authority was transferred from the legally authorized legislatures to extralegal popular bodies that were neither recognized by or accountable to British authorities.

See also **Stamp Act and Stamp Act Congress.**

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Daniel McDonough

TRAILS TO THE WEST The earliest Americans traveled on trails blazed by generations of animals moving across the landscape in search of water and better grazing. From the explorers of the sixteenth century to the settlers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European immigrants and their descendants followed paths established by their Indian predecessors.

The Wilderness Road, the most important land route from western Virginia through the Cumberland Gap and into Kentucky, is said to have followed a route established by migrating herds of American bison. In 1750 Dr. Thomas Walker traveled through the Cumberland Gap and into the country beyond. Before 1770, "long hunters" like Daniel Boone were following the trail to the rich hunting grounds of Kentucky. Branches of the Wilderness Trail led south to the country occupied by the Cherokee and Creek peoples. Over the next decade, the old trail blazed by animals and Indians would become the primary overland route for settlers moving west.

Originally known as the Warrior's Path, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road also began as a game trail. Wagons driven by German and Scots-Irish immigrants rumbled south out of the Pennsylvania settlements on their way to new homes in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and the backcountry of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Nemacolin, a Delaware chief, and Maryland frontiersman Thomas Cresap established a path connecting the Potomac and Monongahela Rivers in 1749–1750. The young George Washington followed the same route on a 1754 journey to a skir-

mish that marked the beginning of the French and Indian War (1754–1760). The following year British general Edward Braddock transformed that trail into a wagon road in his unsuccessful attempt to capture the French Fort Duquesne at the present site of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Work began on a federally funded National Road in 1815. The first section, originally called the Cumberland Road, followed the path that Nemaquin, Washington, and Braddock had traveled through the Allegheny Mountains. With the support of Kentuckian Henry Clay and other western congressmen, work continued on the National Road during the years from 1825 to 1833. From Wheeling in Virginia (later West Virginia), the road followed part of Zane's Trace, named for pioneer Ebenezer Zane, who had established a crude wagon trail through the forest of eastern Ohio in the late eighteenth century, following an existing Indian path. The National Road continued across Ohio and Indiana to Vandalia, Illinois. In the age of the automobile it became Route 40, an important roadway to the West.

Rivers were the most important early pathways leading to the frontier. Far more settlers traveled down the Ohio River and up and down its tributaries than ever traveled overland into the Ohio watershed. Early western commerce also moved by water. Farmers in the Ohio watershed sought to move beyond the local market by floating their products down the local tributary to the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans aboard locally constructed flatboats. The crew of local men or boys would sell the boat at their destination and return home on foot along the famous Natchez Trace or another land route, risking an encounter with such notorious outlaws and "land pirates" as John Murrell and the brothers Micajah and Wiley Harpe.

Those who traveled to the Far West also took advantage of the rivers. Alexander Mackenzie, the first man to cross the North American continent from Atlantic to Pacific, traveled the Canadian waterways. Likewise, the Corps of Discovery (1803–1806), the first American transcontinental expedition, headed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, traveled down the Ohio, up the Mississippi, and northwest on the Missouri River to its headwaters in what became the state of Montana. They crossed the Rocky Mountains on foot and descended the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean.

Commerce, and the American flag, traveled southwest from Missouri on what became known as the Santa Fe Trail. Spain had jealously guarded the borders of its provinces in northern Mexico. In 1821,

the year in which Mexico threw off Spanish rule, William Becknell salvaged a failing business career with the profits from the first pack trip from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe. Stretching nine hundred miles across the Great Plains, the trail quickly emerged as an important economic link between the United States and Mexico.

With the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, the U.S. Army moved down the Santa Fe Trail to seize control of New Mexico and California. With American victory in 1848, the United States constructed a series of five forts to protect travelers from Indian raiding parties. In 1862 Confederate forces attempting to capture one of those posts, Fort Union, battled Union troops at Glorieta Pass, New Mexico. Union victory in this most decisive of all western Civil War battles enabled the government to retain control of the trail.

No route to the West was better known than the Oregon Trail. Between 1841 and 1861, an estimated 300,000 emigrants traveled the 2,170-mile-long trail from Independence, Missouri, to Oregon City, Oregon. Robert Stuart, a member of a group of fur traders who established Fort Astoria on Oregon's Columbia River, followed a Crow Indian trail through South Pass in 1812. A twenty-mile-wide valley through the Rocky Mountains, the pass was the key to locating the trail to Oregon and California.

Other immigrants would travel slightly different paths. Some followed branches of the Oregon Trail that carried them to California. Between 1846 and 1869 more than seventy thousand converts to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints traveled the Mormon Trail from a jumping-off point in Iowa to the Great Salt Lake Valley of Utah. In contrast to the hopes of overland immigrants for a better life in the West, the U.S. government in 1838 forced over fifteen thousand citizens of the Cherokee Nation to travel a Trail of Tears from their ancestral homeland in North Carolina and Tennessee to resettlement areas in the Indian Territory, later Oklahoma.

Some early trails established the route for later roads and highways. Other historic pathways simply vanished, leaving nothing more than the grooves cut by decades of wagons passing through a rocky area. The hardships suffered by those who braved an overland journey by foot, handcart, or wagon have been largely forgotten. What remains is the romantic vision of Americans moving west as portrayed in popular culture, from traditional songs like "Sweet Betsy from Pike" to novels, films, and television shows.

See also **Exploration and Explorers; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Pioneering; Transportation: Roads and Turnpikes; West.**

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TRANSCONTINENTAL TREATY Signed in February 1819 by Spain and the United States, the Transcontinental Treaty finally settled the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase of April 1803. The United States had bought Louisiana from France with the same undefined boundaries with which France had received it from Spain. Immediately, President Thomas Jefferson wanted to open negotiations with Spain to fix the boundaries. He argued that Louisiana encompassed not just the western Mississippi Valley, but also the Gulf Coast from the Rio Grande in the west to the Perdido River in the east. With good reason, Spain considered the purchase invalid and refused to cede so much of its territory. Desultory negotiations ended entirely late in Jefferson's presidency as Spain collapsed under foreign invasion and internal turmoil. Capitalizing on this distress, the United States unilaterally annexed West Florida, as far east as the Perdido, in 1810.

In May 1816, President James Madison and Secretary of State James Monroe prepared for renewed negotiations by setting their priorities in three areas: Florida, Texas, and the Pacific Northwest. Acquiring East Florida was most important; leaving unimpeded American claims in the Pacific Northwest—an important stopover in the China trade—came second; and securing Texas from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande was least important. They also sought millions of dollars in damages claimed by American merchants against Spain. Madison and Monroe envisioned a treaty in which the United States would assume the damage claims and abandon its pretensions to Texas in exchange for Florida and the protection of its interests in the Pacific Northwest. Their desire to sign a treaty was always balanced against their ef-

fort to avoid a new war so soon after the War of 1812. Expecting their position to improve over time, Madison and Monroe did not press Spain too hard.

These priorities continued to shape policy under President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams after Monroe's inauguration in March 1817. Monroe and Adams expected a long period of fruitless negotiations with Spain. But a series of unexpected developments at home, in Spanish Florida, and in Europe transformed Spanish thinking in 1818. At home, public and congressional opinion clamored to support the revolutionary movements in Spain's American colonies. In Florida, General Andrew Jackson seized two Spanish forts during his war against the Seminole Indians. In Europe, the Great Powers decided against intervening on Spain's behalf against its rebellious colonies. Spanish policymakers, like their American counterparts, had calculated that time was on their side. Prolonging the negotiations would allow them to strengthen their European alliances and quiet their New World colonies. The events of 1818, however, suggested instead that they could lose Florida without receiving anything in exchange and drive the United States into support of the rebels or even war unless they made real concessions quickly.

Within months of this reevaluation, Adams and the Spanish minister in Washington, Luis de Onís, completed a treaty on the lines that Madison and Monroe had projected nearly three years earlier. The United States received Florida. The two sides fixed a boundary that ran from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean. And the United States assumed \$5 million in damage claims of American merchants. The Spanish king delayed ratification for two years, but the treaty officially took effect in February 1821.

Because it established the first solid American claim on the Pacific, the Transcontinental Treaty has operated, along with the Monroe Doctrine, to establish Adams's claim to greatness as secretary of state. For a quarter century after its completion, however, the treaty was often seen as most significant—and most controversial—for abandoning the weak American claim to Texas.

See also **Adams, John Quincy; Florida; Louisiana Purchase; Monroe, James; Spanish Empire; Texas.**

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American Stage Wagon (1800) by Isaac Weld. Throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries people used animals to move goods and themselves over land. © CORBIS.

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James E. Lewis Jr.

TRANSPORTATION

This entry consists of three separate articles: *Animal Power*, *Canals and Waterways*, and *Roads and Turnpikes*.

Animal Power

Before 1830 walking remained the most common mode of human transportation, but throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries people in-

creasingly used animals to move goods and themselves over land. Advances in horse technology, such as improved wagons, continued selective breeding, and new uses of the horse, paralleled steady improvements in infrastructure such as turnpikes and canals. Although oxen continued to provide a less costly source of power for transportation into the mid-nineteenth century (in part because they doubled as a food source), horses were generally preferred for their greater speed.

Excessively poor road conditions throughout the colonial period made travel on horseback the only practicable method of long-distance conveyance. Early U.S. government-sponsored road construction in the 1790s allowed for greater use of carriages and wagons, but improvements were sporadic. Thomas Jefferson's journey from Philadelphia to Monticello (a distance of about 260 miles) in January 1794, by combination of stagecoach and horseback, took eleven days. Despite a top speed of forty miles per hour, a horse could sustain such high speed only for about

two miles. Thirty miles was generally considered a day's journey.

The four-wheeled Conestoga wagon, with its distinctive boat-shaped body and cloth top, became the dominant freight vehicle in eastern America after 1750, reaching its peak of use between 1820 and 1840. First built by German immigrants in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the Conestoga's first major use came in May 1755 when General Edward Braddock called on Benjamin Franklin to hire 150 such wagons, along with the drivers and horses, to carry supplies on his expedition to retake Fort Duquesne (on the site of modern Pittsburgh). In 1789 the physician Benjamin Rush commented that it was common to see 100 such wagons per day enter Philadelphia from western settlements. The largest wagons, with a team of six sturdy horses, could haul up to five tons.

By 1750 horse herds of formerly domesticated stock from New Spain had spread northward throughout the Great Plains and the Columbia Plateau. Tribes such as the Sioux, Blackfoot, and Nez Perce quickly took advantage of the greater efficiency of equestrian hunting and greater mobility offered by horses, though many tribes that encountered horses did not turn to a nomadic lifestyle. The Chickasaw and Nez Perce tribes were especially noted for their success at selectively breeding strong, rugged horses.

Mules made their debut in America shortly after 1785 when George Washington acquired "Royal Gift," a prized Spanish donkey eventually used to sire a line of American mules. By the early nineteenth century, mules were in use throughout the South, working primarily as draft animals on plantations. Despite their higher cost and sterility, mules were preferred over horses in plantation agriculture owing to their innate ability to avoid injury. This was an important trait because less direct supervision by owners often meant that overseers or slaves were prone to injure—or in extreme cases kill—a draft horse through overwork or neglect.

During the height of the canal era (roughly 1815 to 1840), animal power reached its greatest efficiency. A single horse or mule was capable of towing a forty-ton canal boat for six hours on the Erie Canal (completed in 1825). Replacement horses were simply towed along with the rest of the cargo and brought to the hitch by way of a plank extended to the towpath.

A system of stagecoaches offered long distance public transportation along the eastern seaboard by 1780. The first urban public transportation system

in America consisted of a horse-drawn "omnibus" that ambled along Broadway Street in New York beginning in 1829. Other cities such as Philadelphia (1831) and Boston (1835) soon followed with their own oat-powered public transport. A fixed rail horse-drawn streetcar or "horsecar" was introduced in New York in 1832 and was quickly adopted by most major U.S. cities.

See also **Erie Canal; Livestock Production; Railroads; Technology.**

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Stephen Servais

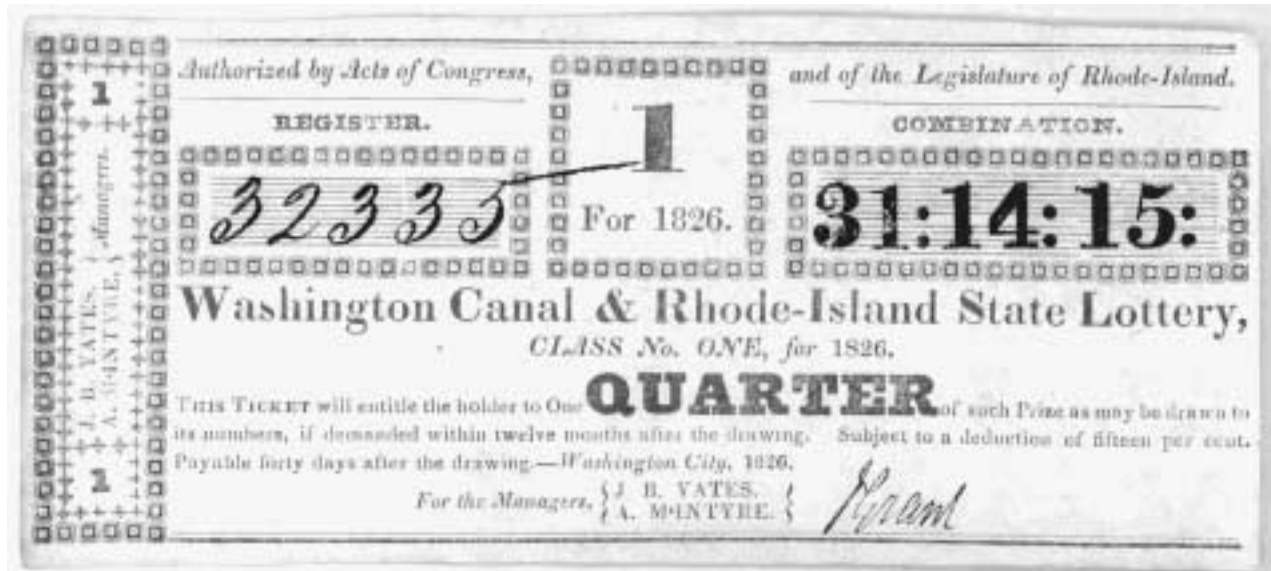
Canals and Waterways

Long-distance travel in early America meant travel by water. Throughout the colonial period and into the nineteenth century, the coastal trade linking the major port cities of the east coast helped to build critically important economic and political ties that created a sense of unity, mutual interest, and common purpose.

RIVERS

Great open waterways, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the north to the Delaware and Chesapeake Bays on the mid-Atlantic coast, offered the earliest explorers a route into the interior of the continent. Trade and settlement moved inland along the great rivers: the St. Lawrence, the Connecticut, the Hudson, the Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Potomac. No early explorer made better use of the inland waterways than the Frenchman, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle. Between 1673 and 1682 he traveled up the St. Lawrence, through the Great Lakes, and down the length of the Mississippi River.

As European settlements extended west across the Allegheny Mountains, the network of inland rivers became the major transportation arteries. The Ohio River stretches over 980 miles from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to its juncture with the Mississippi at Cairo, Illinois. The major watershed for thirteen states, it was the principal route into the western country during the period of expansion that began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. The Lewis and Clark expedition (1804–1806) traveled up the Missouri River to its headwaters in present-day



Washington Canal and Rhode Island State Lottery. The expense involved in the construction of canals led to a number of creative fund-raising ventures, including lotteries. This ticket was for a lottery held in 1826 to raise money to construct the Washington County Canal in Rhode Island. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, RARE BOOK AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION.

Montana, crossed the Rocky Mountains on foot, and descended the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean.

Rivers were the key to the early western economy. In the early nineteenth century, western farmers often floated their products down their local tributaries to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and on to New Orleans aboard locally constructed flatboats. These unpowered craft were often crewed by local men or boys who sold the boats at their destination and returned home on foot along the Natchez Trace or other land routes. Keelboats, designed to be poled upstream, also carried goods on the western rivers. Keelboat men like Mike Fink, along with such notable outlaws and "land pirates" as John Murrell and the brothers Micajah and Wiley Harpe, earned an enduring place in western legend and lore.

STEAMBOATS

The advent of the steamboat opened a new era in the history of American transportation. Both John Fitch (1743–1798) and James Rumsey (1743–1792) had conducted early experiments with steam-powered river vessels, but neither was able to develop a practical, marketable design. With the support of Chancellor Robert Livingston, a wealthy New York landowner, Robert Fulton (1765–1815) succeeded where others had failed. On 17–19 August 1807 he rode 150 miles upstream from New York to Albany on his famous *North River Steamboat*, later rebuilt and

known as the *North River Steamboat of Clermont*, in honor of Clermont, Robert Livingston's Hudson River estate. The first voyage took thirty-two hours over a two-day period. Granted a monopoly for steam navigation of the Hudson River, Fulton and Livingston were able to force John Stevens, their great rival, into operating his steamboat in Delaware Bay.

In 1810–1811 Nicholas Roosevelt, an associate of Fulton's, built the steamboat *New Orleans* in Pittsburgh. He set off down the Ohio in the spring of 1811 with a party of eight. For the next eight months, the *New Orleans* and its crew would face one hazard after another, from low water and the threat of Indian attack to the New Madrid earthquake, which caused the Mississippi to run backward for a time. The first steamboat to travel the Ohio-Mississippi system arrived in New Orleans on 12 January 1812 and delivered a load of cotton consigned to it in Natchez.

Over the next two decades, the advent of the steamboat would shape the economic, political, and cultural life of the West and the South. Cities like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Memphis, and Natchez prospered as major inland ports. By 1840 New Orleans was one of the busiest ports in the world and a major entry point for European immigrants to the United States. During the nineteenth century, an estimated four thousand steamboats were operated on the Mississippi River system.

CANALS

The rise of commerce on the western rivers was a matter of serious concern for the citizens of east coast ports, notably New York. In 1817 New Yorkers began work on the Erie Canal in an effort to attract the western trade. Connecting Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson River, the Erie was an artificial waterway furnished with a series of locks to raise and lower canal boats, compensating for the different elevations of the two bodies of water. The construction of the canal was one of the great civil engineering projects undertaken in the first half of the nineteenth century. A generation of engineers who would go on to supervise the construction of roads, bridges, and railroads learned their profession as young men working on the Erie Canal or one of the other waterways that it inspired.

The completion of the canal in 1825 reduced the cost of shipping a ton of produce from Buffalo to Albany from one hundred dollars by road to just ten dollars. The three weeks required for an overland journey across the state was reduced to eight days by canal. The commerce of the expanding Old Northwest began to flow eastward along the new waterway, while waves of European immigrants traveled west by canal to the Great Lakes. As the planners had hoped, New York City remained the nation's leading business and population center.

The success of the Erie Canal underscored the importance of internal improvements, government-funded road and canal projects designed to encourage commerce and economic growth. A wave of canal building swept the United States. By the end of the nineteenth century, several dozen canals had been constructed in twenty-one states, from Maine to Oregon.

The history of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal was typical of many others. President John Quincy Adams broke ground on 4 July 1828 for a canal that would run alongside the Potomac River for over 180 miles from Cumberland, Maryland, to Georgetown, in the District of Columbia. By the time the work was completed in 1850, the canal included 160 culverts that allowed small streams to pass under the canal and eleven aqueducts carrying the waterway over larger rivers and roads. The Potomac dropped 605 feet from Cumberland to Georgetown. A canal boat making that journey passed through seventy-four lift locks along the way. The most difficult construction challenge was to bore a 3,118-foot tunnel through a hard rock ridge. The labor force was a mix of local farmers and immigrant labor.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which served the same geographic area, was completed eight years before the C&O Canal and earned much higher profits. The canal survived as a less expensive means of transporting coal from Cumberland to Washington, D.C. The old rivalry finally came to an end in 1889, when a flood devastated the canal and the railroad was able to take control. The B&O restored the canal and kept it in operation until 1924, when another major flood brought an end to traffic on the old C&O.

In the age of air travel and coast-to-coast super highways, the waterways that were so important to commerce and transportation in the new American nation remain important economic arteries into the twenty-first century. Engineers have transformed the St. Lawrence River, which allowed the French to travel inland from the coast, into a seaway that connects to the Great Lakes, opening the Midwest to the commerce of the world. The keelboats, paddle wheel steamers, and canal boats have vanished, but the products of American fields and factories still move up and down the Mississippi and its two great tributaries, the Ohio and the Missouri.

See also **Erie Canal; Exploration and Explorers; Lewis and Clark Expedition; Mississippi River; New Orleans; New York City; Steamboat.**

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Roads and Turnpikes

Early roads in every region of North America were animal paths, often carved by bison migrating between salt licks, water sources, and natural pasturage. If the herds were large enough, they trampled underbrush in broad swaths, turning narrow trails into wide but still rudimentary roads. Native Americans used these same trails, most obviously during hunting seasons but also on diplomatic or warring trips against other nations and European and American settlers.

By the 1750s a network of roads provided an infrastructure for colonists' transportation. Early emi-



grants traveled the Mohawk Road from Albany, New York, to Lake Erie. The Great Warrior Path through Virginia's Shenandoah Valley became the Great Wagon Road by which Germans and Scots-Irish migrated from Pennsylvania through the southern backcountry to central North Carolina, where another Indian trail, the Great Trading Path, ushered colonists into South Carolina and Georgia.

While Indians had relied on herds to maintain these traces, American colonists actively cleared roads. Following English tradition dating from the Middle Ages or earlier, Virginia enacted road-clearing

legislation in 1632 requiring each man to work on the roads a given number of days each year or to pay another to work in his place. William Penn's policy of 1683 placed Pennsylvania county courts in charge of road clearing and empowered them to assign road overseers. Despite official efforts to maintain roads, however, colonial roads remained narrow, difficult-to-travel surfaces of compacted dirt.

The French and Indian War marked a shift in American ideas about roads. In 1753 George Washington oversaw the widening of Nemaolin's Path through northwestern Virginia to facilitate attacks

on the French in western Pennsylvania. A year later, needing to move large armies through northern and western wildernesses, the British began a series of road clearings. General Edward Braddock authorized a twelve-foot wide military road between Fort Cumberland, Maryland, and Fort Duquesne in western Pennsylvania. Six hundred soldiers cleared about two miles of the rude path each day. In August 1759 General Jeffrey Amherst sent two hundred Rangers to widen the Indian Road from Crown Point, New York, to Lake Champlain. When the war ended, many Americans had access to wide roads on which horse-drawn wagons could more conveniently haul goods.

But without constant attention, these military roads quickly became overgrown and impassable. By the 1770s Braddock's Road was abandoned, and the Crown Point Road fell into disuse until cleared again in 1777 by colonial militias on their way to Fort Ticonderoga. More traveled roads fared little better. The Boston Post Road, cleared and maintained since 1673, served as the primary route between Boston and New York City. Heavy use by post riders and the general public created ruts, holes, and mud. Gradually the route became part of the King's Highway, connecting Boston to Charleston. Since the King's Highway linked all thirteen colonies, it became a central military road during the Revolutionary War. After the war the name drew disgust, and Americans once again employed more colloquial names, such as "Boston Post Road."

In the meantime, some Americans busily carved roads out of the trans-Appalachian wilderness. In 1775 Daniel Boone led about thirty woodsmen through the Cumberland Gap, clearing a road on behalf of the Transylvania Land Company into central Kentucky and beyond to the falls of the Ohio River. It would be another twenty years before the road was widened enough to accommodate wagons. By 1785, in an age before the steamboats, the Natchez Trace allowed Mississippi rivermen to return northward through Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. And in 1796 Ebenezer Zane began blazing a road across the southern Ohio Territory between Wheeling, Virginia, and Limestone, Kentucky.

The new and expanding nation required not only new roads but improved roads as well. By modern standards, roads were very poor. Tree stumps under a foot high dotted most roadbeds. Most trails were not wide enough for wagons to pass. And the only option to muddy roads before 1800 was the corduroy road: half-sawn logs laid flat-side down and covered with dirt, which provided a solid albeit bumpy route through low-lying, marshy areas.

State legislatures desperately sought new ways to ensure road transportation. Pennsylvania chartered the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company, which, in 1794, completed the nation's first toll road. Eight years later the Catskill Turnpike opened in New York. Private turnpike companies paid the expenses of maintaining and upgrading roads, passing the costs onto travelers and profits onto stockholders, most of whom were owners of land adjacent to the road and merchants who meant to use it. By 1811 states were issuing charters wholesale: New England had about 180 chartered companies; New York, 17 companies; and New Jersey, 30 companies. South of the Potomac River, however, river systems remained the dominant mode of transportation, and few turnpike companies were formed.

The federal government also became involved in road construction. In 1806 post riders carved the Federal Road through Creek Indian lands in the Alabama and Mississippi Territories. President Thomas Jefferson signed legislation authorizing the construction of the Cumberland Road, which eventually stretched from Cumberland, Maryland, to Vandalia, Illinois. In 1808 Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin promoted road building to aid federal government and "facilitate commercial interests."

Despite these efforts at road improvement, during the War of 1812 the army was greatly hampered by the scarcity of good western roads. As the war ended, President James Madison approved funding for what became known as Jackson's Military Road from Nashville to New Orleans. A series of federal military-road projects followed. Madison and later James Monroe showed less interest in public roads, however. Madison vetoed John C. Calhoun's 1817 Bonus Bill, which would have funded a network of roads that were to bind the Republic together, and a similar proposal two years later failed as well. Determined, Calhoun, as Monroe's secretary of war, repackaged his plan for internal improvements, and in 1824 a new era in federal road construction began. The Survey Act of 1824 called for federal surveys for commercial, military, and post roads, all to be done by the Army Corps of Engineers. Road construction began immediately in the Michigan, Florida, and Arkansas Territories, where the need for military roads was greatest.

Road technology improved alongside governmental funding. By the 1810s, plank roads of flat sawn boards were replacing corduroy roads. Macadam, layered rock in twenty-foot-wide roadbeds to provide stability and drainage, likewise improved roads. In 1823 the Boonsborough Turnpike, the first

macadamized road in the nation, was built in Maryland. The most significant use of macadam was on the Cumberland Road project, which, by 1825, had received so much funding from the federal government that it was renamed the "National Road." In 1826 work began in Kentucky on the Maysville Turnpike, the first macadamized road west of the Appalachians.

An active federal government employed new technologies to satisfy a highly mobile population, with the result that the United States had an official road-building program by the late 1820s. Still, as the far west opened and pioneers carved new roads, beginning with the Santa Fe Trail in 1822, most American roads remained what all roads had been one hundred years earlier—simple dirt roads.

See also **City Growth and Development; Economic Development; Government and the Economy; Railroads.**

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ned by post roads since the late seventeenth century, and stagecoach lines had just begun to operate from Boston to Baltimore. Further inland, several military roads had been carved out of the wilderness and construction of the Great Wagon Road, which would eventually connect Philadelphia to the Georgia backcountry, had been under way for several decades. In most areas, though, roads remained mere pathways—seldom trodden, primitive, and undeveloped—winding along old Native American trails. Muddy in wet weather, suffocatingly dusty in the dry season, impassably obstructed by foliage and tree stumps all year-round, these roads rendered any significant trip a slow, difficult, dangerous, and uncertain venture.

IMPROVING THE ROADS

Following the Revolution, private companies and public institutions built a sophisticated network of improved roads that would, by 1820, connect all of the cities along the seaboard and extend deep into the western territories. Road building was limited to hand labor, picks and shovels, and black powder explosives. Although most roads were built of earth compacted atop large boulders, corduroy roads were built in marshy areas by felling trees, trimming them, and laying them side-by-side on the ground. By the 1820s, road builders were experimenting with British macadamized surfaces. These roadbeds were graded, covered with large gravel, and compacted by heavy-wheeled vehicles. Macadam roads were durable, and their archlike cross sections facilitated drainage into adjoining ditches. Where stone gravel was unavailable, builders substituted oyster shells and iron slag from furnaces. Where there was stone, builders—as early as the 1790s—also constructed small-scale stone arch bridges to ford streams and gullies. Wooden bridges, planks on timber pilings modeled after wharf construction, were not uncommon in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, but bridge building escalated in the early 1800s with the invention of the sturdy and economical wooden latticework truss. Riding these improved roads and bridges were Conestoga wagons, high-wheeled, boat-shaped wagons that could carry from four to six tons of freight, and an increasing number of coaches and carriages, particularly after 1826, when the invention of the Concord Coach, cradled by flexible shock-absorbing leather braces, took passenger comfort to new levels.

BOATS

Throughout the period, overland transport of goods cost approximately twelve times as much as water

TRAVEL, TECHNOLOGY OF Travel by foot and by horse and wagon, familiar and omnipresent means of transportation from the earliest days of settlement, still provided the dominant mode of travel in mid-eighteenth-century America. On the eastern seaboard, many of the major cities had been con-

transport. Ease and economy characterized river transport, and flatboats, large flat-ended floating boxes flowing with the current and carrying from thirty to forty tons of goods, were in use for one-way trips on the rivers early in the eighteenth century. After the Revolution keelboats, maneuverable boats with shallow keels, pointed ends, and sails and poles to move upstream, filled the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The two-masted barge, capable of carrying one hundred tons, appeared in 1800 and further increased carrying capacity. Upstream travel took about four times as long as downstream travel, with the attendant increase in costs, and experiments to economize upstream trips included failed attempts at using horse treadmills to run paddle wheels. The problem of upstream travel was solved by the invention of the steamboat. Invented by John Fitch in 1787, the steamboat was put into regular commercial use by Robert Fulton, whose *Clermont* made the run from New York City to Albany in thirty-two hours in 1807. Improvements over the next decade included moving the boiler up onto the deck to give the vessels a shallower draft and using high-pressure steam to increase the pulling power. Steamboats debuted on the Ohio River in 1811 and soon became the most important mode of shipping on the major waterways.

CANALS

For much of the eighteenth century, visionaries dreamed of creating waterways to facilitate internal trade. Canal building, however, was limited by the prohibitive costs of constructing canalways, locks, and towpaths and by the fact that technology that had not yet developed brick linings to prevent lock walls from leaking or movable lock gates that could withstand tons of water. After the Revolution amateur engineers, aided by British professionals, solved the technological problems, and joint-stock companies provided the necessary capital. After several small-scale efforts in the 1790s, the first large-scale canal project, the twenty-seven-mile Middlesex Canal, linked Boston and the Merrimack River in 1803. In 1817 ground was broken for the Erie Canal, which—like most of the other great canal projects of the time—was government funded. Over the next eight years, through an incredible combination of engineering skill, human labor, technological innovation, and political determination, the Hudson River was linked up with Lake Erie. Spinoff benefits from the effort included the creation of machines that snapped off trees and plucked up stumps, the development of hydraulic waterproof cement, and the on-the-job education of amateur engineers who would

go on to work on other major infrastructure projects. The financial success of the canal spurred a canal mania that swept the growing nation and confirmed many Americans' perception of the country's growing prosperity and unlimited future.

RAILROADS

The canal's day in the limelight quickly faded, however, as the railroad, the new symbol of American growth and economic success, emerged. Throughout the 1820s, governments and internal improvement societies sent architects and engineers to England for technical knowledge of locomotives and steam engine construction. Even so, when the first commercial railways were established in the 1830s, imported English locomotives provided the power. Over the course of the decade, an engine factory was set up in Philadelphia, churning out locomotives adapted to American conditions. Front-turning trucks (wheels) were added to accommodate tight curves, and more powerful engines were developed to haul up the steeper grades of American topography. Iron rails pinned to wooden ties replaced the English system of rails placed atop stone foundations or wooden pilings in an effort to reduce the effects of frost heaving in the colder American climate. Technological and managerial expertise would greatly improve the railways in the years to come, and the railroad network would offer the promise of fully integrating the agricultural and commercial areas of the young nation and serve as a great engine of expansion and development.

See also **Railroads; Steamboat; Transportation.**

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TRAVEL GUIDES AND ACCOUNTS American travel writing as it is understood in twenty-first century terms, as a genre produced by writers who travel in order to write for a market in which travel writing sells, emerged in the 1820s and 1830s. Magazine and book publishers began to offer travel sketches that characteristically featured a literary observer who fashioned accounts of touristic journeys within the United States as well as Europe for the benefit of a bourgeois reading public. As travel became more accessible over the course of the nineteenth century, literary travel writing about Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, and the U.S. interior continued to gain popularity and attracted contributions from some of the major literary figures of the nineteenth century.

Travel writing in this modern sense depended not only on a ready marketplace, but also on the geopolitical stability and technological advances that made leisure travel possible. During the Revolutionary War (1775–1783), diplomatic business brought well-known Americans like Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and the Adams family to Europe. Massachusetts native Elkanah Watson, to whom Foster R. Dulles refers, in *Americans Abroad* (1964), as “the first [American] tourist,” parlayed an errand on behalf of the Continental Congress to Franklin in Paris into more extensive travels and the book *A Tour in Holland* (1790). However, during the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815) European travel became difficult, and American accounts of Europe became scarce.

During that period, the combination of patriotism, territorial expansion, and the advent of the steamboat contributed to a proliferation of travel accounts of the American interior. The earliest, written in the wake of the French and Indian War (1755–1763), offered topographical descriptions emerging from surveyors’ expeditions and diaries of military campaigns. In the decade following the Revolutionary War, three major travel accounts were published that continue to be read widely today: J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur’s *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), William Bartram’s *Travels* (1791), and Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785). These works combined the scientific impulse of the eighteenth century with the equally strong imperative of documenting the natural wonders of America for a curious and often skeptical European audience. These works are merely the most enduring examples of a broader craze of describing America for the benefit of Americans, foreigners, and potential settlers. Other

examples include works by John Filson, Gilbert Imlay, and Jedidiah Morse.

The dual impact of the Louisiana Purchase (1803) and Robert Fulton’s introduction of the steamboat (1807) prompted the next phase of travel within, and thus travel writing about, the North American continent. Lewis and Clark’s transcontinental expedition (1804–1806) and Zebulon Pike’s exploration of the trans-Mississippi West (1805–1807) enacted on a grander scale the surveying trips of the mid-eighteenth century, with equally grand textual results. However, even as Americans were being treated to accounts of heroic confrontations with the difficulties of western travel, steam propulsion made travel on the Ohio and Missouri Rivers, as well as down and, crucially, *up* the Mississippi, safer and less arduous. During this period accounts by domestic and foreign travelers proliferated, most notably Timothy Flint’s *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (1826), James Fenimore Cooper’s *Notions of the Americans* (1828), and Washington Irving’s *Tour on the Prairies* (1835).

Following the Napoleonic Wars, further technological developments reduced the length of time required for Americans to make the transatlantic crossing. As a result, two competing versions of the so-called Grand Tour emerged in the 1820s. Not only should an educated person of means see the museums, churches, and ruins of Europe, but he or she should also embark on what Gideon Miner Davison in 1825 termed “The Fashionable Tour” of New England and the eastern Great Lakes. Davison’s guides, as well as works by Timothy Dwight, instructed readers on the picturesque satisfactions of Niagara Falls, Montreal, and Lake George in New York’s Adirondack Mountains, destinations made more accessible by the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825.

A final strain of American travel literature is less particularly American than either the narratives of the provincial visiting Europe or the traveler confronting the mysteries of the western wilderness. However, the accounts published by sea captains, naval commanders, and common sailors of their adventures and sufferings on voyages all over the world comprise a significant proportion of U.S. travel writing. John Ledyard sailed with the British explorer Captain James Cook on his third, ill-fated voyage and published an account of his experiences in *A Journal of Captain Cook’s Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean and in Quest of a North-West Passage* (1783). Other important American accounts of sea travel include works by David Porter and Amasa Delano.

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TREATY OF PARIS The agreement in 1783 between the United States and Great Britain known as the Treaty of Paris formally ended the struggle for American independence. The British “acknowledged” their former colonial subjects as “free, sovereign and independent.” Both sides opted for political reconciliation and commercial cooperation rather than continuous hostilities and competition.

In October 1781 Continental troops forced General Charles Cornwallis to surrender his troops in the wake of the Battle of Yorktown. The British decline spurred by this defeat was exacerbated by other defeats to the French and the Spanish on other continents and compounded by accumulating debt. Subsequently, the political situation changed. In March 1782 King George III installed a new cabinet. Its leaders secretly negotiated with senior American diplomats authorized by the Continental Congress. Five men were commissioned. John Adams, John Jay, and Benjamin Franklin (who, being pro-French, initially objected to the talks) conducted the bargaining; Henry Laurens was captured and held by the British; and Thomas Jefferson remained in America until after the deal was sealed. Jefferson was more inclined than the others toward the French perspective, so his absence facilitated an Anglo-American agreement.

On 30 November 1782 the peace treaty was initiated in Paris. It ended the Revolutionary War by February 1783. On 15 April 1783 the preliminary Articles of Peace were ratified by the United States. On 6 August 1783 Great Britain did the same. On 3 September 1783 the Definitive Treaty of Paris (merely adding procedural details) was signed by American and British representatives. On 14 January 1784 this

treaty was ratified by the United States and went into formal effect. On 9 April 1784 Britain followed suit.

American and British diplomats sidetracked the ambitious French, although the Americans had explicitly promised in 1778 not to sign a separate treaty. Britain had an interest in making concessions to the United States; doing so positioned the Americans as a potential ally, which aroused the ire of the French. The separate British-U.S. arrangement minimized gains for the French and their Spanish allies. The British exchanged with them territories in the Caribbean, West Africa, and the Mediterranean but maintained their fortress of Gibraltar. The Anglo-Saxon powers totally overlooked the interests of indigenous and racial populations.

As a result of the Treaty of Paris, the British ceded—without compensation—vast territories they possessed to the United States, whose boundaries were set in the Great Lakes and along the Mississippi River and thirty-one degrees north latitude, although New Orleans was excluded. This transfer of sovereignty doubled the size of the original colonies, primarily at the expense of native tribes. The terms, however, compared poorly with American aspirations upon independence in 1776 and what the Continental Congress had stipulated in 1779. Canada remained British. The Mississippi River itself and its navigation did not become exclusively American. Spain regained Florida. The French continued to possess vast territories beyond the Mississippi until the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. American diplomats secured much, but their ability to maneuver amid the conflict of their interests with those of the British, French, and Spanish was limited.

Both American and British sailors were authorized to navigate the Mississippi River. U.S. citizens retained their previous fishing rights to rich British waters such as the Grand Banks and all other banks of Newfoundland as well as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Americans were also permitted to dry and cure their catch on unsettled beaches in Labrador and Nova Scotia.

The United States pledged that its Congress would “earnestly recommend” to state and local authorities the restoration of property confiscated from British Loyalists during the war, prohibit future expropriation, release the Loyalists from confinement, and halt their persecution. These commitments had a weak legal basis and were rarely observed. Both sides promised that creditors would recover their prewar debts, but implementation was imperfect.

See also **Canada; Revolution: Diplomacy.**

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TRENTON, BATTLE OF By December 1776 the Continental Army, reeling from a series of defeats that resulted in the loss of New York and New Jersey, seemed to be in the process of dissolution. As Congress retreated from Philadelphia to the relative safety of Baltimore and the army faced the expiration of the enlistments of all but fourteen hundred men, the future appeared bleak indeed. Defeat had severely impacted Patriot morale and even George Washington privately admitted that the end might be near.

Washington quickly recovered from such pessimism and displayed the determination and resourcefulness that were such prominent marks of his character. He knew that the British garrisons at Trenton and Princeton were isolated and exposed to attack. The garrison of fourteen hundred Hessians at Trenton, under the command of Colonel Johann Rall, was of particular interest. Homesick and exhausted from weeks of dealing with hostile elements in “pacified” New Jersey, the Hessians made an inviting target.

The crossing of the Delaware River, on Christmas evening 1776, has rightfully assumed a prominent position in American iconography. If the crossing did not match the image of indomitable courage

in the famous, and largely inaccurate, Emmanuel Leutze painting of 1851, it was indeed heroic. The unsung heroes were Colonel John Glover and his Marblehead mariners, who managed the crossing on a raw and bitter night in which rain, sleet, snow, wind, and floating ice made the crossing difficult and dangerous. Though Washington deplored the delays caused by the weather, the bitter night actually assisted his designs, as weather conditions, rather than the alcohol of legend, were largely responsible for the achievement of surprise. The fighting lasted only an hour and a half and, at the cost of less than ten men killed and wounded; the Americans killed or captured over nine hundred Hessians, including Colonel Rall, who was killed.

Trenton was Washington’s most striking victory. Though other campaigns possessed more strategic significance, the victory at Trenton, and the less conclusive fighting at Princeton a week later, rejuvenated Patriot morale and carried the cause through the difficult winter of 1776–1777.

See also **Hessians; Revolution: Military History.**

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Daniel McDonough

TWO PENNY ACT *See* **Parsons’ Cause.**



UNITARIANISM AND UNIVERSALISM In 1961 the Unitarians and Universalists merged to form a single denomination, recognizing that their views on religious, social, and political matters had become virtually identical. This was not the case in the era of the American Revolution, when each had its American beginnings. The idea of a universal salvation had occurred to one or another Christian in the Old World as well as the new, and had been advanced on the eve of the Revolution by the liberal Congregationalist Charles Chauncy (1705–1787). But the organized Universalists were originally led by itinerant revivalists, and drew their members from the Baptists and Congregationalists, or from the unchurched. By contrast, New England Unitarianism emerged quietly and gracefully among the wealthiest and best-educated Bostonians as a further extension of Chauncy’s Arminian Congregationalism (Arminianism, named for a sixteenth-century Dutch theologian, Jacobus Arminius, may be briefly described as free-will Calvinism).

Even in the beginning, however, Unitarians and Universalists had important things in common. Most of their churches arose and persisted in New England, where throughout their formative years—approximately the 1770s to the 1820s—the Congregational Church continued its regional dominance in

overall wealth and numbers. It did this in spite of disestablishment (1818 in Connecticut, 1832 in Massachusetts) and the vigorous growth of competing denominations. Those Congregationalists who had not themselves become Unitarians vigorously opposed the central idea that the Creator was one and indivisible and not a Trinity—Three Persons of one Divine Substance. Similarly the Congregationalists joined with other Christian denominations in being scandalized by the Universalists’ defining principle: that the Atonement of Jesus extended to all souls. Critics argued that this was an open invitation to sin; Universalists saw it as divine encouragement to piety and virtue.

The first Unitarian congregation had previously been Anglican: the venerable King’s Chapel in Boston. In 1787 it ordained the Reverend James Freeman, an avowed Unitarian, as minister. Unitarian principles quietly spread until 1805, when Harvard appointed Henry Ware (1764–1845) Hollis Professor of Divinity. After several further similar appointments, Harvard’s faculty was firmly Unitarian, and a number of Congregational churches had proclaimed themselves Unitarian as well. Most famous among these was the Federal Street Church in Boston, whose minister was William Ellery Channing (1780–1842). Channing preached an inspiring and perhaps intoxicating message of the perfectibility of human nature.

His sermon "Unitarian Christianity" (1819) is perhaps the defining text of the whole movement.

The Unitarian culture of eastern Massachusetts encouraged literature, science, and the fine arts, becoming the basis of a genuine New England Renaissance. It also prepared the ground for its precocious, if somewhat rebellious, spiritual child, the transcendentalism of the editor and essayist Margaret Fuller, the clergymen George Ripley and Theodore Parker, and the writer and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson. At their most radical, as in Emerson's case, the transcendentalists denied all traditional religious dogma, including the authority of the Bible, and exalted nature as the direct manifestation of the divine. Compared to the transcendentalists, however, the first generation of Unitarians remained theologically conservative in many respects. They avowed the holy inspiration and truth of Christian Scripture, the existence of miracles, and the immortality of the soul. Unitarians were not indifferent to the world around them but chiefly aimed to improve it by cultivating the individual. In "Likeness to God," Channing wrote of Christianity:

This whole religion expresses an infinite concern of God for the human soul, and teaches that he deems no methods too expensive for its recovery and exaltation. Christianity, with one voice, calls me to turn my regards and care to the spirit within me, as of more worth than the whole outward world. It calls us to "be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect"; and everywhere, in the sublimity of its precepts, it implies and recognizes the sublime capacities of the being to whom they are addressed. (*Selected Writings*, p. 149)

The first important Universalist minister in Revolutionary North America was John Murray (1741–1815), who arrived in New Jersey in 1770. Raised as an English Calvinist, Murray joined the London church of the evangelical Anglican George Whitefield and subsequently converted to the Universalism of the Methodist James Rely. An itinerant for several years in America, Murray accepted the invitation of a small congregation in the seaport town of Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1779, where his ministry attracted considerable interest and more than a little hostility. He also married a devout widow, Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820), who proved to be a gifted and prolific author. Another founding father of Universalism was Elhanan Winchester (1751–1797), born in Brookline, Massachusetts, widely traveled as a young Baptist itinerant, and founder of the Society of Universal Baptists in Philadelphia in 1781. Benjamin Rush, a celebrated physician and signer of the Declaration of Independence, joined that

society while maintaining his membership in the Presbyterian Church.

Hosea Ballou (1771–1852) established himself as Universalism's leading theologian with the publication in 1804 of his *Treatise on the Atonement*. Ballou was born and raised in rural New Hampshire, the eleventh child of a theologically severe, but personally warm, Baptist minister. His conversion to Universalism came when the movement had grown sufficiently to have some organization; he was ordained a minister at the Universalist General Convention of 1794. After preaching successfully in several towns, he settled permanently as pastor of the School Street Church in Boston in 1816. For the next quarter of a century he labored but a few blocks from William Ellery Channing's Federal Street Church, but Channing seems never to have sought his fellowship. Ballou's *Treatise* combined the optimistic rationalism of the Enlightenment with a determinism reminiscent of Jonathan Edwards. God had ordained that Christ should work the salvation of all humankind. The individual soul had but little choice: one could assent to divine grace either now or later. Death would speed the sinner to Heaven as swiftly as the saint. Many of the earlier Universalists had believed that unrepentant sinners would experience some discipline or punishment between death and Heaven, a notion that never entirely disappeared. Indeed, it regained currency after 1830.

Widely different in their origins, and appealing mostly to quite different segments of American society, the Unitarians and the Universalists both exhibited the idealism and optimism of the newly free and democratic United States. If the Unitarians were somewhat condescending and aristocratic in manner, they lived according to a high code of ethical behavior and greatly enriched the national culture. The Universalists, the foremost spiritual equalitarians, made democracy eternal.

See also **Congregationalists; Disestablishment; Religion: Overview; Revivals and Revivalism.**

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VACATIONS AND RESORTS In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, few Americans actually “vacationed” in the modern sense of the word. Only the wealthy enjoyed leisure trips away from home. Most extended visits were to family and friends, but those did not offer the same sort of excitement and adventure nor confer as much social status as summer trips to fashionable resorts. Mountain and beach resorts, difficult to reach in this era and therefore expensive, attracted elite families from across the country. For weeks and even months at a time, the upper classes gathered at these exclusive spots for socializing and recreation. Though everyone had his or her own favorite, Saratoga Springs in New York, the Virginia Springs in the Blue Ridge Mountains, and the seashores of Newport, Rhode Island, and Cape May, New Jersey, were especially popular.

From the mid-1700s through the 1800s, the search for health combined with the search for pleasure led hundreds and eventually thousands of elite men and women over the mountains or to the seashores to resorts that offered healthful and entertaining escapes from the heat, diseases, and boredom of plantations, farms, and cities. While many men and women visited these areas seeking cures, most traveled to them to enjoy the company of people like themselves, maintain their good health, and participate in an array of leisure and social activities. At the Virginia Springs and Saratoga Springs, visitors, even those who were not sick, daily drank and bathed in mineral waters that supposedly cured or prevented illness. Ocean bathing served the same purpose at Newport and Cape May. But always more alluring were the parties, balls, excursions, picnics, card games, sporting events, and, especially, the gossiping and courting that took place in the dining rooms or ballrooms, on the lawns, or at the bathhouses. To see and be seen, to watch and participate in the scenes of fashionable display was often the real draw of these resorts. A great deal of social status and reputation could be won (or lost) during a summer’s stay.

While at these leisure places, elite Americans (as well as their servants) came together from across the nation and learned more about each other. They shared political and business information as well as

social gossip. Politicians solidified support; planters and merchants discussed prices and made deals; and society matrons guarded the behavior of their class. Close ties of friendship also formed, especially among women, and were reaffirmed whenever visitors met again. Indeed, many of the connections begun at resorts continued once the travelers returned to their homes. Because of their presumed exclusivity, the fashionable resorts, especially Saratoga Springs in the North and the Virginia Springs in the South, also became the premier places for finding a spouse, at times joining couples from different regions of the country. These places of resort did unite their visitors, creating cross-country ties and fostering a sense of national identity at crucial times of nation building. But, increasingly over time, they could also divide their guests, reinforcing sectionalism and regional identities. At the Virginia Springs, for example, southerners established the social rules for fashion and behavior, threw most of the parties, and, in general, held sway. They readily accepted northerners into their social circles, at least until 1830 when sectional tensions intensified, but they never permitted them to set or enforce the rules of spa society. Though fashionable mountain and seaside resorts helped create a national elite by bringing wealthy and influential Americans together regularly in these places of leisure and beauty and by encouraging communal ties, the resorts would prove unable to hold this elite together.

See also **Recreation, Sports, and Games; Travel Guides and Accounts; Wealth.**

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VALLEY FORGE Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, located on the west bank of the Schuylkill River about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia, served as the Continental army’s main encampment from 19 December 1777 to 19 June 1778. Although Valley Forge has become a national symbol of patriotic fortitude and perseverance in the face of adversity,

George Washington—while not excluding “altogether the idea of patriotism”—sought during this six-month period to make his army increasingly professional in attitude and abilities as the only way that it could endure in “a long and bloody War.”

In determining the disposition of the Continental army for the winter of 1777–1778, Washington faced a choice of difficulties. Most of his general officers recommended establishing winter quarters at some distance from British-occupied Philadelphia—either in the vicinity of Lancaster and Reading, Pennsylvania, or at Wilmington, Delaware—so that the troops could be rested, reequipped, and trained for the next campaign. Pennsylvania political leaders and the Continental Congress, however, pressed Washington to position his army much closer to the city in order to protect the local populace from British depredations. Ever sensitive to public opinion and needs, Washington decided in mid-December 1777 to encamp at Valley Forge. He did so because it was far enough from Philadelphia to guard against a surprise attack and near enough to cover much of Pennsylvania, while also supporting Continental and militia patrols operating against British foragers and partisans in the intervening no-man’s-land.

Washington was aware that his decision to give priority to civilian concerns imposed additional hardships on his officers and men. Instead of being quartered in substantial buildings, they lived in tents during their first weeks at Valley Forge while constructing primitive log huts that provided basic protection against winter weather but few creature comforts. The troops also were more vulnerable to the bad effects of the ongoing supply crisis than had they been dispersed in more remote areas. The near collapse of the commissary department in the wake of an ill-conceived congressional reform effort and the breakdown of the transportation system due to bad weather and worse management brought the army to the brink of starvation for several days in December and again in February. Lack of shoes and clothing further reduced the army’s combat readiness. On 23 December 1777 Washington reported 2,898 of about 11,000 rank and file in camp as unfit to do duty for that reason. A month later the number was nearly four thousand.

Washington acted vigorously to relieve immediate supply crises by applying to civil authorities at all levels for assistance and dispatching long-range foraging parties. He was equally active in seeking more far-reaching remedies. When a congressional investigation committee arrived at camp in late January, Washington was ready with a comprehensive

set of recommendations designed to put the army on a firmer professional footing, including the drafting of soldiers, half-pay pensions and honorary rewards for officers, regimental reorganization, and various measures to strengthen the quartermaster, commissary, clothier, and other administrative departments. Congress adopted many of those ideas in some form during the winter and spring, and its appointments of Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) as quartermaster general on 2 March 1778 and Jeremiah Wadsworth (1743–1804) as commissary general of purchases on 9 April 1778 revitalized those departments.

As the Continental army prepared at Valley Forge for the new spring campaign, it became significantly more adept in battlefield maneuver under the guidance of a recently arrived Prussian officer, Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben (1730–1794). He devised a simple uniform system of drill particularly suited to American circumstances and trained the main army in it. Steuben also began introducing European administrative procedures and helped to instill stronger discipline and professional pride in the lower ranks.

The progress that the Continental army continued to make during the next two campaigns in the science of military administration was halted in the winter of 1779–1780 by a severe national financial crisis and the worst weather in recent memory. Encamped once again among log huts at Jockey Hollow near Morristown, New Jersey, about thirty miles from the British army in New York City, the troops endured at least twenty-three snowstorms over four months, including an early January blizzard that left four-to-six-foot drifts. Critical shortages of clothing and food again brought the army to the edge of dissolution, which Washington avoided by rationing shoes and assigning local magistrates quotas for cattle and grain.

In the long war of attrition that the American revolutionaries fought, Valley Forge and Jockey Hollow were notable low points where materiel and morale ran perilously thin. Washington’s solution was to stabilize the army by introducing professional methods and standards while assuring civilians of the army’s willingness to sacrifice for their protection. That balancing act worked well enough to keep an effective military force in the field until the war could be won with French help.

See also **Continental Army; Revolution: Military History.**

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VERMONT Upon achieving statehood in 1791, Vermont became the first addition to the original thirteen states. Objections from New York prevented Vermont's admission to the Union until then. Vermont originated in resistance to the authority of colonial New York. By the time of its admission to the Union, Vermont was riven by the deep ideological and political divisions that characterized it through the 1820s.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial governments of New Hampshire and New York issued competing land grants to the territory that became Vermont. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) eliminated the western Abenaki, an Algonquian-speaking group, as an obstacle to white settlement. Despite a ruling by the Privy Council in London in 1764 that appeared to invalidate New Hampshire's grants, migrants acting on them arrived in increasing numbers during the 1760s. Resistance to New York's jurisdiction was strongest in western Vermont, which was largely settled by farmers from western New England and the Hudson River valley. These settlers were a mix of devout New Lights, veterans of earlier Hudson Valley "rent wars," and deistic political radicals such as Ethan Allen and Matthew Lyon. The southwestern town of Bennington was the base for the informal militia known as the Green Mountain Boys, which harassed New York officials and grant holders.

Increasing cooperation between Vermont's eastern and western areas made possible Vermont's declaration of independence in 1777. Because Congress rejected Vermont's request for admission as a state, it spent the war delicately situated between the United States and British Canada. Meanwhile, Vermont adopted a radical constitution in 1777 that, among other provisions, abolished slavery, making Vermont the first political entity in North America to do so. At the time, African Americans constituted less than 1 percent of Vermont's population.

Vermont remained reluctantly independent until 1791, a fragile experiment in republican government operated by common men. The most important political figure in the state's early history was Thomas Chittenden, a farmer with limited education who advocated Jeffersonian principles. Chittenden was governor, with the exception of one year, from 1778 to 1797. Vermont's survival was threatened in the 1780s, on the one hand by mob actions of discontented farmers, and on the other by arriving gentry harboring contempt for democracy. Vermont's survival was not fully assured until New York dropped its objections to Vermont's admission in return for a payment of thirty thousand dollars.

Vermont's population grew faster than any other state's in the 1790s, increasing from 85,341 in 1790 to 154,465 in 1800. Most migrants came from New England, with a scattering of Irish and French Canadians in its northern reaches. By then Vermont state politics were bitterly divided, with Federalists achieving a tenuous supremacy after 1800. Towns and communities across the state were similarly the scenes of clashes between Jeffersonian and Federalist principles and parties. Dissension between the two worldviews, which played out in such areas of life as theology, educational policy, and commercial practices, deepened and took on new dimensions with the opening of the Champlain Canal in 1823. The canal dramatically altered Vermont's economy, redirecting it to the south and demanding greater market participation. This "market revolution" ended the early phases of Vermont's history, with the state's population rising to 280,652 by 1830.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Transportation: Canals and Waterways.**

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VESEY REBELLION The plot organized by Denmark Vesey, a free black carpenter, in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1822 was perhaps the largest slave conspiracy in North American history. Although brought into the city in 1783 as a slave of Captain Joseph Vesey, Telemaque, as he was then known, purchased his freedom in December 1799 with lottery winnings. For the next twenty-two years, Vesey earned his living as a craftsman. According to white authorities, he was “distinguished for [his] great strength and activity”; the black community “always looked up to [him] with awe and respect.” His last (and probably third) wife, Susan Vesey, was born a slave but became free prior to his death. His first wife, Beck, remained a slave, as did Vesey’s sons, Polydore, Robert, and Sandy, the last of whom was the only one of his children to be implicated in his 1822 conspiracy.

Around 1818 Vesey joined the city’s new African Methodist Episcopal congregation. The African Church, as both whites and blacks called it, quickly became the center of Charleston’s enslaved community. Sandy Vesey also joined, as did four of Vesey’s closest friends, Peter Poyas, a literate and highly skilled ship carpenter; Monday Gell, an African-born Ibo who labored as a harness maker; Rolla Bennett, the manservant of Governor Thomas Bennett; and “Gullah” Jack Pritchard, an East African priest purchased in Zinguebar in 1806. The temporary closure of the church by city authorities in June 1818, and the arrest of 140 congregants, one of them presumably Vesey himself, only reinforced the determination of black Carolinians to maintain a place of independent worship and established the motivation for his conspiracy.

At the age of fifty-one, Vesey resolved to orchestrate a rebellion followed by a mass exodus from Charleston to Haiti. President Jean-Pierre Boyer had recently encouraged black Americans to bring their skills and capital to his beleaguered republic. Vesey did not intend to tarry in Charleston long enough for white military power to present an effective counterassault. “As soon as they could get the money from the Banks, and the goods from the stores,” Rolla Bennett insisted, “they should hoist sail for Saint Doming[ue]” and live as free men. For all of his

acculturation into Euro-American society, Vesey, as a native of St. Thomas, remained a man of the black Atlantic.

Vesey planned the escape for nearly four years. Although there are no reliable figures for the number of recruits, Charleston alone was home to 12,652 slaves. Pritchard, probably with some exaggeration, boasted that he had 6,600 recruits on the plantations across the Cooper and Ashley Rivers. The plan called for Vesey’s followers to rise at midnight on Sunday, 14 July—Bastille Day—slay their masters, and sail for Haiti and freedom. As one southern editor later conceded, “the plot seems to have been well devised, and its operation was extensive.”

Those recruited into the plot during the winter of 1822 were directed to arm themselves from their masters’ closets. Vesey was also aware that the Charleston Neck militia company stored their three hundred muskets and bayonets in the back room of Benjamin Hammet’s King Street store, and that Hammet’s slave Bacchus had a key. But as few slaves had any experience with guns, Vesey encouraged his followers to arm themselves with swords or long daggers, which in any case would make for quieter work as the city bells tolled midnight. Vesey also employed several enslaved blacksmiths to forge “pike heads and bayonets with sockets, to be fixed at the end of long poles.”

Considerably easier than stockpiling weapons was the recruitment of willing young men. In addition to their fellow craftsmen, Vesey and his lieutenants recruited out of the African Church. Vesey knew each of the church members well—he knew whom to trust and whom to avoid. As former Charleston slave Archibald Grimké later wrote, Vesey’s nightly classes provided him “with a singularly safe medium for conducting his underground agitation.”

The plot unraveled in June 1822 when two slaves revealed the plan to their owners. Mayor James Hamilton called up the city militia and convened a special court to try the captured insurgents. Vesey was captured at the home of his first wife on June 21 and hanged on the morning of 2 July, together with Rolla, Poyas, and three other rebels. According to Hamilton, the six men collectively “met their fate with the heroic fortitude of Martyrs.” In all, thirty-five slaves were executed. Forty-two others, including Sandy Vesey, were sold outside the United States; some, if not all, became slaves in Spanish Cuba. Robert Vesey lived to rebuild the African Church in the fall of 1865.

In the aftermath of the conspiracy, Charleston authorities demolished the African Church. The state assembly subsequently passed laws prohibiting the entry of free blacks into the state, and city officials enforced ordinances against teaching African Americans to read. The City Council also voted to create a permanent force of 150 guardsmen to patrol the streets around the clock at an annual cost of \$24,000. To deal with the problem of black mariners bringing information about events around the Atlantic into the state's ports, in December 1822 the legislature passed the Negro Seamen Act, which placed a quarantine on any vessel from another "state or foreign port, having on board any free negroes or persons of color." Although U.S. Circuit Court Judge William Johnson struck the law down as unconstitutional, a defiant assembly renewed the act in late 1823. Many of those who nullified federal law in 1832—including Governor James Hamilton, who resigned his office in 1833 to command troops in defense of his state's right to resist national tariffs—were veterans of the tribunals that had tried Vesey and his men a decade before.

See also African Americans: African American Religion; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Charleston; Gabriel's Rebellion; Haitian Revolution; Slavery: Slave Insurrections.

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VIGILANTES *See* **Regulators.**

VIOLENCE In the years following the American Revolution, society in regions other than the frontier became more violent as a result of several factors. One underlying reason for increasing violence was the increasing overall population of the new nation, from 3 million in 1790 to 31 million in 1860; major

population growth especially affected cities, such as New York, which grew from 40,000 inhabitants in 1790 to nearly 1 million by 1860. An increasing disparity between the rich and the poor also contributed to a spike in violence, as did ethnic and religious tensions among foreigners, immigrants (especially Irish Roman Catholics), and more established Protestant groups. Racial tensions were on the rise, as whites feared black competition for jobs, interracial marriage, and the specter of social equality, with blacks retaliating. Another factor was the decline of a paternalistic system of labor; masters now lived with or in close proximity to servants, laborers, and apprentices, thereby weakening workers' sense of their place in an organic social order. As a consequence of changes in the social order, separate upper-, middle-, and working-class cultures arose with separate notions of morality, along with an increasing individualism that gave ordinary folk confidence in their own judgment and self-worth. Thus government's role was altered from an active guardian of the common good, achieved through state regulation to redress injustice and solve economic problems, to a supposedly impartial arbiter that merely existed to protect property and preserve order.

TAXES AND AUTONOMY

The three most significant episodes of American violence in the late eighteenth century reflected the old colonial notion of corporate violence, which had prevailed before and leading up to the Revolution. In Shays's Rebellion (1787) in Massachusetts, and the Whiskey Rebellion (1794) and Fries's Rebellion (1799) in Pennsylvania, respectable members of aggrieved communities banded together, invoked the principles of the Revolution concerning self-taxation and local autonomy, and staged carefully limited violence against outsiders who threatened to foreclose on their estates or otherwise punish them for non-payment of taxes. The community members involved in these actions considered themselves "the people" assembled against unjust grievances; only those who suppressed them called them rebels. A small number of men were killed or punished severely as a result of these cases of tax resistance.

ETHNIC AND RACIAL VIOLENCE

In the early nineteenth century, cities were the most frequent sites of large-scale violence, as novels such as Charles Brockden Brown's *Arthur Mervyn* (1799–1800) and Herman Melville's *Pierre* (1852) attest. There men of all classes representing different ethnic groups lived side-by-side and competed for jobs, po-

litical power, and prestige while seeking to demonstrate their masculinity and patriotism in a crowded arena. Some riots were limited to the working class, as when American sailors brawled with Spanish sailors (Philadelphia, 1804) and French sailors (Philadelphia, 1806; Charleston, 1811; Savannah, 1811; New York, 1812; Norfolk, 1813; and New Orleans, 1817—all but the Philadelphia fights leading to deaths). Rioting against Roman Catholic foreigners and immigrants, and against blacks, occurred most frequently; mobs were usually composed of all classes, led by “gentlemen of property and standing” who went unpunished. In 1815 whites attacked blacks opening a new house of worship in Philadelphia, burning the building, and in 1819 they attacked blacks daring to celebrate Independence Day in New York City. White crowds chased blacks en masse out of the cities of Providence, Rhode Island, in 1824, and Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1829.

The worst of these ethnic and racial riots, however, occurred in the 1830s, after large numbers of Irish Catholics arrived in the cities and abolitionists began to push for immediate emancipation of slaves. Crowds opposed to Irish immigrants burned the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts (1834), believing the nuns there kidnapped Protestant girls and threatened to kill them if they did not become Catholics. That same year other crowds devastated New York’s and Philadelphia’s black communities; burned Philadelphia’s Pennsylvania Hall, built by abolitionists to hold interracial meetings (1838); and murdered the abolitionist newspaper publisher Elijah Lovejoy in Alton, Illinois (1839). The deadliest ethnic riots occurred in the 1850s, when the Democratic Party, which included many Roman Catholics, clashed with the nativist Know-Nothings, who opposed all immigration, during several elections. The worst occurred in Baltimore in 1856, leaving from 8 to 17 dead and from 64 to 150 wounded. Another major ethnic riot, however, was anti-British; in New York City in 1849, partisans of the American actor Edwin Forrest tore down the Astor Place Opera House where the British actor William Macready was performing; 22 people died and at least 48 were wounded. Baltimore was also the scene of the bloodiest riot during the economic depression of the 1830s: the houses of the mayor and several directors of the Bank of Maryland were destroyed, and order was restored only when volunteers fired into the crowd.

Unlike the spikes and troughs of urban violence and violence between whites, the violence associated with slavery in the early Republic was relatively constant. Violence was integral to the slave system,

from the usual practice of whipping disobedient slaves to executing rebels and runaways in frequently horrific ways. Whites on slave patrol policed the South; federal marshals pursued runaways into free states, where they sometimes met with violent resistance from blacks, as in Boston (1819), York, Pennsylvania (1825), and Philadelphia (1835), and, on at least one occasion, death, as in Christiana, Pennsylvania (1851). Slave rebellions in the United States were rare; in the larger West Indies islands and South America, by contrast, the smaller white population and the availability of large, unsettled areas facilitated escape by slaves who formed autonomous Maroon communities. The only rebellions involving large numbers of blacks in the United States were Gabriel’s Rebellion (1800) and Nat Turner’s Rebellion (1831), both in Virginia, and the Vesey Rebellion (1822) in Charleston, South Carolina. Both Gabriel and Denmark Vesey were betrayed by conspiracy; only Turner’s rebellion resulted in white deaths. White violence against blacks was punished on rare occasions when whites openly and outrageously offended communal standards for the treatment of slaves or free blacks.

INDIAN POLICY

The rules of civilized warfare that the United States, France, and Britain generally practiced toward one another were suspended in dealings with Indians. By the American Revolution, Indians had generally been defined collectively as a distinct (red) race that was temperamentally uncivilized and hostile. The massacre of peaceful Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten in 1782 in present-day Ohio by Revolutionary militia was a taste of the forthcoming century. Even those who wished to protect the Indians, such as Thomas Jefferson, given their belief that frontier expansion was inevitable and government’s role limited, could only envision their forcible removal to land too undesirable and distant for whites to covet.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In the antebellum period states and municipalities instituted reforms regarding domestic violence. Influenced by Victorian notions that women were the proper guardians of the home and possessed a nature morally superior to men, by 1850 nineteen states allowed divorce on grounds of cruelty. The intertwined temperance and women’s movements were crucial in calling attention to the way drunken husbands abused wives and children. New York was the first city to build an institution to protect abused children in 1825, and by the 1850s most states had

done so. But in general beating was considered a masculine prerogative to correct unruly wives and children, and prosecutions were successful only when women's lives or physical well-being were threatened. In schools, too, physical punishment of students was reported in three-quarters of early-nineteenth-century autobiographies.

PUNISHMENT OF CRIMINALS

Physical violence in the punishment of criminals decreased in the early Republic, although arguably at the expense of mental torment. Extended periods of imprisonment in penitentiaries and reformatories to induce social conformity rather than whipping or public humiliation became the standard punishments for noncapital crimes. The Eastern State Penitentiary, founded in Philadelphia, which substituted silent labor in solitary confinement, and New York's prison at Auburn, where convicts worked in closely supervised teams, were pioneering institutions. Public execution of criminals declined, with the death penalty carried out more frequently behind prison walls: authorities found that rather than serving as warnings against vice, the open-air spectacles encouraged merriment, riot, and further crime.

A VIOLENT SOCIETY?

Society celebrated violence in other ways. Upper-class enemies, especially but not exclusively in the South, fought duels if they believed their honor was insulted. Although in most cases seconds worked out an amicable accord, the duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton in 1804 and the confrontation between James Stark and Philip Minis in Savannah in 1832, which resulted in Stark's death, were only two of hundreds of incidents that ended fatally. Unlike men in Europe, much of the free male population in the United States owned guns and belonged to voluntary military societies once the required colonial militia system faded. Masculinity was demonstrated through active participation in homosocial associations such as saloons, fire companies, political parties, and the Masons and other fraternal orders. The outer limit of these associations were filibustering expeditions where men organized, successfully in some instances (Florida, 1819; Texas, 1836; Nicaragua, 1855) to take over territories in Latin America, for which they were cheered rather than punished. Although illegal and opposed by reformers and genteel members of the elite, bare-knuckles prizefighting, along with cock- and dog-fighting and bear-baiting, remained popular working-class activities. Unlike the regulated prizefights of the late nineteenth

century instituted by a progressive elite seeking to preserve society's masculine, aggressive qualities, those before the Civil War had few rules and no time limits, and went on until losers were dead, unconscious, or had lost an eye or an ear.

Was the early Republic a violent society? In 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville, the French writer and observer of American ways, reported that he could travel through large stretches of America between the Appalachians and the Mississippi River in perfect safety. Nevertheless, in cities and families, on plantations and in schools, in popular culture and the treatment of prisoners and Native Americans, violence permeated American society.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Removal; Corporal Punishment; Dueling; Firearms (Nonmilitary); Fries's Rebellion; Gabriel's Rebellion; Manliness and Masculinity; Riots; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Slave Insurrections; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Vesey Rebellion; Whiskey Rebellion; Women: Rights.**

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William Pencak

VIRGINIA In 1750 the Virginia colony had an estimated population of 230,000. Enslaved black people made up more than 40 percent of this number. Most of Virginia's white population growth had come from British immigration. In the colony's earliest days, as many as three of every four new colonists were indentured servants hoping to work their way into a better life.

John Rolfe's experiment with tobacco in 1612 had proven to be a defining moment in the economic history of Virginia. Thereafter, new settlers came to Virginia expecting to prosper by growing tobacco as a cash crop. Tobacco culture led to the establishment of large plantations worked by indentured servants and later by slaves. By the 1750s Virginia was exporting from 40 to 50 million pounds of tobacco a year and wealthy planters dominated Virginia politics.

The rich, untapped soil of Virginia at first produced abundant tobacco crops, but successive crops drained the soil of its fertility. By 1750 many of the prominent planters of Virginia had tapped out the soil of their Tidewater and Piedmont plantations and had started anew in the Shenandoah Valley. Less wealthy Virginians, along with German and Scots-Irish farmers from other colonies, had also begun to move into the valley. The poorest of the migrants moved further westward into the mountains on the frontier, where they bore the brunt of Native American hostility. Frontier settlers and their interests received little attention from political leaders in the east.

COLLISION ON THE FRONTIER

The native peoples of the Tidewater and Piedmont regions had long been decimated and dispersed by epidemics and generations of warfare. However, Shawnee and Leni-Lenape (Delaware) bands from beyond the mountains periodically raided white frontier settlements in western Virginia. Meanwhile, as good land grew scarcer, many colonists looked to the Ohio Valley as the next source of new farmland. A group of wealthy Virginians, including Governor Robert Dinwiddie, formed a land speculation company and obtained from King George II (r. 1727–1760) an extensive Ohio grant in territory claimed by both France and Britain.

Virginia's colonial government, safely ensconced in the east, had been unwilling to allocate money for building forts and defending the disputed western territory of the Ohio Valley. An increasingly menacing French presence, however, led Governor Dinwid-

die, anxious for his land grant, to send the twenty-one-year-old militiaman George Washington to confront the French in Ohio country. Washington's mission of 1753 was the first of several unsuccessful forays. Essentially, Virginia was conducting a private war with the French in order to control western lands, which it claimed to the Pacific Ocean. However, the Virginians' defeat in 1754 at the hands of the French drew the British government's attention and ignited the French and Indian War (1754–1760).

In 1755 George Washington and several hundred Virginia troops joined General Edward Braddock and his British regulars on a mission to capture Fort Duquesne. On 9 July a French and Indian force ambushed the army, inflicting in just three hours the debacle known to history as Braddock's Defeat. The surviving British regulars departed, leaving the western frontier open to deadly raids. Virginia colonists, already resentful of British royal authority, grew to resent the British even more for having failed to protect them. Colonel Washington spent the next three years commanding a Virginia militia regiment charged with protecting the frontier. After the war the British government incurred Virginia's wrath with the Proclamation of 1763, which barred colonists from settling west of the Allegheny Mountains and ordered existing settlers there to return east. Virginia speculators and settlers alike faced ruin and blamed their plight on the authorities in distant London. Many defied the proclamation and continued to settle west of the line.

ROAD TO REVOLUTION

Virginians again chafed under British authority when Parliament sought to recoup its military expenditures by taxing the colonies. Members of Virginia's House of Burgesses emerged as leaders in the growing resistance. Frontier lawyer Patrick Henry spoke out against the Stamp Act (1765), making statements that many of his peers considered treasonous. However, a majority of the burgesses came to agree that resistance was necessary, and in May 1765 they adopted the Virginia Resolves, a set of statements asserting the exclusive right of colonial governments to make their own laws and tax their own citizens.

The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but in the face of new forms of British taxation imposed by the Townshend Acts of 1767, the burgesses passed additional resolutions in 1769 objecting to British actions. Not for the last time, the royal governor dissolved the House of Burgesses, and the burgesses reconvened in a tavern. There they devised and enact-

ed a plan to boycott British imports, which other colonies emulated.

In 1773 Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and other legislators established a Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the other colonies and organize opposition to British authority. When the House of Burgesses voted to aid Boston in the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party (1773), Virginia's royal governor, John Murray, Lord Dunmore, disbanded the legislative body. Meeting in a tavern in the spring of 1774, the burgesses called for a congress of all the colonies. The resulting first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia in September 1774. Among the Virginia delegates to the Congress were Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph—who was elected president of the Congress—and George Washington.

Back in Virginia, Lord Dunmore briefly won public support by mounting an expedition to secure the frontier from Indian raids. In October 1774, Colonel Andrew Lewis defeated a force of Shawnees on the westernmost border of Virginia at the Ohio River. But support for Dunmore was short-lived. In March 1775 a Virginia convention met in Richmond to address the growing breach with Great Britain, placed the colony on a war footing, and voted to raise troops. The next month, Dunmore ordered the seizure of a store of gunpowder, and Patrick Henry led the militia to Williamsburg to confront the governor. Dunmore fled to a British warship. In May, a Virginia delegation went to the Second Continental Congress. There the delegates voted to raise a Continental Army, with George Washington as its commander in chief.

Dunmore ordered British regulars to occupy the town of Norfolk and raid coastal plantations. In November 1775 he offered freedom to slaves who would flee their owners and join a Loyalist regiment. The following month, British forces marched out from Norfolk and met a Patriot militia force at Great Bridge. This engagement, called the second battle of the Revolution, drove the Dunmore contingent from Norfolk. The royal governor and his men fled to British warships. Dunmore ordered the ships to fire on Norfolk, and the town was destroyed. This action turned most Virginians against Great Britain.

THE COMMONWEALTH AT WAR

On 15 May 1776 the convention, meeting in Williamsburg, declared Virginia an independent commonwealth. The convention also resolved to propose independence from Great Britain at the next session of the Continental Congress. Accordingly, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia proposed independence in Phil-

adelphia, and the Congress passed the motion on 2 July 1776. Thomas Jefferson played the leading role in drafting the Declaration of Independence.

In Virginia, Patrick Henry served as governor from 1776 to 1779 and again from 1784 to 1786. Thomas Jefferson served as governor of Virginia from 1779 to 1781. The results of his efforts in the 1770s and 1780s to bring about significant changes in Virginia law bore fruit most notably with passage of the Statute for Religious Freedom (1786) and the abolition of entail (1776) and primogeniture (1785). He failed, however, to establish his proposed public education system. By 1776 the population of the newly declared commonwealth had increased to about half a million, maintaining the ratio of 60 whites to 40 blacks.

The British invasion of the Chesapeake Bay in 1779 spurred Virginians to move their capital from Williamsburg to Richmond. Frequent movements of troops across Virginia depleted supplies of food, tobacco, and livestock. As many as thirty thousand slaves left Virginia plantations, either voluntarily or by force, during the war. Yorktown, Virginia, saw the American Revolution's last major campaign in 1781.

After several years (starting in 1781) during which the thirteen states were loosely organized under the Articles of Confederation, James Madison and other leading Virginians pushed for a constitutional convention to establish an enduring central government. The resulting Constitution, however, contained clauses that many Virginians found objectionable. One such clause permitted the transatlantic slave trade to continue to 1808. Virginia had abolished the importation of slaves, in part to protect the economic value of Virginia's existing slave population, so the state's planters opposed that provision. After lengthy and heated debate, Virginia by a close margin became the tenth state to ratify the new United States Constitution on 26 June 1788.

VIRGINIA AND THE NATION

Virginia was the largest and most populous state in the new nation, even though it had ceded its trans-Ohio territory to the national government in 1784. Virginia's territory included what became the state of West Virginia in 1863. The census of 1790 reported the total population of Virginia at about 692,000. This figure included about 306,000 blacks and the more than 55,000 individuals living in western Virginia. The west Virginian population included only about 2,000 blacks because the mountainous region could not support many large plantations. About

15,000 German immigrants had settled in western Virginia by 1790, and the Virginia government soon began publishing laws relating to the frontier in both German and English. In 1790 the ancestry of Virginia's white population was 68.5 percent English, 10.2 percent highland and lowland Scottish, 6.2 percent Scots-Irish, 5.5 percent Irish, and 6.3 percent German. There were also small numbers who were of French, Dutch, and Swedish ancestry.

Subsequent censuses reported Virginia's total population at about 808,000 in 1800 (of whom about 45 percent were blacks); 878,000 in 1810 (48 percent black); 938,000 in 1820 (49 percent black); and 1,044,000 in 1830 (nearly 50 percent black). Richmond remained the state capital while Norfolk became the largest city, with a population of about 7,000 and a thriving port. By 1830 the white population of the Piedmont and Tidewater was steadily declining. At the same time, Virginia's black population lived almost entirely east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, where the ratio of blacks to whites was in many counties more than 2 to 1.

Virginia's increasing black population caused enormous social turmoil. A law of 1782 made it easier for owners to free their slaves. To prevent owners from abandoning less valuable slaves, who might then become public charges, the law limited manumission to healthy and fit slaves of prime working age. Popular reaction to the resulting increase in the free black population caused legislators to amend the law in 1806. The act of 1806 declared that blacks freed after passage of the law who remained within the state for more than a year would forfeit their freedom and could then be taken and sold for the benefit of the poor. Effectively, the free black population thenceforth could only grow by natural increase. Still, some thirty thousand free blacks lived in Virginia in 1810, a tenfold increase over a thirty-year time span. Over the same period, the slave population increased by nearly 50 percent.

On 30 August 1800, Virginia's governor received word of a slave conspiracy, later called Gabriel's Rebellion. The plot involved some one thousand poorly armed slaves who planned to march on Richmond and capture the city, killing white people along the way. In the event, a violent storm and floods prevented the conspirators from assembling. The authorities called out the militia, made hundreds of arrests, and executed more than two dozen. Gabriel's Rebellion increased fears of slave insurrection and conspiracy. The Virginia legislature enacted laws restricting the activities of the free black population, although free blacks had not been party to the upris-

ing. In addition, in 1801 Virginia legalized the practice of transportation, the selling of slaves convicted of crimes to distant markets. Thereafter, Virginia largely relied upon the threat of transportation to deter disorderly behavior. Virginia also grew fearful that outsiders—namely northern abolitionists—would assist slaves in suing for freedom or escaping. A series of statutes addressed this concern. For example, an act of 1805 defined any assistance to escapees as slave stealing and imposed harsh penalties. Over the ensuing decades, Virginia strengthened its runaway slave laws and campaigned for a stronger federal fugitive slave law.

Four of the first five U.S. presidents were Virginians: George Washington, the first president, from 1789 to 1797; Thomas Jefferson, the third president, from 1801 to 1809; James Madison, the fourth president, from 1809 to 1817; and James Monroe, the fifth president, from 1817 to 1825. Jefferson and Madison formed a political party, the Democratic Republicans (often called simply Republicans, it was actually the forerunner to the modern Democratic Party) in opposition to the ruling Federalists. During the nation's formative years, the early presidents divided along party lines, with Washington favoring the Federalists and a stronger central government and Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe supporting the Democratic Republicans and greater state authority.

Bipartisan conflict over state and federal authority boiled over when Congress under the Federalists passed the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. These laws provided for the monitoring of foreign nationals, the deportation of foreigners deemed to be dangerous, and the suppression of written or spoken dissent. The Federalists promoted these laws primarily to squash political opposition, while Democratic Republicans saw them as a threat to civil liberties.

Southern Republican leaders sought to oppose this show of federal power with an assertion of state authority. Jefferson, while serving as vice president of the United States, anonymously drafted a set of resolutions calling the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional and urging the states to annul such laws. The Kentucky legislature passed a modified version of Jefferson's draft in 1798 and 1799. Virginia's Democratic Republicans introduced a similar but milder set of resolutions, drafted by James Madison, and the state legislature approved them in 1798. Fearing federal reprisal, Virginia also authorized a military buildup. Indeed, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions carried an implied threat of secession from the Union. The resolutions set a precedent for

the southern states to defend the institution of slavery by asserting states' rights.

In 1801 the Virginian John Marshall became chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court; he served for more than thirty years. Marshall established judicial review, the right of the Supreme Court to rule on the constitutionality of laws passed by Congress (*Marbury v. Madison*, 1803). He also established the right of the Court to review and overrule decisions of state courts, including the supreme court of his home state. For example, in *Martin v. Hunter's Lessee* (1816), the U.S. Supreme Court overruled a Virginia supreme court decision that had allowed the confiscation of a Loyalist's property.

Beginning in 1800, Virginia's Democrat Republican leaders in Richmond established a statewide party organization. The party leaders came to be called the Richmond Junto because of their political effectiveness. The junto supported many successful candidates for seats in the state legislature and the U.S. Congress. The group also invariably persuaded Virginia voters to back the Democratic Republican candidate for president. However, Virginia's influence on national affairs began to decline with the election in 1825 of a non-Virginian to the U.S. presidency.

During the opening decades of the nineteenth century, Virginia's economy stagnated as tobacco prices languished. Planters, however, continued to control the state government, and they resisted change, including the construction of internal improvements that was sought by westerners. Capital that might have been used in businesses other than raising staple crops remained tied up in land and slaves. Additionally, the failure of Jefferson's plan for public education denied the poor an important avenue for economic advancement. Virginia's population began to fall in relation to the rest of the nation as thousands of citizens left to pursue opportunity elsewhere. By 1830 a series of economic depressions had left Virginia with only one reliably profitable export commodity—slaves—and with an underclass of struggling, poverty-stricken farm laborers.

See also **Alien and Sedition Acts; Chesapeake Region; Constitution, Ratification of; Declaration of Independence; Democratic Republicans; Emancipation and Manumission; Federalist Party; Immigration and Immigrants; Jefferson, Thomas; Law: Slavery Law; Madison, James; Martin v. Hunter's Lessee; Norfolk; Presidency, The; Proclamation of 1763;**

Richmond; States' Rights; Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

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VIRGINIA STATUTE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM When the Virginia General Assembly enacted the Statute for Religious Freedom on 16 January 1786, it was the most comprehensive statement on religious freedom in the new American nation. Thomas Jefferson had originally drafted this measure during the Revolution as part of a general revision of Virginia's laws. It comprised three sections. The preamble provided a long and eloquent argument for the absolute right of religious conscience. It defined religion as a matter of opinion that could properly be formed only by reason and persuasion. No legislature or magistrate, therefore, had any legitimate authority to establish or compel religious belief or to require people to contribute to it. Jefferson concluded the preamble with a ringing affirmation that the human mind set free would ultimately discover the truth for itself. Then came a brief enabling clause that forbade any restraint on conscience, guaranteed complete free exercise of religion, and declared religion irrelevant to one's civil rights. The final section stated that religious freedom was a matter of natural rights, and that any future legislature which revoked or limited the freedom inherent in the statute would violate those rights.

Jefferson's statute was first introduced in the legislature as part of the revised law code on 12 June 1779, but consideration of it was postponed. Later that year the assembly considered another measure that would have effectively established Christianity as the state religion. That, too, was tabled, but religion was revived as a major concern when the war ended in 1783. Some definitive settlement was needed. During the colonial period, the Church of England had been established in the Old Dominion. Public taxation and grants of public lands had supported its clergy, colonial law had required attendance at its services, and lay vestries in the parishes had managed both civil and religious affairs. Dissenters from the established church, mainly Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers, had enjoyed only limited toleration. The sixteenth article of the Virginia Bill of Rights, approved by the Revolutionary Virginia convention in June 1776, had acknowledged the right to "free exercise of religion" but failed to appreciate the implications of that right. The following autumn, the new state legislature did not disestablish the church, nor did it remove all restrictions on other religious groups. The only major change during the Revolution was the decision to end religious taxes.

By the time peace came the established church, newly renamed the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, was in desperate financial and organizational straits. A clergy convention in June 1784 petitioned the legislature for an act of incorporation so that it could manage church affairs. The following fall the General Assembly did just that. Meanwhile, Patrick Henry proposed a general assessment bill to support "Teachers of the Christian Religion" that would allow each person to designate the clergyman or religious body that would receive the tax money. With Jefferson serving as American minister to France, James Madison led the anti-assessment forces. Before Henry's measure could pass, he maneuvered the election of Henry into the governor's seat and out of the legislature. He then persuaded the assembly to postpone the assessment bill until the people could be consulted.

In the spring and summer of 1785 a massive petition campaign swept Virginia. Madison drew up his Memorial and Remonstrance against the assessment and it was widely circulated. But for every person who signed Madison's protest, ten others signed explicitly religious petitions (petitions that expressed a predominately religious [ecclesial, scriptural] set of arguments), principally the work of Baptists and Presbyterians, that also opposed the assessment. To those who had been labeled dissenters, the incorpora-

tion of the Episcopal Church appeared as a sign of renewed legislative favor for what had been an oppressive colonial establishment. Now the assessment seemed deliberately designed to enable that church to revive. Their petitions asked that religion be made entirely voluntary. When the assembly met in the autumn of 1785, the petitions to the legislature overwhelmingly opposed the assessment. The assessment bill was never even considered. Instead, Madison brought forward Jefferson's statute and, after minor revisions to the preamble, it became law in January. In 1787 the assembly voided the incorporation act and in 1799 it repealed all laws concerning religion except Jefferson's statute, which it made the sole basis for interpreting the state's bill of rights and constitution. At the state's next constitutional convention in 1829–1830, Jefferson's work was formally incorporated into Virginia's constitution.

The Virginia statute provided for complete religious freedom in Virginia. It also served as a major impetus for the passage of the religion clause of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and as an important reference for that amendment's subsequent interpretation by the U.S. Supreme Court. Jefferson was so pleased with his accomplishment that he ordered his authorship inscribed on his tombstone.

See also **Bill of Rights; Disestablishment; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Religion: The Founders and Religion; Religious Tests for Officeholding.**

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Thomas E. Buckley

VOLUNTARY AND CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS

Voluntary associations are groups of people who organize themselves into bodies of a quasi-

parliamentary character in which the members elect the leaders and vote democratically to adopt resolutions and take actions. They were rare in the colonial era although tolerated in the case of dissenting churches and encouraged when they provided charitable services and mutual aid. Still, many lacked official sanction and their legality was seriously questioned during the Revolutionary period. Despite the notoriety of political clubs in the 1790s, voluntary associations would gain legitimacy, particularly after 1800. By 1829 thousands of voluntary associations were performing a variety of benevolent, missionary, and reform services in all the states.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

The most common voluntary associations were churches, although most colonies supported an established church with taxes. Boston had a neighborhood association to fight fires, which became the model for similar clubs in other cities. A small number of mutual aid societies, the most predominant being the Freemasonry lodges, began forming in the 1730s and 1740s and were largely composed of local elites. Mutual aid societies kept common treasuries to which members paid a yearly subscription and from which they could draw during emergencies; these also performed a certain amount of charity work.

Benjamin Franklin became an active organizer of various kinds of voluntary societies in Philadelphia. He established a self-improvement society called the *Junto* in 1726; the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731; the Academy of Philadelphia, which opened on 7 January 1750; a hospital in 1751; and America's first fire insurance company, which he called the Philadelphia Contributorship, in 1752. His most ambitious undertaking was to organize in 1747 a voluntary militia for Pennsylvania's defense during the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War (1744–1748), when the Quaker leaders of the colony refused to do so.

After passage of the Stamp Act (1765), radical colonists organized voluntary associations to protest royal policy. In Boston they called themselves the Loyal Nine, and the New York City organization adopted the name Sons of Liberty. These societies worked to direct popular action, and many communicated with each other in order to coordinate resistance. Beginning in 1772, towns in the Massachusetts interior held regular conventions of the people and formed militia units and committees of correspondence to keep in touch with events across the colonies. These societies were all extralegal in the

sense that no British authority—neither the colonial governor, privy council, nor Parliament—had given these groups sanction. Loyalists denounced them as dangerous usurpations of legitimate authority.

POLITICAL CLUBS IN THE 1790s

With the close of the Revolutionary War, leaders were ambivalent about the existence of voluntary associations in a republican government. Many of the leaders were Freemasons, and they supported the spread of organized Freemasonry as a movement designed to inculcate virtue in its members and to benefit the community. Freemasons pledged themselves to mutual aid and kept a common treasury out of which members could draw in times of crisis. They kept their proceedings and practices secret, and this would raise suspicion by the 1830s that the lodges were undemocratic. General Henry Knox (1750–1806) first suggested that the officers of the Continental Army form the Order of the Cincinnati in 1783. The society established a fund for the support of widows and the indigent, but the fact that membership was restricted to Revolutionary War officers and their male heirs raised charges of aristocratic pretension.

Mutual aid societies became more numerous in the 1790s. The Society of the Sons of St. George was formed in 1788 specifically to help English immigrants adjust to life in America and provide monetary relief when necessary. The Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland founded in 1793 expressed a greater social mission by providing legal and medical services in addition to a common treasury.

While mutual aid societies were generally applauded, others saw a danger in what they regarded as an organized substrata of government unauthorized by legislatures. This was particularly acute when people voluntarily associated for political purposes. After the outbreak of war between France and Britain in 1793, pro-French partisans and British refugees formed at least forty political clubs, variously calling themselves “democratic” or “republican” and modeled primarily after the Revolutionary committees of correspondence and the Jacobin clubs of France. They publicly denounced the Washington administration's policy of neutrality and criticized other aspects of the government. In his address to both houses of Congress on 19 November 1794, George Washington blamed the Whiskey Rebellion of the summer of 1794 in part on “certain self-created societies” that had condemned the excise on whiskey.

Washington's anger did little to curb the people's enthusiasm for voluntary association. During the presidential election of 1800, independent political clubs published newspapers and pamphlets advocating either the Democratic Republican or Federalist candidates, although neither side's efforts were centrally managed. Many of these clubs organized pre-election and postelection celebrations and processions that served, as David Waldstreicher has argued in his *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes* (1997), to create sympathetic and ideological connections across partisan communities.

OTHER EARLY REPUBLIC ASSOCIATIONS

The Democratic Republicans not only achieved the election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, but also returned majorities in both houses of Congress. In office, they both expanded the size of the nation with the Louisiana Purchase of 30 April 1803 and limited the growth of the national government by repealing direct taxes, retiring much of the debt, and reversing the Federalist expansion of the U.S. judiciary. As Americans rapidly settled the western territories, they formed voluntary associations to create churches, schools, libraries, and lyceums and to fulfill other needs left unattended by the absence of an energetic central government.

Voluntary associations did not appear only on the frontier; they expanded across the oldest settled regions of the United States as well. Independent of any central mandate, the number of voluntary associations in New England to provide mutual aid, promote religion, and support benevolent causes jumped from under one hundred in 1772 to nearly fifteen hundred by 1817. Over one thousand of these were established after 1808. These societies often wrote and published their constitutions and also passed resolutions advertising their public services in the community newspapers. In *Inheriting the Revolution* (2000), Joyce Appleby has argued that the generation born after the Revolutionary War used the form of the voluntary association both to provide for self-government and as an ideological tool to unite communities, and by extension, a diverse nation.

Excluded from the mutual aid societies and political clubs that marked the voluntary associations of the 1790s, women became prime organizers and members of benevolent and missionary societies after 1800, including the first organizations that provided charity on a routine rather than a piecemeal basis. Among others, they founded orphan asylums, societies for the care of elderly widows, and other homes for chronic care.

Both women and men were active in founding missionary and reform associations, and hundreds were formed after 1800. These societies sought variously to introduce Christianity to Native Americans, revive interest in religion, campaign for the revival of laws enforcing observance of the Sabbath. Antislavery societies sprung up in both the North and the South, petitioning Congress for an end to the slave trade and publishing pamphlets in support of the abolition of slavery. The first national organization advocating the gradual abolition of slavery was the American Colonization Society, founded in 1816. It operated on both a national and branch level and advocated compensated emancipation of slaves and the transporting of all blacks to Africa.

One of the largest reform efforts in the early Republic targeted alcohol use. Churches in the early Republic despaired about increased use of alcohol and many demanded of their members that they abstain from drinking altogether. In 1826 a group of men founded the American Temperance Society, whose goal was the complete abstinence of its members from alcohol. The Society used aggressive evangelical tactics, sending its members out on the lecture circuit to distribute temperance tracts and convince social drinkers to "pledge" to give up booze forever. It spawned thousands of local chapters and by 1834 boasted over a million and a quarter members, both men and women, across America.

See also **Abolition Societies; Benevolent Associations; Fires and Firefighting; Freemasons; Missionary and Bible Tract Societies; Patriotic Societies; Reform, Social; Society of the Cincinnati; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Women: Female Reform Society and Reformers; Women: Women's Voluntary Associations.**

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H. Robert Baker

VOTING The right to vote forms the basis of the democratic ideal. For the individual, it symbolizes the fundamental requisite of citizenship; for the polity, it provides legitimacy without which governing institutions in a democratic society could not function. Voting is thus the currency of the social contract formed between the government and the governed in any democratic nation. When individuals vote, they tacitly consent to be governed by those who win elections—no matter for whom they vote. When individuals are granted the right to vote, the democratic nation reaffirms the compact with its citizenry to remain a government—in the words of Lincoln—“of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

An analysis of voting rights in the United States from the late colonial period through the early decades of the nineteenth century reveals a good deal about the limited nature of democracy in the United States at that time, about existing concepts of citizenship and who counted as one of “the people,” and about the social contract formed by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that lie at the basis of America’s liberal system of government. Ultimately, however, a look at voting rights during these formative years tells the United States how far it has come to make good on the promise of the democratic ideal of inclusion and participation.

Throughout the colonial period, British-style class hierarchies dominated the concepts of political rights and voting. To be sure, each colony had leeway in crafting its own sets of laws and regulations, but the one outstanding requirement for the franchise across the thirteen colonies consisted in some form of landed property qualification. This requirement essentially disenfranchised all servants and laborers. The first colony to put in place a property qualification for voting was Connecticut in 1715; Delaware followed in 1734. Later in the eighteenth century, a handful of the colonies began to relax these laws—mostly to sustain the support of lower-class Englishmen. These changes usually occurred in the more populous colonies. On the eve of the Revolution, however, only five colonies had lowered personal property requirements as well as landowning requirements. Furthermore, throughout the colonial period, and throughout the colonies themselves, laws were constructed to reinforce the notion that “citizenship” in America really meant “British citizenship.” For example, in 1762 Virginia passed a statute denying the right to vote to free blacks, mulattoes, women, minors (under twenty-one), Native

Americans, and non-Protestants—especially Catholics, who were specifically banned.

The Revolutionary War swept away the shackles of the British Crown, but not necessarily the property qualifications for voting. The universal equality Thomas Jefferson so eloquently referred to in the Declaration of Independence extended only so far. And yet some states were less restrictive than others. In its state constitution of 1777, Georgia allowed any white male to vote who had lived in the state for six months and who “possessed in his own right of 10 pounds value, and liable to pay tax in the state, or being of any mechanic trade.” The year before, Maryland had declared any “freeman” eligible to vote if he owned fifty acres of property above the value of thirty pounds. He also had to have been in the country for more than one year. In 1784 New Hampshire permitted any male to cast a ballot who paid a poll tax at the time of voting. By contrast, in 1778 South Carolina barred anyone from voting who was not a white male, who had not been in the state for at least a year, and who either did not own fifty acres of land for six months or was not eligible to pay a tax at least six months before the election. During the Revolutionary era, only four states did not disenfranchise women by state statute or constitutional provision: Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island. Of these, only New Jersey explicitly allowed women to vote, but just until 1807.

THE CONSTITUTION

In 1787 the federal Constitution was written. It consolidated power in the national government and created a federalist system in which two sovereign entities—the national government and the state governments—acted upon the citizen, sometimes simultaneously, and at times even ambiguously. For example, it took more than a century after the ratification of the Constitution for the courts to settle the question of whether the Bill of Rights actually applied to the state governments (what is known in jurisprudence as “dual citizenship”). Yet, nowhere are these ambiguities clearer than in the area of voting rights. To be sure, the original document is almost totally silent on some of the fundamental questions of voting rights—who has them, who does not, who should have them, who should not, and so on. Article I, section 2 states that “the House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.” Thus, while the “people” in

each state have the right to elect their representatives to Congress, it remains up to the states to determine who the “people” are. Issues such as race, gender, and age are left unaddressed, and would remain unaddressed until the ratification of, respectively, the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-sixth Amendments.

Article I, section 3 states: “The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.” Not until the ratification of the Seventeenth Amendment in 1913 did “the people” have the right to directly elect their senators. This task had previously been left to the state legislatures who, once again, were elected by “the people” as determined by state law. As early as the 1820s, however, individuals running for the U.S. Senate were campaigning amongst the “people” in their states, imploring them to elect as state lawmakers only those who would in turn elect them to Senate.

Finally, and perhaps best known, the president of the United States was originally chosen through the electoral college, a group of individuals who were chosen, as stated in Article II, section 1, by each state “in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct.” In the early national period, the state legislatures chose the electors directly; over time, state after state changed its laws so that the presidential candidate receiving the most popular votes in the state would receive all the electoral votes of the state. (At the turn of the twenty-first century, only Maine and Nebraska do not have this winner-take-all system.)

This brief review of how the Constitution dealt—or did not deal—with the voting rights of American citizens is significant because to a large extent it left the status quo in place: After the ratification of the Constitution, it was still left to the states to determine who was eligible to vote in all elections—state and federal. A person qualified to vote for the House of Representatives in one state might not be qualified to vote for the same office in a different state simply because the qualifications for voting were different from state to state.

RACE AND SUFFRAGE REQUIREMENTS

In fact, the qualifications varied markedly from state to state. And yet, as the eighteenth century closed and the nineteenth century commenced, a set of patterns began to emerge across the country, cutting across state lines. First, state after state began to drop the property qualifications for voting as they had applied to the largely white male electorate. Vermont

States Restricting the Franchise to White Males

State	Year Enacted
Virginia	1762
Georgia	1777
South Carolina	1790
Delaware	1792
Kentucky	1799
Maryland	1801
Ohio	1803
New Jersey	1807
Louisiana	1812
Indiana	1816
Mississippi	1817
Illinois and Connecticut	1818
Alabama	1819
Missouri	1821
Tennessee	1834
North Carolina	1835
Arkansas	1836
Michigan	1837
Pennsylvania	1838
Florida and Texas	1845
Iowa	1846
California	1850
Minnesota	1858
Oregon	1859
Kansas	1861
West Virginia	1863

dropped its qualification in 1786, five years before statehood. Kentucky followed in 1792, the year it attained statehood. Maryland followed shortly thereafter. As the nineteenth century progressed, most states decided to follow suit. By 1855, only three states had some form of property qualification for voting: New York, Rhode Island, and South Carolina. In 1860, on the eve of the Civil War, South Carolina finally dropped its property qualification, the last state to do so.

At the same time property qualifications were being lowered, however, another pattern emerged: racial barriers to voting were put in place by state legislatures in all regions of the country. Table 1 reveals the states restricting the franchise to white males along with the years that they were enacted.

In a constitutional amendment of 1821, New York allowed black males to vote, provided they had \$250 worth of property. Only four states did not disenfranchise blacks throughout this period: Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. Rhode Island disenfranchised blacks in 1822 and then reenfranchised them in the wake of the Dorr War in 1842, primarily because a black militia patrolled the streets of Providence during the insurrection, thus

proving their loyalty. The Law and Order Party rewarded blacks by granting them the right to vote after the rebellion was quashed.

Once again it should be emphasized that these two developments—the move toward universal white male suffrage on the one hand, and the racial restriction on suffrage on the other—happened state by state over the course of the opening decades of the nineteenth century. The national government played no role in these developments. Given the way in which these two developments unfolded during this period, what explanations can be offered?

Three different but related factors can be identified in seeking to understand how voting rights changed in this period. While all revolve around the issue of slavery and race, the first is economic in nature, the second is political, and the third is ideological.

From 1790 to 1820, the size of the country increased by two and one-half times. Landless white immigrants flooded to the United States in this thirty-year stretch. Slavery was proliferating in the South while blacks were being freed through gradual manumission in the North. At the same time, there was a small but significant free black population in the South. Blacks and poor whites began to compete at the lowest rung of the economic ladder in the North and parts of the South. The economic competition bred racial conflict.

Landless whites began to push for changes in voting laws across the states. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, political leaders saw the potential of this new stream of voters into the electorate and took advantage of it. Democratic Republican leaders like Martin Van Buren in New York pushed vigorously for the lowering of the property requirements in their home states. Many scholars have looked to Van Buren as one of the architects of Jacksonian democracy, built upon a white working-class ideology and fueled by the sustained electoral mobilization of landless white male voters. In 1824, about 365,000 votes were cast for president. Four years later, that figure tripled. Politicians—mainly Jacksonian Democrats—seeking to build a solid political party base saw the enormous potential of universal white male suffrage and moved on it.

But in order for them to do so, two things had to occur: first, a wedge had to be placed between poor whites and poor blacks. The economic conflict mentioned above was a natural starting point. Second, there had to be a justification for disenfranchising blacks and relegating them to second-class citizenship. Here the ideological component becomes vital.

It is no coincidence that, at the very moment poor white males were granted the vote and black males were disenfranchised, the “science” of white supremacy emerged. Reginald Horsman’s *Race and Manifest Destiny* (1981) speaks eloquently to this movement. In order to justify slavery in the South and deny blacks the rights of citizenship in the North, whites had to make the case that blacks were inferior and that the United States should be a “white republic.” This sentiment reached its apex when Chief Justice Roger Taney declared in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that blacks were never considered citizens of the United States because they were an inherently inferior race.

In many ways, then, the expansion of voting rights for white men and the contraction of voting rights for black men have their origins in the same movement. That movement was the creation of mass-based political parties and the advent of Jacksonian democracy.

See also **African Americans: Free Blacks in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Democratization.**

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WAR AND DIPLOMACY IN THE ATLANTIC WORLD

In 1754 the thirteen colonies belonged to Britain. By 1829 they were the core of an independent nation becoming a burgeoning power in the Atlantic world. The United States' capacity to impose its will beyond its borders had become manifest. From 1754 to 1829, this transformation occurred in four periods.

1754–1776

By 1754 the thirteen colonies had experienced decades of cooperation with Britain. During the eighteenth century Britain taxed, borrowed money, and waged war in unprecedented fashion. As it did so, the colonies helped to extend the British Empire. In 1754 war again erupted in North America between Britain and France, and the colonists contributed to the imperial war effort as never before. The French and Indian War (1754–1763) ended with utter French defeat. Anglo-American cooperation allowed Britain to achieve mastery in North America. The skillful diplomacy of William Pitt, the first minister of Parliament and, after the king, the most significant representative of the British Empire, fostered this cooperation. Pitt's successes demonstrate the great "what could have been" in the relations between Britain and the colonies.

In 1757 Pitt realized that it was impossible to render the colonists—most of them independent landowning heads of household or members of such households, at a distance from Britain of three thousand miles—obedient inside their colonies. Such independence was rare in Europe, where webs of dependencies shaped society and ordered people in relations of superiority and subordination. Unlike Europeans, Americans had to be convinced to voluntarily cooperate.

Pitt accepted the limits of his (and Britain's) coercive power, and despite those limits, forged a mutually beneficial connection between the colonies and Great Britain. His achievements show that skillful diplomacy might have prevented the American Revolution. Pitt wanted the colonists to help pay for the war. He knew that the colonists jealously guarded their colonial assemblies, the only bodies that they believed should tax them. Thus he announced that he would not tax the colonies but instead asked the assemblies to tax themselves. He then set aside £200,000 and pledged to return a proportion of about one-third of a pound in gold and silver for every pound of voluntary taxation. After 1758 the colonies eagerly taxed themselves at record levels and so turned the tide of the war. Between 1758 and 1761 the colonists taxed themselves above the levels Parliament demanded after 1763. The conflict that

led to war by 1776 began in 1764 with Parliament's insistence that it could tax the colonies. Pitt showed that the colonists would pay voluntarily if Parliament respected their assemblies.

After 1763 the ministers who followed Pitt replaced his cooperative diplomacy with coercion, precipitating the greatest failure of diplomacy in the period. In 1763 the affection colonists felt for Britain had never been greater; by 1776 it was gone, and the new United States fought the most powerful country in the world. The war necessitated diplomacy with Britain's enemies, particularly France. This situation had been unimaginable just thirteen years earlier, and Pitt's successes—assuming continuing high levels of subsidies—suggest that it need never have arisen.

1776–1789

The American Revolution established two principal themes that shaped war and diplomacy from 1776 to 1829. First, the war showed how difficult it would be for the United States to project power and influence beyond its borders. Second, it showed that, to survive, the nation would have to participate in a dangerous, triangular relationship with Britain and France. At times, after 1776, Spain too forced the United States into difficult diplomacy, but it never managed to pose the threats to American foreign policy that Britain and France did.

The fighting after 1776 showed that the British armed forces could control whatever part of the Atlantic world they cared about most. Before 1778 it was the U.S. coast, particularly New York and Philadelphia. Both fell to the British in the first two years of fighting. British naval supremacy meant that the United States would have difficulty asserting its sovereignty, especially on the oceans. This weakness demanded allies and led the United States to enact what became known as the "model treaty" with France in 1776 and to forge a formal alliance with that nation in 1778. The model treaty, the work of John Adams, showed that despite the danger of the triangular relationship, the United States was determined to observe the codes of international law. The treaty was a commercial agreement that gave France special status but that maintained the dictum of the law of the seas that free ships made for free goods. This dictum, which became the cornerstone of U.S. commercial policy and diplomacy until 1829, meant that the United States reserved the right to free trade with any nation, excluding trade in contraband.

The 1778 alliance forced Britain to rethink its priorities because the French navy could now threat-

en the British West Indies. The British proved unwilling to jeopardize their sugar islands. Transferring resources to the Indies meant that, though the fighting was protracted, after 1778 independence was highly probable. Britain could not defeat France, Spain, and its former colonies. With the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the United States claimed all the land south of Canada, north of New Spain, and east of the Mississippi River.

Yet the two realities emerging from the Revolution—the difficulty of projecting power and the need to maneuver between Britain and France—had not changed. During the 1780s the United States sought to consolidate its independence while Britain attempted to reduce it to neocolonial dependency. These incompatible agendas made for difficult diplomacy. Britain out-manufactured the United States and exported cheap, high-quality goods, causing ruinous harm to American craftsmen. Britain's goal was to keep the United States a simple producer of agriculture, a society dependent on Britain. During the 1780s Britain closed off the West Indies, making any access to what had been the colonies' principal market either strictly temporary or illegal. British hostility forced the United States to find new partners in diplomacy. Though the alliance with France remained significant, the United States also sought diplomatic relations with Spain.

The most revealing example of U.S.-Spanish relations was the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty of 1786, which the Articles of Confederation government ultimately rejected. Desperate to promote foreign trade, John Jay agreed to Spanish control of the Mississippi River for thirty years in exchange for access to Spanish markets. Had the United States accepted the terms, Westerners would no longer have been able to use the Mississippi River to get to market. The extraordinary terms Spain felt comfortable demanding, reminded Americans that independence was hollow if the nation had to give up so much to make its way in the world. The 1780s were years of economic depression and uncertainty. Given the weakness of the new nation, diplomats could do little to improve the situation.

1789–1815

The diplomatic problems of the 1780s prompted the ratification of the Constitution and the formation of a stronger national government. President George Washington's inauguration signaled a new era in the nation's affairs. This early national period soon produced new diplomatic complexities and ended with a second war with Britain. The years 1789 to 1815

were dominated by the French Revolution and the wars that followed; throughout the period, the United States needed to maintain its difficult relationships with France and Britain. Also significant for future diplomacy was the Constitution's declaration that the slave trade could become illegal in 1808. After 1815 this abolition would have a major impact on American diplomacy.

Before 1793 Americans were preoccupied with domestic concerns. In Europe war returned in 1792 as revolutionary France fought Britain. By 1794 the seas were again unsafe, both belligerents sought to prevent the United States from dealing with the other, and Americans divided over whether to support Britain or France. This division reinforced the growing rift between the Federalist Party and the Jeffersonian Republican opposition.

The Federalists, led by Washington and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, sought order and stability and viewed France as the graver threat. In 1793 the Federalists moved the nation closer to Britain, an effort that culminated in 1794 with Jay's Treaty, which partly vitiated the 1778 alliance with France. The treaty created a close commercial relationship with Britain and, at the very least, suggested that the United States favored Britain over France. The treaty intensified the divisions within the United States caused by disagreements about the desirability of Hamilton's economic and financial programs. Jay was so hated that he joked he could travel at night illuminated by his burning effigy.

Debate over whether to support Britain or France continued to be connected to domestic disagreements between Federalists and Republicans. Federalist John Adams's presidential election in 1796 did not temper this conflict, and by 1797 France waged undeclared war against the United States. Most Federalists felt the United States should declare war on France and forge a military alliance with Britain. Instead, Adams tried diplomacy, insisting that France honor the international law dictum that free ships made for free goods. The United States was an independent nation; thus France violated its rights under international law when it attacked ships that peacefully and lawfully traded with Britain. Unfortunately, in the XYZ affair Adams's negotiators were treated so contemptuously by the French that war appeared inevitable. Yet by 1798 it was clear that Britain preyed on American ships at least as much as did France. In addition, Adams distrusted the extreme war voices in his own party. With an election looming, Adams honorably refused to call for a war he might not be around to fight.

In one of the closest elections in the nation's history, Thomas Jefferson defeated Adams in 1800. The Federalists were swept from power and never regained it. Though the major diplomatic issues remained, the new administration had a different perspective. The differences began with domestic policy, which was intimately connected to foreign policy. The Republicans rejected the Federalist plan to create a powerful national state on the European model and a dynamic economy based on high finance and manufacturing, associating such policies with dependence, inequality, and loss of liberty. The Republicans sought a society of independent farms that could spread west and replicate a simpler, more egalitarian and republican, social order.

Building this "empire of liberty" shaped foreign policy during Jefferson's years as president (1801–1809) and during those of his successor James Madison (1809–1817). Both presidents envisioned a nation of farmers producing agricultural surpluses. This foundation for a republican society necessitated worldwide free trade and full U.S. access to foreign markets because farmers could not sell their surpluses domestically to each other.

Free trade was the *raison d'être* of Jefferson's diplomacy, with the free ships–free goods dictum at the core of his foreign policy. A nation of republican commercial farmers required complete access to foreign markets and land to farm. In the most stunning achievement of his presidency, Jefferson secured that land in 1803 by purchasing the Louisiana territory from Napoleon. For \$15 million, the United States added 828,000 square miles to the nation—a price of roughly 3 cents per acre. Jefferson now had his nation of farmers, but could he use diplomacy to secure foreign markets for their wares?

It proved difficult. By 1805 war between Britain and France engulfed the Western Hemisphere. Both nations sought to deny the other any advantage, particularly access to American agriculture. After 1805 Napoleon, with his Berlin and Milan Decrees, and the British, with their orders-in-council, declared that the Americans could not trade with the other. Thus there was no free trade, and the Republicans had to worry about idle farmers and failing farms.

In 1808 and 1809 Jefferson and Madison responded with forceful diplomacy that stopped short of war. The Republicans enacted a two-year embargo that prevented virtually all commerce. They reasoned that the United States produced agricultural necessities that war-ravaged Europe needed, but Europeans exported luxuries that Americans could temporarily live without. With peaceful coercion,

Britain and France would accede to American demands that they honor international law and especially the free ships–free goods dictum. Commercial coercion and diplomacy would eradicate the need for war. This plan might have worked had Britain and France been less desperate to defeat each other. But by 1810 the situation had not changed, and Madison understood that he could not again suspend foreign commerce. The only option left seemed to be war, though Republicans had believed that an agrarian republic would never have to fight one.

War came in 1812. From the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, the United States fought Britain until 1815. The war clarified several things, resolved some concerns, and introduced new ones. The war demonstrated that the United States was a regional power and possibly more. The war also emphasized Britain's continued dominance on the oceans and its ability to hamper U.S. pursuit of its sovereign rights beyond its borders. After 1815 the nation's leaders turned inward as never before. With protective tariffs and internal improvement bills, they encouraged the rapid development of the domestic economy, turning their backs, to a certain extent, on the oceans and British hegemony.

1815–1829

Thus by 1815 the war had clarified the nation's position. The United States was a burgeoning regional power. This new status led to the two biggest issues for diplomacy in the period from 1815 to 1829. First, the United States insisted that Europe stop interfering in the affairs of the Americas. Second, the United States decided to act on its stated opposition to the international slave trade. U.S. conduct regarding both issues continued to be influenced by the difficulty the nation had asserting its sovereignty beyond its borders.

Its new status as a regional power shaped the U.S. position on South America. By 1820 the farsighted perceived that the United States would be the dominant economic force in the Americas. During the 1820s about 15 percent of U.S. exports went to Latin America, and the United States was increasingly committed to removing the European presence from the New World. In 1822 President James Monroe (1817–1825) announced that the United States would recognize Latin American nations that gained independence. For once, U.S. and British interests coincided. After 1815 Britain sought to weaken its rival European empires and concluded that U.S. prominence in the Americas was preferable to the continued presence of France and Spain.

The British stance helped make possible the Monroe Doctrine of 1823, which was the culminating statement of U.S. policy regarding the Americas. In his address, Monroe announced that Europe would no longer direct the affairs of the Americas. Henceforth, American states would be free to shape their own destinies, Monroe concluded, with the United States the likely leader and dominant partner.

British acquiescence was due in part to the impact the Monroe Doctrine had on other European empires. But also important was the hostility Britain felt for the Atlantic slave trade. The abolition movement in Britain captivated both the elite and the ordinary. Britain took the lead in challenging slavery, and no nation was more responsible after 1815 for creating the Atlantic world consensus that the slave trade should be illegal.

The United States remained committed to slavery domestically, but after 1815, with diplomacy and moral pressure, Britain convinced the United States to oppose the slave trade. Britain was able to embarrass the United States by challenging its claim to promote liberty and freedom. Indeed, as Britain became associated with abolition, the British claimed that their constitutional monarchy pursued justice more capably than did the democratic Republic. Britain suggested that limited monarchy was superior to republicanism.

Jefferson's administration had kept the Constitution's vague promise by an act of Congress declaring the slave trade illegal from 1808. But enforcement was difficult. From 1815 to 1829 all the mistrust in the Anglo-American relationship interfered with policing the slave trade. In 1824 Britain made slave trading punishable by death (though no one was ever executed) and urged the U.S. to enter into treaties of similar stringency. The constant stumbling block was that enforcement required allowing Britain to board and search U.S. vessels. For U.S. policymakers such as Monroe's Secretary of State (and president from 1825 to 1829) John Quincy Adams, such searches were reminders of the U.S. weakness beyond its borders. Since 1776 U.S. diplomacy had been a long quest for legitimacy and sovereignty, especially on the oceans. Anxiety over sovereignty prevented many meaningful anti-slave trade treaties. In 1823 the U.S. seriously considered a treaty with Britain that would have made the slave trade an act of piracy. Fears over allowing Britain to search U.S. vessels doomed the treaty. Not until 1862 did the U.S. execute a participant in the international slave trade, and between 1808 and 1850 perhaps 50,000 slaves were illegally imported into the U.S.

Still, after 1830 these illegal imports were seriously curtailed as the U.S. fully embraced the Atlantic world's anti-slave trade consensus. By 1829 U.S. diplomacy, and the U.S. itself, had matured. From 1830 U.S. diplomats bargained from a position of strength in a world that recognized both the nation's right to exist and its growing status as a world power.

See also **British Empire and the Atlantic World; Election of 1800; Embargo; European Responses to America; Federalist Party; French; French and Indian War, Battles and Diplomacy; Hamilton, Alexander; Jay's Treaty; Jefferson, Thomas; Madison, James; Monroe Doctrine; Monroe, James; Revolution: Diplomacy; Shipping Industry; Slavery: Overview; Slavery: Slave Trade, Slavery: African; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic; Spanish Empire; Townshend Act; Treaty of Paris; War Hawks; War of 1812; Washington, George; XYZ Affair.**

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Andrew Shankman

WAR HAWKS It is one of the enduring myths of American historiography that the Twelfth Congress was dominated by a faction of “War Hawks” who seized control of national policy and pushed President James Madison into a war with Great Britain he would otherwise have avoided. Generations of historians have analyzed the speeches, correspondence, and voting records of these “War Hawks” to determine their identity and their reasons for bringing about the War of 1812. The result was a portrait of the typical “war hawk” as a young man, drawn from the rising generation and representing a frontier district whose settlers sought to expel the British from Canada, either to control hostile Indians or to annex land for future expansion.

This traditional picture cannot withstand close scrutiny. Analyses of voting patterns in the Twelfth Congress reveal that no particular Republican faction consistently pushed for war. Nor were “War Hawks” any younger than the average age of the members. It is, nevertheless, true that some Congressmen— notably Peter B. Porter, John C. Calhoun, and Felix Grundy—regularly took the lead in justifying war in 1812, but they were united not so much by age or regional background as they were by their membership on committees responsible for introducing preparedness legislation for debate. The legislation itself, though, originated with the administration, which had decided between March and July of 1811 to prepare for war with Great Britain. It was to implement this decision that President Madison summoned the Twelfth Congress into an early session in November 1811.

The “War Hawks” were not, therefore, responsible for the War of 1812. While they provided belliger-

erent rhetoric to justify that conflict, they played only an intermediary role in policymaking as advocates for measures of the Madison administration.

See also **War of 1812**.

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J. C. A. Stagg

WAR OF 1812 The War of 1812 is undoubtedly America's least known war. The average American cannot name the two participants, the United States and Great Britain, let alone discuss what prompted President James Madison and Congress to declare war on 18 June 1812. In contrast, Canadians regard the war as among the most important events in their history. The underlying reasons concerning how the War of 1812 is regarded at the start of the twenty-first century is based not only on the failures and successes of the conflict, but also on events that followed decades later. For America, the vast majority of the war was characterized by dismal failure. Not only was the nation's capital put to the torch by British forces in August 1814, but campaign after campaign was lost due to either blunder, poor military leadership, lack of supplies, or the refusal of militias to cross into Canada, the occupation of which was the one strategic objective of the United States. In the wake of the U.S. Civil War, the War of 1812 seemed a minor affair to Americans. Canadians, on the other hand, successfully defended their homeland and in the process built a strong sense of nationalism. The one saving grace for Americans was the Battle of New Orleans in January 1815, an unparalleled victory led by General Andrew Jackson that allowed the young Republic to walk away from the War of 1812 with a sense of accomplishment in an otherwise lackluster performance.

AMERICAN GRIEVANCES

The war's causes were rooted in the Napoleonic Wars. This European struggle between Great Britain and France was essentially a world war that bridged

the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Engaged in a death struggle for supremacy, these two colossal powers embroiled their many neighbors, as well as the United States, in the conflict. The United States attempted to avoid involvement, but the lucrative trade to be had as a neutral nation enticed American shipping to brave the dangers of war. The end results were violations of neutral trade rights, illegal blockades, and extensive impressments (the seizing of sailors from American vessels to serve on foreign war ships). Both England and France engaged in these practices, though impressment was largely a British policy.

These varied maritime issues had been of concern in the 1790s but became even more problematic during and after 1803 when Britain and France disputed provisions of the 1802 Treaty of Amiens, which had ended the previous war between 1793 and 1801. Britain released a significant portion of its armed forces in the expectation that the peace would last more than a year and as a result was in a difficult position when the war resumed. Fighting for its very survival, Britain stepped up violations of neutral trade and impressments. Some of the trade violations were veiled in classic English legal tinkering. The Rule of 1756, a holdover from the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), decreed that any nation failing to have a trade agreement with a nation in time of peace did not have one by virtue of a war. This essentially meant that America could not act as a neutral in the French carrying trade between its West Indian colonies and the French mainland. Americans worked around this with the 1800 *Polly* case, in which British admiralty courts determined that goods taken from French colonies and returned to America, then re-exported to France, were considered "naturalized" American goods. The British closed this loophole with the 1805 *Essex* decision, which held that all such goods must be off-loaded and must have duties paid on them in America. Much of this was legal game playing, but it was a game backed by the firepower of the British navy, and thus Americans had to play by British rules.

Further trade violations came from both France and Great Britain. In 1806 Napoleon issued the infamous Berlin Decree, which announced a blockade of the British Isles and the right to seize all British goods even when on a neutral vessel. The British responded in January 1807 with an Order in Council requiring all vessels bound for certain ports in Western Europe to stop in Britain and pay a duty. Napoleon retaliated later in the same year with the Milan Decree, in which he declared that any ship paying the British



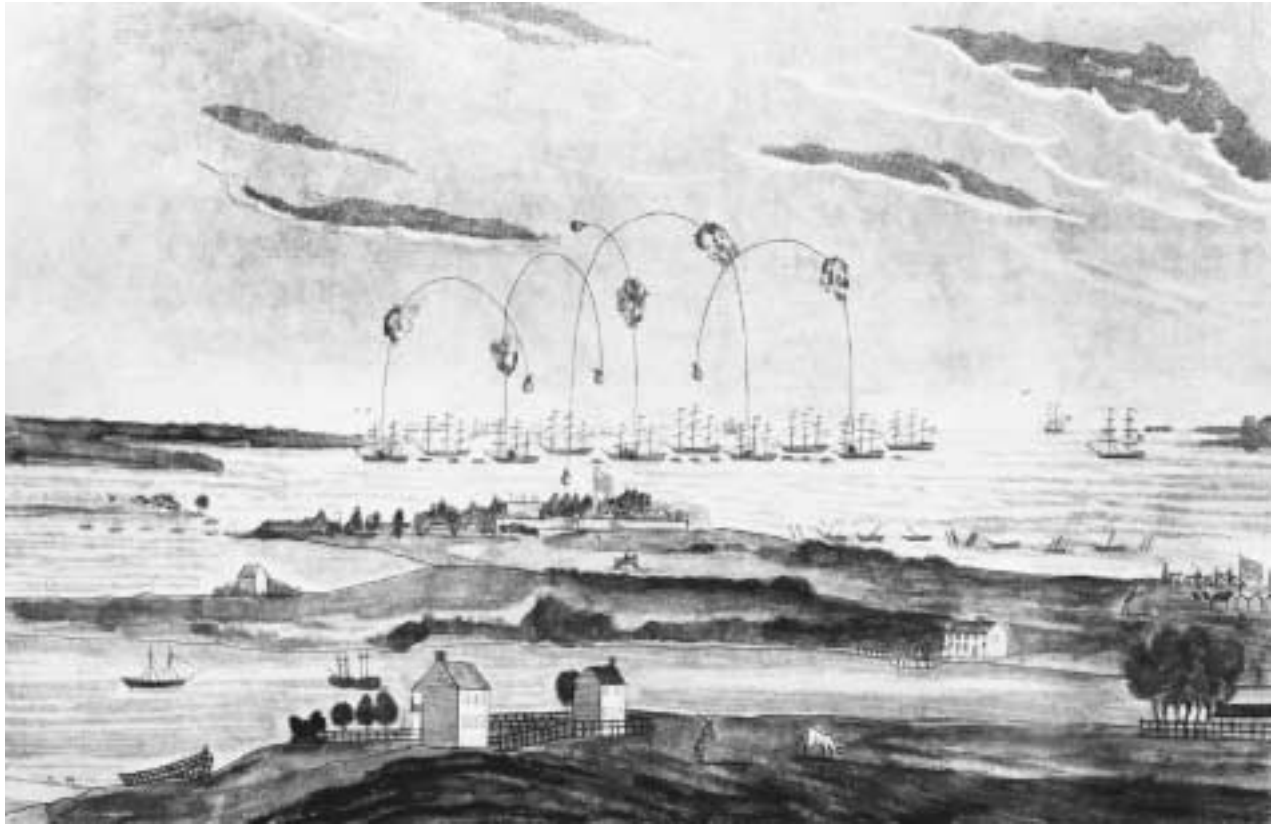
duty would be considered an enemy and treated as such. These varied orders and decrees resulted in the seizure of some nine hundred American ships between 1807 and 1812.

Impressments were also a major source of American dismay. On 22 June 1807 they reached an extreme when a British warship, the HMS *Leopard*, attempted to stop and ultimately fired on the USS *Chesapeake*, killing three sailors and wounding another eight. The British subsequently boarded the vessel and removed four sailors who, they claimed, were English citizens. The British did not normally violate a nation's sovereignty by impressing sailors from a war vessel, and the crown offered to pay reparations and later returned three of the four impressed sailors. Nonetheless, Americans were outraged by this affront to their liberties.

THE ROAD TO WAR

There is little wonder why America determined that immediate action was necessary. What, however, should be done? President Thomas Jefferson believed that war was hardly an option and instead decided upon a fifteen-month embargo that shut down American ports from 22 December 1807 to 1 March 1809. The idea was to hurt Britain and France economically by refusing them American goods and thereby forcing a respect for U.S. rights. Though the embargo hurt both nations, it was not enough to alter their policies, and Jefferson was faced at home with intense hostility to the embargo, which ended just days before James Madison's inauguration.

The new president did little to change British and French policy toward America. The young Republic was merely a pawn in a much bigger chess match. Violations of trade and impressments continued



The Attack on Fort McHenry. An 1816 aquatint by John Bower of the bombardment of Fort McHenry in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1814. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

throughout Madison's first term, and on 16 May 1811 a new clash between an English and American ship fanned anti-British sentiment. This time, however, the recipient of the pounding was the HMS *Lille Belt*. This incident, combined with the continuation of the Orders in Council and the belief that Indian depredations on the western frontier had been encouraged by the British, caused Americans to look for satisfaction from their former mother country.

In reality, the French were as guilty of neutral trade violations and illegal blockades as were the British; however, there remained lingering hostility against the British from the Revolutionary War. Moreover, with Britain's command of the seas, it was its warships that plied the U.S. coast. Thus, the June 1812 decision to engage in war was based not only on very real violations of American sovereignty, but on an emotional animosity as well. The irony is that the British foreign secretary Lord Castlereagh had announced on 16 June, just two days prior to the American declaration of war, that the Orders in Council would be rescinded. Even when this information became known in the early days of the war, the United States was in no mood to engage in fur-

ther diplomatic dicker. The Second War for Independence, as some called it, was designed to make Britain stop treating America like a colony.

The declaration of war focused primarily on maritime issues, though historians for many years have asked a very basic question about the war's causes: If it was fought to defend maritime rights, why did the Northeast, the area most affected by violations of those rights, oppose the war so vehemently? Scholars have theorized that a number of additional factors may have been at play: western land greed and the potential conquest of Canada; an attempt to end British influence over Native Americans; Republican Party hostility to Great Britain; and preservation of national honor and a desire to prove the strength of republican institutions. It is likely that all of these factors had some influence on the American decision to engage in war, but foremost were the maritime violations.

Congressional War Hawks may have been eager for retribution, but America was no more ready to prosecute a major war in 1812 than it was in 1807, when Jefferson imposed the embargo. During the in-

tervening years the nation's leaders had done little to prepare for conflict. America had achieved success in the Revolution only through the help of France and had failed to reform a militia system that George Washington criticized on many occasions. Part of the hope, no doubt, was that British forces would be tied up in Europe fighting Napoleon, and that Americans would therefore have an easy time of it. Additionally, many wrongly believed that Canadians would quickly unfurl American flags and jump at the chance to join the Union. Nothing was further from the truth, and the reality of war hit the nation hard. The War Department was badly organized and weakly staffed, the system for the pay and supply of troops was manifestly inadequate, and the army was littered with incompetent and geriatric officers. Most troops lacked discipline and had no real military experience, and a number of militia units in the North argued that they were solely a defensive force and therefore refused to march across the border into Canada. Finally, just when the nation needed a national bank most in order to finance the war, Alexander Hamilton's embattled institution ran the course of its charter in 1811. It is doubtful that the nation could have been less prepared for war.

THE CONFLICT

Nevertheless, Americans prepared for an offensive into Canada. The plans called for attacks all along the border. Yet in the Northwest, William Hull, fearing an Indian massacre, surrendered Fort Detroit on 16 August 1812 to a smaller British force and was later found guilty of cowardice and neglect of duty by a court martial. At the Raisin River on 22 January 1813, some three hundred Americans were killed by a superior British and Indian army. Thirty Americans who had surrendered were slaughtered by Indians after the battle. The massacre was so ghastly that Americans later attempted to excite troops by announcing, "Remember the Raisin!" Military action in the East was equally bad. Campaigns on the Niagara front at Queenston Heights (13 October 1812) and Fort Erie (27 November 1812) were also failures. The planned attack on Montreal never achieved any kind of meaningful momentum. In most of these actions militiamen refused to cross the border into Canada. William Henry Harrison had better luck in September 1813 when he defeated the British in the Battle of the Thames, in which the infamous Indian Prophet Tecumseh was killed. Though this was a victory for the United States, it was fleeting. Just two months later General James Wilkinson's attempt to capture Montreal ended unsuccessfully when his

army was defeated by a smaller British force at Chrysler's Farm.

American navy sailors did far better than the army soldiers. American ships were faster and sturdier, though certainly fewer in number than the British, and U.S. sailors were second to none. On 19 August 1812 Captain Isaac Hull, commanding the USS *Constitution*, defeated the HMS *Guerrière*, and on 15 October 1812 Captain Stephen Decatur of the USS *United States* captured the HMS *Macedonian*. On 29 December the *Constitution*, this time under the command of William Bainbridge, once again vanquished a British ship, the *Java*. The American navy also performed well the following year, when victory on the Great Lakes inspired Captain Oliver Perry to utter his famous words, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." Unfortunately, the American army failed to capitalize on the navy's control of the lakes by once again botching its forays into Canada.

The American campaigns in the South were more successful. In 1813–1814 an American army engaged the Creek Indians and a little-known but tenacious general named Andrew Jackson defeated the hostile Red Sticks, known for the red clubs they carried, in several successive battles—Tallushatchee (3 November 1813), Talladega (9 November 1813), Emuckfau (22 January 1814), and Enotachopco (24 January 1814)—before virtually annihilating them at Horseshoe Bend (27 March 1814).

On the East Coast, things went badly in 1813–1814. Using their superior naval power, the British blockaded the entire seaboard south of New England. That region was at first excluded because of its opposition to the war and because it was a source of supplies for British troops in Canada. But as the war progressed New England, too, felt the wrath of British might. Also, early in 1813 British raids on Chesapeake Bay and on Hampton, Virginia, struck fear in the American countryside. By 1814 the British had the opportunity to unleash their full force on the United States. Napoleon had been defeated and a wave of battle-hardened veterans sailed across the ocean. Americans nevertheless held their own in battles on the Canadian border, such as Chippewa (5 July 1814), Lundy's Lane (25 July 1814), and Plattsburgh (11 September 1814) but the year would be noted more for its losses than gains. The Chesapeake region was once again invaded, and although Baltimore was successfully defended, inspiring Francis Scott Key to pen the words to the "Star-Spangled Banner," Washington City, the nation's capital, was put to the torch.

The highlight of the war for Americans came with a major British offensive against the Gulf Coast. Expecting to roll into New Orleans virtually unimpeded, the British army met the formidable General Jackson and were summarily slaughtered on the field. Jackson's troops sent forth such a hail of fire on 8 January 1815 that some 2,500 British troops were killed and wounded. With only 6 Americans losing their lives and another 7 wounded, the victory was remarkable and touted as the greatest moment in the young nation's military history.

Ironically, the battle actually occurred after the peace treaty, the Treaty of Ghent, had been signed on Christmas Eve 1814. Once ratified in February 1815, the treaty ended all hostilities, but it said virtually nothing about the maritime issues that had triggered the war. For the most part, those issues had disappeared with the cessation of the Napoleonic Wars. There was no longer any reason for Great Britain to harass American ships, and the U.S. delegates at Ghent, like their counterparts, simply wanted to end the conflict. Thus, matters of impressments and violations of neutral trade were swept under the rug. Some historians state that as a result, America failed in the war. Yet one could argue that standing up to Britain and not suffering utter defeat was success for a fledging Republic attempting to steer a course around monarchical giants.

The War of 1812 lasted for nearly three years and cost the United States \$158 million. Total American deaths amounted to 17,000, though only 2,260 of these were combat deaths, the remainder caused by disease. Another 4,505 were wounded. The ultimate results of the war were myriad: the conflict revealed the limited nature of the Republican Party's policies and encouraged it to adopt many Federalist views; Republicans suddenly favored a national bank, internal improvements, and tariffs; the war marked the end of the first party system with the demise of the Federalist Party, which had opposed the war at every point and whose hostility culminated at the Hartford Convention in December 1814–January 1815; the war broke the Indian power in the Northwest and the South; and the Battle of New Orleans generated significant American nationalism—military, political, and economic. This nationalism, combined with their stance on the war, carried several politicians, such as John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, to national prominence. The success at New Orleans also carried Andrew Jackson to the White House in 1828.

See also **Army, U.S.; Creek War; Embargo; Federalist Party; Ghent, Treaty of;**

Hartford Convention; Horseshoe Bend, Battle of; Impressment; Jackson, Andrew; Marines, U.S.; New Orleans, Battle of; "Star Spangled Banner;" Thames, Battle of the; War Hawks; Washington, Burning of.

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Matthew Warshauer

WASHINGTON, BURNING OF During the War of 1812 (1812–1815), the British raid against Washington in 1814 represented the second act of a two-part drama. The first began on 27 April 1813, when U.S. forces captured the Upper Canadian capital of York (now Toronto), torched the parliament buildings and governor's residence, stole private property, and abused civilians and wounded prisoners. York's citizens demanded revenge, and to their voices were added those of other Canadians who experienced war's traumas at the hands of often-undisciplined Americans. Some retribution ensued locally when British forces burned New York settlements along the Niagara River in December 1813 after Americans had torched nearby Canadian villages. Nevertheless, the governor-in-chief of British North America, Sir George Prevost, asked that retaliation be taken to the Atlantic coast of the United States to deter further outrages.

In 1814, once the British had defeated Napoleon and reinforced North America, they expanded operations along the Atlantic seaboard to avenge the Canadians, draw U.S. forces away from the Great Lakes front, and encourage an early end to hostilities. On 19–20 August 1814, forty-five hundred men landed at Benedict, Maryland, forty-five miles from the capital. At the same time, the Royal Navy campaigned on the Patuxent River in Maryland, causing the loss of U.S. gunboats and civilian vessels, which were either seized by the invaders or destroyed by retreating defenders. At Bladensburg, Maryland, on 24 August, twenty-six hundred British regulars and sailors led by Major General Robert Ross quickly defeated a seven thousand-man American force composed

mainly of militia under Brigadier General William Winder. As the victors marched on the capital later that day, the government and most civilians fled while American authorities burned the Washington Navy Yard, with its stores and vessels, and blew up a fort at Greenleaf's Point. Some people tried to save the nation's records and treasures but abandoned much because they had waited too long to obtain the necessary vehicles. Dolley Madison emerged as something of a hero in the popular imagination by demanding that the famous portrait of George Washington in the president's mansion be destroyed or saved rather than captured before she fled the capital. A cart was found to carry it away and so the painting continues to grace today's White House.

Aside from a few shots fired against an advanced party, the British entered Washington unopposed. They set fire to government buildings, including the Treasury, the Capitol, and the President's Mansion, and took large quantities of military supplies before starting back to their ships on 25 August. The redcoats maintained comparatively good order in respect to civilians and their property, although they burned the strategically important ropewalks and sacked the office of the semiofficial newspaper, the *National Intelligencer* (as U.S. forces had destroyed the *Upper Canada Gazette* in York). As the British withdrew, lawless Americans exploited the confusion to loot their own federal capital. Meanwhile, another part of the British expedition sailed against Fort Warburton on the Potomac, but its garrison blew it up and retreated on 27 August rather than face the Royal Navy. Consequently the British seized Alexandria, Virginia, on 29 August, took vessels and goods along the river for several days, and then sailed back to sea despite dangerous waters and fire from American batteries along the way.

The raid on Washington gave satisfaction to Canadians and added humiliation to the woes of the administration of James Madison. However, his government (like that of Upper Canada) was sufficiently resilient to return to a burned capital and maintain authority through to the end of hostilities. As in York, public buildings in Washington were rebuilt shortly after the war while Anglo-American relations entered an era of cordiality, in contrast to the tensions of 1807 to 1815.

See also **First Ladies; Presidency, The: James Madison; "Star-Spangled Banner"; War of 1812.**

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Carl Benn

WASHINGTON, D.C. The origins of Washington as the federal capital hark back to the events of 21 June 1783, when about three hundred soldiers, primarily of the Pennsylvania line, marched on the State House in Philadelphia (a venue shared by both the Confederation Congress and the Pennsylvania Assembly) demanding back pay. No blood was spilled, but the mutiny sparked the first public discussion of Congress's right to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its meeting place. Between June 1783 and January 1785, Congress was "on wheels," meeting successively at Princeton, Annapolis, and finally New York. At Princeton, Congress passed a resolution creating two seats of government, one on the Delaware River near Trenton, the other on the Potomac River near Georgetown. But regional rivalries reasserted themselves, and the dual residence plan was soon abandoned.

At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, the delegates crafted a federal district ("ten miles square"), endowing the national government with exclusive jurisdiction in all matters within its boundaries and with "like authority . . . for the erection of . . . needful buildings." The actual site of the "ten miles square" was left up to the First Federal Congress. The subsequent contest in New York over the location of the federal seat culminated in a dinner-table bargain struck on 20 June 1790 between Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton. To secure northern support for the removal of the federal government to the Potomac, Jefferson and his Virginia ally James Madison, the most influential member of the First Congress, accepted Hamilton's proposal that the federal government assume the states' Revolutionary War debts. The Residence Act of 16 July 1790 confirmed the compromise, designating Philadelphia as the temporary seat until 1800. On 24 January 1791, President Washington, acting in accordance with the powers given to him by the Residence Act, announced the boundaries of the federal district. In early February, Andrew Ellicott and his free black assistant Benjamin Banneker began a preliminary survey of the district, which included Alexandria,

Georgetown, and the yet-to-be-created national seat. On 24 March, after the government purchased the land from local proprietors, Washington announced the official boundaries of the federal city as covering “all the land from Rock Creek along the [Potomac] from the Eastern Branch” (today the Anacostia River) and “so upwards to or above the Ferry including a breadth of about a mile and a half, the whole containing from three to five thousand acres.”

Although Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton are credited with the compromise of 1790, as Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay so aptly put it at the time, “It is the interest of the President of the United States, that pushes the Potowmack.” Washington envisaged the Potomac seat as part of a larger plan for national development. He believed that in addition to being centrally located between north and south, the “proximity of the Potowmack . . . to the Western Waters” would also help to strengthen the ties—commercial, political, and cultural—between the original thirteen states and the growing number of emigrants to the Ohio Valley. During his presidency and into his retirement, Washington maintained a consuming interest in the federal city. In early 1791 he hired Peter L’Enfant to draw up the official plan of the seat of government (a plan covering six thousand acres). It was Washington, however, who, after consulting with Jefferson, chose the site of the Capitol, the Executive Mansion, and the executive department buildings. In keeping with his vision of the federal seat as a commercial center, L’Enfant included in his plan a Washington City Canal as the terminus of a projected all-water route to the west.

Washington appointed three commissioners to oversee the building of the federal district and city, which they named “Columbia” and “Washington.” Unfortunately, the commissioners soon locked horns with L’Enfant—a circumstance that resulted in his departure in early 1792. Washington subsequently induced the commissioners to employ William Thornton to design the Capitol and James Hoban to design the Executive Mansion (or President’s House, as it was then known), but construction progressed slowly. There were also constant money problems. Although Washington preferred to fund the public buildings through private means, several lackluster lotteries and an ill-fated speculative venture in city lots involving his Revolutionary War ally Robert Morris forced Washington to turn to Congress in 1796. By 1800 about \$500,000 had been spent, not without criticism in and out of Congress.

In November 1800, when the federal government consummated its long awaited move to the Po-

tomac, the City of Washington numbered a little over three thousand inhabitants, almost a quarter of whom were slaves and free blacks. Continuing construction on the Capitol forced senators and congressmen to share the north or senate wing; the Supreme Court took an upstairs room. Meanwhile, President John Adams and his wife, Abigail, found that the Executive Mansion “had not a single apartment finished.” Abigail, attributing the lack of energy and initiative at the federal seat to the institution of slavery, remarked, “Two of our hardy N. England men could do as much work as twelve southerners.” Despite its shortcomings, the national city figured prominently in the presidential and congressional politics of 1800 to 1801: the Democratic Republicans accused John Adams and the Federalists of profligate spending on public buildings, including a proposal for spending \$200,000 to build a mausoleum for the late President Washington.

Thomas Jefferson, the first president to reside in the federal city during the entire length of his term, pursued a more democratic style in etiquette and protocol, doing away with the levees introduced by Washington and continued by Adams during his short stay on the Potomac. Although a firm believer in smaller government, Jefferson resisted efforts in Congress to modify Washington’s plans for the public buildings. In 1803 he convinced Congress to appropriate \$50,000 to renovate the Capitol and the Executive Mansion and hired Benjamin Henry Latrobe as supervisor of public buildings. Latrobe completed the House wing of the Capitol, which opened for occupancy in 1807, and commenced work on the colonnades extending from the east and west sides of the Executive Mansion. In addition to building roads, Latrobe was employed in 1804 as chief engineer in the revived Washington City Canal project, which had lain dormant since 1792.

The federal city encountered a number of challenges during the Republican administrations of Jefferson and his successor, James Madison. Congress’s exclusive jurisdiction over the district left the residents of the City of Washington with no right of self-government. Responding to local demands, in 1802 Congress gave Washingtonians a charter to establish a municipal corporation, although they were still denied suffrage in national elections and representation in Congress. Washingtonians did not dare protest too much, however. Citing lack of facilities, limited amenities, and poor climate, in 1804, 1808, and 1814 there were three separate resolutions in Congress to remove the national seat of government northward. The last was a response to the British invasion of

Washington in August 1814, which resulted in the burning of the Capitol and the Executive Mansion and forced Madison to flee temporarily. Among those who opposed the move was Dolley Madison, who helped convince disgruntled congressmen to remain in Washington after the burning of the city.

The surge of national pride following the War of 1812 redounded on the City of Washington. The Capitol, reconstructed under the supervision of Latrobe and, after his departure, Charles Bulfinch, impressed even the most jaded foreign visitors. Continuing on with Washington's vision, Madison also hired Hoban to rebuild the Executive Mansion. Both the Executive Mansion and the Capitol opened for occupancy in 1817. Although reduced to living in temporary quarters, Dolley Madison continued to preside over Washington social life, offering a much needed distraction for government officials, many of whom passed lonely months away from their families in boardinghouses. Still, Monroe and his successor, John Quincy Adams, incurred criticism for behaving in a manner inconsistent with republican simplicity. Andrew Jackson and the Democratic Party were swept into office in 1828, after a campaign that attacked Adams, a National Republican, for the purchase of a billiards table for the East Room of the Executive Mansion.

Yet when Jackson's delirious Democratic supporters converged on the President's House following his inauguration in March 1829, they found that the federal city was hardly the impenetrable wall of gold feared by anti-Federalists in the late 1780s. Money would flow into Washington in the form of revenues and flow back out to the states and territories via government programs. The stain of slavery in the national city no doubt discouraged private investment in the federal district. Although President Washington had hoped that growing trade would make it a magnet for northern white emigration, the fact that Washington tolerated emancipated slaves more than most southern cities made it a magnet for blacks. By the late 1820s the city's population of nearly nineteen thousand included over five thousand blacks, most of whom were freed slaves. Perhaps the abandoned Washington City Canal and the elegant Capitol best testify to the partially met dreams of the eponymous founder of the city. Many contemporaries would have agreed with the British actress Fanny Kemble that Washington was a "rambling, red brick image of futurity, where nothing is, but all things are to be" (p. 87).

See also **Social Life: Urban Life; War of 1812; Washington, Burning of; Washington, George; White House.**

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Rubil Morales-Vazquez

WASHINGTON, GEORGE George Washington is rightly known as "the father of his country." No figure had a more central role during the American Revolution and early national period. Even after his death he remained the preeminent embodiment of national character. To understand the trajectory of Washington's career is to understand that of early American history.

EARLY YEARS

Washington was born 22 February 1732, the son of a wealthy Virginia planter. He received irregular schooling from the ages of seven to fifteen. His father died when he was only eleven, and he became the ward of his half-brother Lawrence, who was married to Anne Fairfax. The Fairfax family was one of the wealthiest and most influential in early Virginia, and young Washington benefited from their patronage. Washington's early years were spent as a surveyor, a profession that kindled his enduring interest in



George Washington. This mezzotint, made by Charles Willson Peale in 1787, was one of numerous portraits made of Washington during his lifetime. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

western land development. Lawrence died in 1752. Washington eventually became the heir to Lawrence's estate, including Mount Vernon, which would serve as Washington's lifelong home; his inheritance made him one of the wealthiest planters in Virginia. In 1759 he added significantly to his holdings when he married the wealthy widow Martha Dandridge. The couple did not have children.

Washington spent his early life as a very successful planter. He was an assiduous caretaker of his own property, often experimenting with new farming techniques. Over time, Washington shifted his farm production from tobacco to wheat, which helped save him from the crippling debt that affected so many other Virginia planters. He served in a number of local offices as well as in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

In contrast to many other Virginians, Washington, though a slaveholder, eventually charted what was a somewhat progressive path for his time. Despite eventually having more slaves than he could productively employ and their upkeep added to his expenses, he refused to sell his slaves because he did not want to break up slave families. In his will, he stipulated that all of his slaves (with the exception of

his wife's dower slaves) were to be freed upon his wife's death.

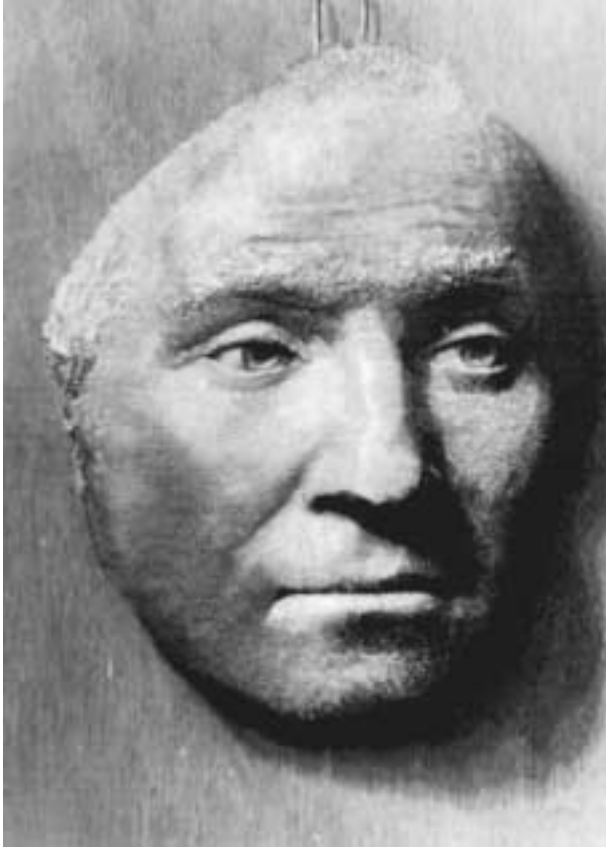
Washington gained military experience during the French and Indian War (1754–1763). He served in a number of posts, including as British General Edward Braddock's aide-de-camp; his coolness, bravery, and resourcefulness when Braddock's force was ambushed gained him the confidence of his fellow Virginians. He was eventually appointed commander in chief of all of Virginia's troops during the conflict. After the war he resigned his commission. He retired once again to life as a planter and seemed likely to finish his life as a wealthy, respected Virginia gentleman. The looming imperial crisis would change all of that and make Washington one of the most famous figures in the Western world.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

After Washington resigned his commission during the French and Indian War, he tried to get a regular commission in the British army. If he had been successful, the course of the future nation would likely have been substantially different. His attempt reflected the common aspirations of elite provincial Americans for acceptance among the elite of British society. The unwillingness of British gentlemen to give their American cousins what Americans felt was their due helped sow resentments that eventually led people like Washington to choose the path of resistance.

Washington quickly showed himself to be an ardent Patriot. He was chosen to be a Virginia delegate to both the First and Second Continental Congresses and, in 1775, was chosen commander in chief of the Continental Army. His appointment was, in part, due to bargaining with the delegates from New England, who were willing to give the honor of command to a Virginian so as to tie that powerful colony firmly to the cause of Revolution, most of the burden of which New England had borne up to that point. Washington accepted the appointment and rode north to oppose the British forces that had gathered at Boston.

Washington was not a superior tactician; if judged solely by his performance on the battlefield, he was a mediocre general. He showed daring and élan with his nighttime crossing of the Delaware and his surprise attacks and victories at Trenton and Princeton, and his decisive plan to capture Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown was a model piece of strategy. But he also blundered repeatedly, most severely during the Battle of New York in 1776. He divided his force in the face of superior numbers and almost allowed his army to be trapped by the British navy. If



Life Mask. The French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon, who was commissioned to sculpt a statue of Washington, made a life mask in October 1785 by applying wet plaster directly to Washington's face. This engraved illustration of Houdon's mask appeared in the 26 February 1887, issue of *Harper's*. PICTURE HISTORY.

not for the British failure to follow up their initial victory quickly, the Continental Army would likely have been destroyed, and the Revolution might have ended before it had scarcely begun.

Washington's greatness lay not in his tactical brilliance but in his strength of character, which was largely responsible for holding the army together. As long as Washington could keep a viable army in the field, the Americans were, in some sense, winning the war. Washington did just that, despite tremendous challenges. His original recruits were raw, untrained colonials who often signed up for short enlistments, yet he managed to create a disciplined fighting force, even though his army was rarely supplied with the food and equipment it needed. It was said that, during the winter, you could follow the path of the army by the bloody footprints left by shoeless feet. The Continental Congress not only failed to supply him adequately but frequently complained about his generalship. Subordinates made at least two at-

tempts to displace him. Through his adroit management, he also managed to prevent a mutiny at the end of the war by disillusioned and discouraged officers. Despite all of these difficulties, Washington persevered and, by doing so, brought the army to eventual victory.

After the Treaty of Paris had been signed in 1783, officially ending the war, Washington rode to Annapolis, Maryland, and, appearing before the Continental Congress, resigned his commission. Echoing Cincinnatus, the Roman general who did not attempt to seize power but returned to his farm after leading his army to victory, Washington's gesture gained him immeasurable fame and admiration. That act alone increased his prestige as much as anything else he did in his lifetime.

PRESIDENCY

Washington knew that the work of the Revolution was unfinished. His personal experiences under the Articles of Confederation convinced him that a stronger union was the only safeguard for the future of the nation. But he himself did not expect to take part in this work. After pledging to retire from public life, he did just that and returned to Mount Vernon to repair his fortunes, which had been severely damaged by the war. But the 1780s proved a turbulent and difficult time for the new nation. At the behest of several friends, Washington eventually agreed to take part in the constitutional convention at Philadelphia. When he arrived, he was quickly elected president of the proceedings. Although he played almost no part in the debates, his silent presence played an essential role in the eventual shape of the government. Everyone expected Washington to be the first president, and thus the delegates were willing to give the office powers that they would never have bestowed on another man. In addition, his prestige was essential to the eventual ratification of the Constitution. Although many were frightened by the additional powers being given to a central government only a few short years after concluding a war against another centralized power, a great many of those people trusted Washington to pursue a moderate course.

After the document was ratified, Washington was unanimously elected to the presidency and, as he traveled north to New York City, was met by cheering crowds along the way. When he arrived, he and others had to invent a new government almost from whole cloth. The Constitution is remarkable for its brevity, and many of the crucial details of governing had to be established.



Washington at the Smithsonian. This collection of personal items belonging to George Washington was given to the U.S. government after Washington's death. The collection was displayed at the Patent Office until 1883, when it was transferred to the Smithsonian. PICTURE HISTORY.

One of Washington's first tasks was establishing what sort of tone he would take as president. No one was certain how a chief executive should be treated in a republican government. He was not a king, but neither was he a common man. Washington eschewed some of the trappings of high office: he expressed a preference for a simple title, "Mr. President," rather than some of the elaborate titles proposed. But he limited his availability to the public to weekly receptions. He also wore a sword and rode in a carriage and four. He attempted to establish a proper sense of dignity for the office; but some began to whisper against him, seeing his actions as signs of creeping royalism.

During his two terms (1789–1797), although Washington tried to keep himself above partisan disputes, he leaned more and more heavily to the side of the Federalists, supporters of the administration who advocated a stronger central government and a

more deferential society, as well as a foreign policy that favored Great Britain. He backed Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton's financial plans, including the assumption of state debts and the creation of a national bank. He insisted on neutrality when war broke out between Great Britain and the newly republican France despite America's original treaty with France (1778), which had promised perpetual alliance. These actions and others earned him the enmity of the Republican Party, which had emerged in opposition to the Federalists. He found himself the butt of vicious partisan attack in the newspapers. For someone who considered himself above party, who longed for retirement, and who worried constantly about his reputation, this partisan controversy was galling.

Even after retiring to private life, Washington was called on one more time to be commander in chief of the provisional army in case of a possible war

with France, although in the end war was avoided. He died on 14 December 1799, an appropriate date for a man who was so thoroughly of the eighteenth century.

NATIONAL SYMBOL

After his death, Washington's symbolic importance to the nation remained. Freed from the partisan bickering that had dogged his final years, he quickly became not just father to his country but a role model for its people. During his lifetime, Washington unavoidably became entangled in the nation's political divisions; but Washington as symbol served a unifying role. No one played a more important role in re-fashioning his character to fit the new political realities than Mason Locke Weems, an itinerant preacher and bookseller—and inventor of the story of young George Washington and the cherry tree—who wrote the astoundingly popular *Life of Washington*. Weems remade Washington as a common man who could serve as a proper role model for the nation, and this formulation provided the grounds for future generations' veneration. Throughout the history of the United States, Washington has continued to serve as a symbol for the nation and its ideals. Although his eighteenth-century manner now seems stiff and foreign to us, he remains the symbolic father of his country, the indispensable man.

See also **Constitutional Convention; Continental Army; Continental Congresses; Hamilton, Alexander; Revolution: Military History; Trenton, Battle of; Valley Forge; Virginia; Yorktown, Battle of.**

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Andrew S. Trees

preeminence, it is waterpower that provided the foundation for the nation's industrial successes. New England's abundant waterpower sites—combined with an increasingly sophisticated understanding of how to apportion and capitalize on the power at those sites—enabled the young nation to evolve into an emerging industrial giant.

COLONIAL BEGINNINGS

The image of the lazily turning waterwheel—a favorite image in eighteenth-century depictions of country life—belies the convergence of sophisticated technology and natural forces embodied in the watermill. The use of shafts and gearing to transmit power, the choice of site (close to a suitable drop in stream or river level, and near enough to woodland that rainwater runoff is gradually dispensed into the watercourse), and the building of other structures such as flumes, dams, and storage ponds (to sustain operability at times of lower water)—all speak to the miller's understanding of how technological elements and natural processes could interact to perform useful work. This is not to say that the integration of mills into the environment was seamless: the building of dams caused disruption of fish migrations and often caused flooding of upstream farmlands.

Waterpower technology was also enmeshed in community development. Mills were among the first structures built in a community; in fact, it was a potential mill site that often prompted the establishment of a settlement. The building of watermills was driven by fundamental issues of food and shelter—the grinding of grain and the preparation of wood for construction. The colonial gristmill, whether wind or waterpowered, was a natural continuation of English mill practice; the colonial sawmill owed more to practice in continental Europe. Waterpower was also employed to drive fulling and carding machines as well as bellows and trip hammers in the metal trades.

SCALE AND REFINEMENT

By the close of the eighteenth century, the self-sufficient rural community was appreciated as a kind of American ideal—sharply contrasted to the blighted industrial towns of northern England. This ideal was seductive but barely tenable given the former colonies' continued reliance on many imported materials; it became an impossibility following the 1807–1809 trade embargo with France and England. The mill equipped by Samuel Slater (1768–1835) in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790 was the first siz-

WATERPOWER Despite the vivid association of steam power with the United States' manufacturing

able application of modern English textile manufacturing machinery in the New World. Slater's mill was a centrally powered, interdependent group of machines that converted cleaned cotton into spun yarn. The mill's structural materials, power source, and construction methods were all traditional, but its equipment and interconnectedness placed it at the cutting edge of American industrial development. Slater's expertise, rooted in a passive form of industrial espionage (as an apprentice in England he had become familiar with Richard Arkwright's textile machinery) underpinned the building of further mills: a larger installation for Oziel Wilkinson and Moses Brown in 1792, and then several of his own. It should also be noted that Slater's success derived to a great degree from the employment of children—a course of action that was appealing not only in terms of the low wages they could be paid but also for their ability to move about within cramped mechanical installations.

The basic understanding of watermill machinery—derived from European practice and to a certain degree perhaps intuited—moved forward significantly during this period, impelled for the most part by *The Young Mill-Wright and Miller's Guide* by Oliver Evans (1755–1819). First published in 1795, this work combined surveys of various mills, tables of calculations, and explanations of building methods, and was in some ways a written accounting of what had been up to that time an essentially oral tradition. But this publication was not simply rooted in practical experience—it also included full explanations of Evans's own groundbreaking work in mechanically integrated mill design: the gristmill as a multistory, building-sized, elevating, conveying, grinding, sifting, and bagging machine—all of it centrally powered. The *Guide* remained a popular reference into the mid-nineteenth century and undoubtedly played a major part in the proliferation of American watermills (from approximately 7,500 in 1790 to 55,000 in 1840), many of them built on the Evans principle.

The most advanced application of waterpower during this period was the installation begun adjacent to the Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack River, in Massachusetts, in 1821. The roots of this development lay in Francis Cabot Lowell's 1813 mill in Waltham, Massachusetts, which was the first factory capable of processing cotton from its raw state through to finished cloth. The workforce at this factory consisted of young farm women, boarded in company buildings next to the textile mills. This approach, later known as the Waltham system, allowed for the concentration of a large workforce

close by a factory; frequent turnover avoided the creation of an entrenched proletariat. The Pawtucket Falls site was named for Lowell, who had died in 1817. A carefully planned network of power canals was built in stages. Alongside these canals independent companies could build mills, and power, measured in "mill powers," was leased from the owners of the canal system. By 1836 twenty-six textile mills, plus additional workshops, had been established on the site. Lowell not only placed the United States at the forefront of waterpower development but also laid the groundwork for New England's preeminence in machine tool building. A generation of mechanics and engineers were trained in the on-site machine shops built to maintain Lowell's textile machines, and the methods developed in these shops drove American mechanical engineering to new levels of accuracy.

At the close of this period the Lowell system was still under expansion, but its scale and sophistication had already placed it far beyond the subsistence-based mills that characterized waterpower in the mid-eighteenth century. It should be noted, however, that rudimentary mills were still being built in pioneer communities, indicating that the advancement of waterpower technology did not necessarily end the use of primitive forms and modest solutions. And inevitably Lowell shared many of the problems of these sites: a site defined by geography rather than proximity to markets, predictable disruptions from freezes and freshets, the unpredictability of floods and droughts—in short, the types of problems inherently associated with the use of a natural power source, regardless of the ingenuity employed.

See also **Embargo; Inventors and Inventions; Steam Power; Technology.**

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J. Marc Greuther

WATER SUPPLY AND SEWAGE Fresh water supply and waste water disposal were much the same in both urbanizing and rural areas in early America. Most inhabitants of the largest cities took fresh water from local wells or springs and disposed of waste in the nearest convenience: privies, streets, or rivers. The beginnings of modern water supplies from distant sources emerged at the turn of the nineteenth century in those cities where natural supplies became inadequate, unhealthy, or both.

After 1800 New York became the most populous city, but its sixty thousand people, clustered at the low southern tip of salt-ringed Manhattan Island, still relied on hundreds of public street wells, which had always been hard or brackish and were increasingly polluted. For six decades beginning in the 1740s, many New Yorkers had paid for "tea water" carted from a privately owned pump over a suburban spring just south of today's Chinatown. The quality of the Tea Water Pump declined precipitously around 1800 as habitation encroached. After the most devastating of the city's regular yellow fever epidemics killed two thousand people in 1798, Aaron Burr formed the Manhattan Company, ostensibly to pipe water from the mainland Bronx River. Through Burr's own influence as a state assemblyman, the company received a liberal state charter, including monopoly water rights and unprecedented banking privileges. Instead of pursuing the costly and technologically challenging Bronx plan, the company built a small reservoir and deep well fed by the same subterranean sources of the nearby Tea Water, laid a haphazard network of leaky hollowed pine-log pipes, and opened a bank, which flourished and thrives today as J. P. Morgan Chase. The growing city's water problems only worsened for three decades. After a devastating cholera epidemic in 1832, which killed 3,500, and a disastrous fire in 1835, city and state leaders united to build an aqueduct from the Croton River forty miles north in rural Westchester County. The gravity-fed Croton Aqueduct, completed in 1842, became the model for urban public water supplies and remains a component of the city's now vast water infrastructure.

Philadelphia, situated between two fresh rivers, had better wells and early water fortunes. In 1798 Benjamin Henry Latrobe conceived an ingenious public supply that raised water by steam engines from the Schuylkill River; the Centre Square Waterworks proved costly and inefficient but gave rise in 1811 to the Fairmount Waterworks on high ground a mile upriver. Put into operation in 1815, Fair-

mount by 1830 was world-renowned for its neo-classical waterworks buildings and river-powered waterwheels, which raised two million gallons of water a day into reservoirs for distribution by the first cast-iron pipe in the country. By 1837, 1,500 Philadelphia households had become the nation's first to have bathrooms with running water.

Boston, like New York, initially cast its lot with a private company, incorporated in 1796 to pipe water by gravity from nearby Jamaica Pond. Forty years later, the company sporadically supplied only 1,500 homes, at a time when a quarter of the city's 2,700 public wells were deemed foul. An adequate public supply was not completed until 1848, when an aqueduct brought water twenty-five miles from Long Pond. Baltimore, which overtook Boston as the nation's third-largest city at the opening of the 1800s, was supplied by excellent local springs and a civic-minded private company that operated a complex suburban pump works. Watering New Orleans, the country's fifth-largest city through the early 1800s, proved a deadly task. In 1811 Benjamin Latrobe secured the exclusive privilege of supplying water by steam engine from the mucky Mississippi, but yellow fever killed both Latrobe and his son Henry before the works' completion. Outdated when the city completed them in 1822, the works survived into the late 1830s when a private company built an expanded system. In Cincinnati, incorporated in 1819, a local association in the 1820s laid a tunnel from the Ohio River to a well on shore from which steam engines pumped water into reservoirs for distribution by gravity in iron mains and oak pipes. The city took over the works in 1839.

Smaller communities developed simpler water supply systems. Completed in 1755, the first pumped water supply in America served the Moravian settlement around Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, into the 1830s. Just before the Revolution, two private water companies briefly supplied Providence, Rhode Island, with water piped by gravity from springs a mile distant.

In communities large and small, sewage planning and sanitation generally lagged far behind fresh water solutions. When fresh water came from local sources, per capita consumption was only several gallons a day; when abundant distant waters were brought, per capita use jumped into the tens and eventually hundreds of daily gallons, and the waste issue became pressing. The words sewage and sewerage were not coined until 1834. New York did not start building underground sewers until the 1850s. Far beyond the early American period, waste disposal

was mired in centuries-old solutions: the general citizenry disposed in backyard privies and street gutters; municipal scavengers carried or carted to proximate rivers and outlying dumps.

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WEALTH As used here, wealth is synonymous with net worth, the value of an individual's assets (things owned) minus the value of his or her liabilities (things owed). Individuals with an unusually high net worth, like George Washington and Robert Morris before 1790 or so, were "rich" or "wealthy."

In the new American nation, assets tended to be quite visible. Sums that individuals owed to others were relatively difficult to discover, however, so many early Americans who owned considerable assets, but who owed equally considerable debts, were incorrectly identified as wealthy. Thomas Jefferson and Robert Morris after about 1790 are prime examples. Only with painstaking research, and a good deal of luck, can scholars be certain that particular individuals were indeed wealthy and not merely credit-worthy. Usually, only a careful review of a subject's probate records can conclusively demonstrate that the value of his or her assets greatly exceeded the value of his or her liabilities.

LIABILITIES

In the colonial and early national periods, liabilities consisted largely of various types of debts: book accounts, promissory notes, drafts, bills of exchange, bonds, and mortgages. The vast bulk of colonial and early national economic transactions were conducted via book account rather than with cash. As the name implies, book accounts were accounting notations made in books. The notations tracked the value of goods or services received and given over a period of weeks, months, years, or even decades. Farmer Brown, for example, credited the account of day laborer Obadiah Smith for thirty-seven days of work and fifty-five cords of wood. Brown debited Smith

for the food, liquor, tobacco, shoes, clothes, and other goods that Smith received from him. Book account entries referenced the money value (in local pounds or dollars) of the traded goods, so scholars err when they claim that Americans in this period engaged in barter. Cash payments were indeed rare, sometimes made only on the balance due at the end of an exchange relationship, but the goods and services traded were almost invariably assigned a money price.

Promissory notes and drafts were short-term IOUs. Unlike book accounts, they were readily transferable from person to person and often made explicit promises about repayment dates and interest charges. Drafts and their foreign exchange equivalent, bills of exchange, were used like modern-day checks to transfer funds to distant persons. They could also be used to borrow for a few weeks or months.

Bonds were IOUs for significant sums and long terms, typically one year, with the holder maintaining an option to "call" the principal thereafter. Bonds almost always stipulated the payment of interest and stiff penalties in case of default. Like IOUs, they were negotiable or transferable to new parties. They differed from mortgages in only one important respect, namely that mortgages offered a specific piece of real property as collateral for the loan.

The fact that creditors could call for the principal of a bond or mortgage after the maturity date helps to explain the angst felt by many early Americans regarding indebtedness. Borrowers suffered the existence of such onerous terms because lenders insisted on them. Usury laws capped the legal interest rate too low, well below the usual market rate. Lenders therefore demanded valuable concessions, like call provisions and stiff default penalties, to compensate them enough to induce them to lend at the legal rate.

Calls for repayment usually came at the worst time, during economic slumps. Delinquent debtors were often sued for the principal, unpaid interest, and damages; they usually lost. If they could not pay the judgment, the sheriff seized their real or personal property, or both, and tried to sell it at auction. If the judgment remained unsatisfied, the debtor could be imprisoned for being bankrupt, that is, having negative wealth. Only at the end of the period did debtors' prisons begin to disappear from American life.

ASSETS

One person's liability was another person's asset. A bond, for example, was a liability of the borrower but an asset for the lender or subsequent owners of

the bond. In closed economies, therefore, the value of financial assets and liabilities exactly cancelled each other out. The liabilities of many early Americans, however, were owned by foreign investors, primarily in Britain and Holland. A Philadelphia merchant, for example, might owe several Liverpool merchants on account and a large bond to a London capitalist. A New York patron might owe a mortgage on one of his estates to a consortium of Dutch investors, while a Virginia or Mississippi planter might be in hock to a British tobacco or cotton factor. In the period under study, net financial claims were usually negative. In other words, Americans owed more to foreigners than foreigners owed to Americans. Individual Americans, nevertheless, could hold a significant percentage of their assets in the form of financial claims. In 1774 about 17 percent of colonists' total assets were financial. The share of financial assets as a percentage of all assets grew over the period, especially after the financial revolution spurred by Alexander Hamilton in the 1790s.

Physical assets like land, buildings, ships, slaves and indentured servants, livestock, tools of the trade, and personal and household items such as clothes, furniture, and cookware were the preferred assets of most early Americans. In 1774 about 55 percent of colonists' nonfinancial assets were invested in land, 20 percent in slaves and servants, 10 percent in livestock, and 15 percent in producer and consumer goods. Aside from land, which was important everywhere, tremendous regional variations existed. In 1774 slaves composed a much higher percentage of assets in the South than anywhere else and livestock and producer goods predominated in the middle colonies, while New Englanders invested relatively heavily in consumer goods. Over the entire period, occupation dictated the proportion of assets held: farmers owned mostly land and livestock; planters held land and slaves; artisans and manufacturers held producer goods and buildings; and merchants owned ships, buildings, financial assets, and consumer goods. Similarly, region, occupation, and age largely determined the aggregate value of an individual's assets.

WEALTH ACCUMULATION

Most early Americans accumulated wealth by buying or producing low, selling high, and avoiding the converse. Merchants and retailers sought to buy low in one market, or at one time, for resale at a higher price in another market, or at a later time. Physiocratic notions of the sterility of commerce induced many early Americans to look down upon such activities, but they were important to the economy

nevertheless. Just as crucial were the activities of artisans and farmers, which added value to goods by transforming them. Ironworkers, for example, turned labor, iron ore, wood, and other raw materials into useful products like stoves, musket balls, and horseshoes. Milliners transformed cloth, thread, ribbons, and other fineries into fashionable dresses. Farmers turned land, labor, and seed into wheat, apples, and pigs. Farmers' wives ultimately made butter from the corn and grasses fed to their milk cows. Similarly, professionals created value by adding their expertise to goods, as when a midwife used her experience to help a mother give birth, or an accountant used his mercantile training to create order out of a jumble of accounts. In all of those cases, if the sale price of the output exceeded the costs of all the inputs, the net worth of the producer increased. If costs exceeded the price, the producer's wealth decreased.

Some Americans seeking easy riches engaged in what modern economists call rent seeking. Basically, that entailed obtaining valuable assets, usually land or corporate charters, from the government gratis or at bargain prices. Sundry land companies, including the Scioto and Yazoo, were tainted by such insider scandals which smacked of old world nepotism, favoritism, and corruption. Other early Americans eager for quick riches engaged in outright theft, fraud, or counterfeiting. Sometimes such activities paid off handsomely, but often they ended in shame, imprisonment, or death. Some individuals inherited their fortunes. Rent-seeking activities, theft, and gifts did not create new wealth, of course, but merely transferred it to new owners.

Early Americans naturally resented those who accumulated wealth through gift or graft. Many believed that high net worth individuals like Philadelphia merchant-banker Thomas Willing (1731–1821) or New York furrier-speculator John Jacob Astor (1763–1848) must have obtained their wealth through illicit or at least unethical means. America's rich, who were not so numerous nor opulent as in Europe, responded by asserting that their wealth stemmed from luck and pluck, not theft, inheritance, or government favor. Importantly, most early Americans aspired to increase their personal net worth at least enough to become "comfortable" or "independent," so that no matter what they thought of Philadelphia merchant-banker Stephen Girard (1750–1831) or New York's land-rich Van Rensselaer or Livingston clans, they generally disdained wealth redistribution schemes.

Ambivalence towards wealth had deep religious roots too. Christianity, particularly the Protestant

varieties that permeated early America, espoused the virtues of asceticism and poverty but also gave impetus to Lockean views toward property acquisition and Weberian attitudes toward hard work. It is not surprising, then, that some members of the most pious sects, including the Quakers, were among the early nation's wealthiest individuals.

See also **Agriculture: Overview; Banking System; Bankruptcy Law; Class: Overview; Debt and Bankruptcy; Economic Development; Inheritance; Property; Wealth Distribution; Work: Work Ethic.**

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Robert E. Wright

WEALTH DISTRIBUTION In *Albion's Seed* (1989), David Hackett Fischer described early regional differences among the four waves of English colonists that swept into America regarding the appropriate distribution of wealth. While the Puritans believed wealth was a sign of divine grace and poverty a signifier of depravity, they also passed sumptuary laws (which tried to regulate extravagance in dress or personal habits). They reproduced from England a predominantly rural, middle-class culture ruled by an elite bound by blood and marriage. The Quakers, too, preferred a public display of austerity but brought many servants (and thus more poverty) with them. The raucous Scots-Irish established a more aggressive form of rural individualism on the western frontier, battling each other and the Native Americans with equal enthusiasm. After initially re-

lying upon indentured servants to grow tobacco, the aristocratic Cavaliers created a slave economy based upon race.

Slavery demonstrates the need to define “wealth” as more than immediate material well-being. Over the coming centuries, many slave owners provided some or all of their slaves with more creature comforts than many workers and servants received elsewhere in America or in England, but the slaveholders often sexually exploited their victims and destroyed families by selling off family members. The wives of the elite lived a life of luxury and had great power over servants and slaves, but women had few legal rights anywhere in the colonies and even less access to employment outside the home. Native Americans consistently lost wealth (despite obtaining access to western conveniences), population, and power. Overall, the four cultures of rural English capitalism created a more powerful political economy than their French or Spanish rivals, who never generated as many colonists and who generally preferred to gather beaver skins and mine gold and silver. Ironically, the continuing political and religious chaos in England made its colonies stronger as members of various losing factions fled to the New World.

GROWING CONCENTRATION

Despite the initial differences among the British colonists, the four economies had much in common: in every colony the wealthy—unified not just by capital but also through extensive intermarriage—ran the government. For instance, two-thirds of New Jersey's 256 assemblymen between 1703 and 1776 were among the wealthiest 7 percent of the population. In the South the elite relied upon two forms of capital: land and slaves. By the eve of the Revolution, the richest 10 percent of Virginia's population had increased its share of the colony's wealth from 40 percent (starting in the middle of seventeenth century) to 70 percent (ending just before the American Revolution). All the colonial legislatures facilitated the transfer of open land to the powerful. By 1774, virtually all colonial lands were in private hands. Although the colonists had yet completely to conquer the frontier, their most powerful members already owned it. In her article “A New Look at Long-Term Trends in Wealth Inequality in the United States” (1993), Carole Shammas describes the distribution of wealth in 1774; her results demonstrate not only the economic weakness of women, slaves, and Native Americans, but also of many white males and a few unmarried females. The top 6 percent of the white male population controlled 59 percent of the wealth,

while the bottom 60 percent had less than 10 percent. The rich and powerful gained more land when smaller farmers succumbed to debt. These reallocations of wealth help explain Shays's Rebellion (1786–1787) and Rhode Island's attempts to protect debtors by altering the terms of existing contracts and inflating its currency. The response of Fisher Ames, a Federalist Party leader, was eloquent:

We shall see our free Constitution expire, the state of nature restored, and our rank among savages taken somewhere below the Oneida Indians. If government do worse than nothing, should make paper money or a tender act, all hopes of seeing the people quiet and property safe, are at an end. Such an act would be the legal triumph of treason.

THE CONSTITUTION AND HAMILTON'S PLAN

These class tensions provided a major impetus for creating the new Constitution. James Madison explained in *The Federalist* that majorities were most likely to tyrannize either religious minorities or the wealthy. Wealth was important not just for the individual, he argued, but also for society: people should be encouraged to develop their faculties and the opulent provided an inspiring role model. Alexander Hamilton believed that the nation needed access to capital in times of crisis. Some anti-Federalists portrayed the Constitution as a plot to oppress the poor, but the country quickly rallied around the new system. After all, there were rich and poor on both sides of the debate—a fact that significantly undercut the famous claim of Charles Beard (which he later repudiated) in *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution* (1913) that the Constitution was a simple plot by holders of depreciated governmental debt to cash in their holdings.

The general consensus over the Constitution's legitimacy did not resolve the enduring question of wealth distribution. Whether they relied upon principle or were motivated to undercut their rival Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison unsuccessfully fought Hamilton's plan for the new federal government to fully reimburse existing holders of state and federal debt. The Virginians took a more communitarian approach: some of the proceeds should go to the soldiers who fought and suffered during the war and received worthless scrip at the time—not all the windfall profits should go to speculators, many of whom had recently purchased the debt instruments from unknowing veterans. While Benjamin Franklin and Jefferson always worried that excessive concentration of wealth would undermine the Republic, Hamilton saw an alliance between

the wealthy and the national government as a key component to future national greatness.

WEALTH AND A DEMOCRATIC ETHOS

While the Constitution provided significant protection to the wealthy; it could not protect the status quo of an entrenched, informal aristocracy. A more egalitarian ethos, based upon the principles of the American Revolution, quickly extended universal suffrage to all white men. The average white male was not content with the right to vote. Andrew Jackson's rise to the presidency from the hills of Tennessee confirmed a new consensus about the distribution of wealth and power: white males from any background had an equal opportunity to become as rich (and as poor) as possible. The debate over slavery, which temporarily exploded in 1820 during the Missouri crisis, was deferred to a later, bloodier day, while Native Americans continued to suffer. Manufacturers began to emerge as a new elite that would transform the northern economy. However, these seismic developments obscure the continuing realities that most wealthy individuals were sons of prosperous or powerful families and that relatively few lower-class citizens could rise more than one rung in the social ladder during their lifetimes. It is difficult to find reliable data on wealth distribution during this period, which the economic historian Diane Lindstrom, in her article "Macroeconomic Growth" (1983), described as the "statistical dark ages" (p. 704). Nevertheless, she concluded that per capita income increased at approximately one percent per year from 1800 to 1840. Nor is there any indication of an interruption in the long-term trend of increased wealth disparity during the early nineteenth century: the top 5 percent of the population enhanced its share of the nation's bounty from 59 percent of the wealth in 1774 to 86 percent in 1860.

See also **Hamilton's Economic Plan; Land Policies; Land Speculation; Poverty; Shays's Rebellion; Slavery: Overview; Wealth; Women: Overview; Women: Rights.**

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WEEKLY REGISTER See *Niles' Register*.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES The colonists who came from England, carrying with them to North America their language, religious beliefs, and culture, also brought their system of weights and measures. This system had developed in an organic, unregulated fashion for centuries, some of the units and their names dating from before the Norman Conquest of 1066. Examples included the rod (16½ feet), furlong (40 rods), and acre (160 square rods). By the time of the first settlements in the early seventeenth century, the system of length measures had become stable and well-defined for the purposes of commerce, with its units close to those used four hundred years later. The official English standard yard bar made in 1588, for example, is only 0.01 inch shorter than the yard of the twenty-first century. The statute mile of 5,280 feet was so defined in England in 1593 and seems to have been adopted readily in the colonies.

Two parallel systems of weight were brought over. Troy weight, the older one, was used only for gold and silver and, with somewhat different subdivisions (apothecaries' weight), for drugs. For all other commodities, the avoirdupois system came into wide use in the fourteenth century and remains the customary system. Like the length units, the

weight units were relatively stable and well-defined, both the colonial and the U.S. standards being in principle based on official standards of the English exchequer until 1893.

The system of capacity in England was less orderly. There were several gallons and bushels, originating from old statutes that defined them with insufficient precision or clarity. The legal definitions often did not agree with the measures actually in use, and it was difficult to make the latter with sufficient accuracy. There was confusion between dry measure and liquid measure. Furthermore, in the case of dry measure, a bushel of wheat, for example, might in some cases be measured heaped and in others "struck" (with a flat upper surface).

STANDARDS IN AMERICA

The individual colonies generally adopted as the legal standard for liquid measure the Queen Anne wine gallon, defined by British law in 1706 as 231 cubic inches. The beer gallon (282 cubic inches) was used concurrently, but it seems to have gradually yielded to the wine gallon and by 1821 was going out of use. For dry measure, the usual unit was the Winchester bushel (legally defined in 1696–1697) of 2,150.42 cubic inches (the contents of a cylinder 18½ inches in diameter and 8 inches deep). But there were anomalies. Connecticut, until 1850, maintained its legal bushel equivalent to 2,198 cubic inches. Kentucky's was in 1798 defined to be 2,150⅔ cubic inches.

By the mid-eighteenth century the individual colonies had laws making the exchequer standards their own. They had acquired official copies of them, and had ordered their counties and towns to obtain their own copies for testing the weights and measures of merchants. Although there is no evidence of conflict or dissatisfaction with these provisions, as soon as the colonies united, the Articles of Confederation transferred to the national government "the sole and exclusive right and power of . . . fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States." The Constitution likewise gave Congress the power to "fix the Standard of Weights and Measures."

Jefferson's proposals. The new nation promptly adopted an innovative decimal money system worked out by Thomas Jefferson, but the federal government hesitated in dealing with weights and measures. At its request, Jefferson in 1790 developed two proposals "for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures" of the nation. The first was to define the foot already in use in terms of the length of a special pendulum; fix the gallon arbi-

JEFFERSON'S DECIMAL SYSTEM OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Thomas Jefferson's 1790 "Plan for Establishing Uniformity in the Coinage, Weights, and Measures of the United States" proposed that the standard of length be based on "a uniform cylindrical rod of iron" making one-second swings. The more radical proposal in his plan defined a new foot as exactly one-fifth the length of the pendulum, with a new system of other units based on it, all subdivided and multiplied in a strictly decimal fashion. In the table below, each unit in a section is ten times as large as the one preceding. Equivalentents in the second column are given in terms of the customary system (unchanged since Jefferson's time), slightly rounded from his figures.

Unit	Equivalent
<u>Length</u>	
Point	0.01174 inches
Line	0.1174 inches
Inch	1.174 inches
Foot	11.74 inches
Decad	9.787 feet
Rood	97.87 feet
Furlong	978.7 feet
Mile	9787 feet
<u>Area</u>	
Hundredth	95.69 square feet
Tenth	957.9 square feet
Rood	9579 square feet

Double acre	2.199 acres
Square furlong	21.99 acres

<u>Capacity</u>	
Metre (cubic inch)	1.62 cubic inches
Demi-pint	16.2 cubic inches
Pottle	162 cubic inches
Bushel	0.9375 cubic feet
Quarter	9.375 cubic feet
Last or double ton	93.75 cubic feet

<u>Weight</u>	
Mite	0.04102 grains
Minim or demi-grain	0.4102 grains
Carat	4.102 grains
Double scruple	41.02 grains
Ounce (weight of one cubic inch of water)	410.2 grains = 0.9375 ounces avoirdupois
Pound	0.58596 pounds
Stone	5.8596 pounds
Kental	58.596 pounds
Hogshead	585.96 pounds

<u>Coins</u>	
Dollar (weight: 1 ounce)	410.2 grains total (11/12 silver alloy)

Roger E. Sherman

trarily at 270 cubic inches, with all the other capacity units to correspond; and define the ounce as the weight of one-thousandth that of a cubic foot of water. Except for the abolition of troy weight and the adjustment of the capacity measures, this plan in practice would have involved minimal change.

Jefferson's more radical second plan was to extend the decimal principle that had already been successful in the coinage. All the units, would be changed, although they would retain the names of the closest old ones. (See sidebar.) The new foot, for example, one-fifth the length of Jefferson's pendulum, would be 0.978728 old feet, and the new inch, one-tenth of the foot, would be 1.174 old inches. A few new terms would be introduced, such as the "decad" (10 feet), the "metre" (1 cubic inch), and the "kental" (100 pounds). By a very slight adjustment

in the silver content of the dollar, Jefferson was able to make his system combine elegantly with the existing decimal money system, so the dollar coin would weigh exactly one new ounce.

Congress adopted neither proposal, setting a pattern of reluctance to exert its power to fix weights and measures that has continued ever since. One reason, no doubt, was that France at this very time was developing the metric system and in Great Britain, too, reforms were being discussed. American legislators waited to see the results. The metric system progressed slowly and was adopted by few other countries, and the British did nothing. For a quarter-century after Jefferson's report, the American states awaited action by Congress, but in the meantime they passed their own laws, mostly setting standards for the size of barrels. In 1814 Louisiana abol-

ished its old French measures and adopted the English ones; six years later, though, the transition was still incomplete.

Up to this time the government had been concerned with weights and measures exclusively in their relation to trade and commerce. But when Ferdinand Hassler was sent to Europe in 1811 to buy precision instruments for the geodetic operations of the Survey of the Coast, scientific considerations became significant. Hassler obtained accurate copies of the British yard and the meter, and one of his meter bars became the de facto standard of the Coast Survey, not being supplanted until 1890.

John Quincy Adams's report. In 1817 the Senate and in 1819 the House asked Secretary of State John Quincy Adams to prepare "a plan for fixing the standard of weights and measures." After a thorough and thoughtful investigation that duly appraised the advantages of the metric system, Adams in 1821 recommended even less change than Jefferson's conservative plan. The government, Adams declared, should specify the standard of length to agree with the British one, define the avoirdupois pound according to the existing relation that thirty-two cubic feet of water weigh two thousand pounds, keep the corresponding troy weights, and keep the existing wine and ale gallons and bushel.

But Adams went beyond Jefferson in several important respects. He recommended that physical standards of the units be made and that official copies be distributed to the states. The government should consult with foreign governments to work toward a universal system and correlate the meter to the foot, he suggested. Finally, Adams collected data showing that the standards used in the customhouses varied significantly from each other.

Government response. For several years, Congress failed to act on Adams's straightforward suggestions. The Treasury, however, concerned about the standard of weight for coinage, obtained a certified copy of the British troy pound, and in 1828 an act of Congress made it the official standard for the U.S. Mint. This was the first true exercise of Congress's power to fix standards and a sign that the legislators were at long last ready to grapple with the entire problem.

Disturbed by the evidence of discrepancies in the customhouse standards such as had been revealed by Adams, the Senate in 1830 ordered an investigation. Hassler was called in to carry it out. He duly reported embarrassing irregularities and, with the support of the Treasury department, began working energetically

to correct the situation. Hassler's efforts—resulting in the establishment in 1836 of the Office of Weights and Measures, the fixing of standards based on those he had brought from Europe, and the dissemination of accurate secondary standards to the customhouses and states—marked the beginning of a new era in the story of the weights and measures of the United States.

See also **Arithmetic and Numeracy; Science.**

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WELFARE AND CHARITY Attitudes toward, and treatment of, the poor in colonial and early national America had obvious English origins. Assistance on both sides of the Atlantic was provided only to the so-called "impotent poor"—the elderly, sick, disabled, and orphaned, who were unable to care for themselves. Among healthy adults only widows with small children received public support. Men were expected to find work to support their families. As in England, poor taxes—taxes levied on the local population to fund poor relief, where the tax was on property, not income, so it was generally paid by the wealthy—were raised locally, but only in the South were Anglican parish vestries the preferred administrative body. Elsewhere, town councils, county courts, and orphan courts administered poor relief. The day-to-day distribution of relief was normally delegated to Overseers of the Poor, to whom the poor would apply for assistance. These men made judgments about the worthiness of individual paupers to receive relief not solely on the basis of need; they also

took into account the reputation and moral character of the applicant. Those who were thought to have brought their poverty down on themselves, perhaps through promiscuity or through drunkenness, might be refused aid altogether or receive a lesser amount than those deemed to have led a blameless life (the “deserving poor”).

In general, as compared to England, less emphasis was placed on settlement laws in America, whereby poor relief was available only to those born locally or long-term residents and not to transients or immigrants. In some wealthy southern communities with relatively few paupers, relief policies might even be described as generous. By contrast, some New England communities went to great lengths to deny as-

sistance to those such as recent arrivals or residents of neighboring towns who were deemed to be the responsibility of others. Among those most likely to be “warned-out” (a formal process that indicated to the community that a particular individual would not be eligible for assistance) were nonwhites: free blacks and those of Native American descent. This restriction of relief to whites who were well-established residents therefore helped to foster a sense of community identity among those who were eligible for aid and to marginalize those who were not.

With the ending of the formal link with Great Britain in 1776, the involvement of Anglican parish vestries in poor relief ceased. But in general the welfare policies of the colonial period were continued in

the early Republic. The vast majority of public paupers received “out-door relief,” goods or cash that enabled them to either feed and clothe themselves or to pay for board and nursing care provided by a third party. In order to keep down costs, rural authorities sometimes auctioned the poor to those who required the least public subsidy to keep them, a practice that allowed some individuals to make their living by caring for public paupers. However, the rapid growth of cities in the eighteenth century brought a commensurate increase in the numbers of paupers, many of whom were immigrants, concentrated in a small area. Authorities in the largest cities gradually determined that the only way to cope with these increases was to open poorhouses. Boston, New York, and Charleston all had such institutions by 1750. However, in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century, the trend toward institutionalization accelerated, and many more poorhouses were built—for example, in Baltimore (1773), Savannah (1809), Wilmington (1811), and Mobile (1824)—and for the first time public hospitals were opened—for example in Philadelphia (1752), New York (1790), Natchez (1805), and Boston (1821). These institutions served two functions: they were intended to be cheaper to run than the out-door relief system, and so save the money of local taxpayers; and they were supposed to reduce the visible number of paupers and beggars on the streets that detracted from a vision of American prosperity that many city authorities wished to project.

Once in the poorhouses paupers were subjected to strict regimens of cleanliness, morality, and education. The managers of these institutions hoped that the poor would be reformed by this experience and, after a short period inside, would be able to live independent and productive lives. Despite the high hopes for institutionalization, it was actually more expensive than out-door relief because salaries had to be paid to matrons, doctors, and poorhouse keepers and new buildings financed. Moreover, poor people showed a marked reluctance to go to the poorhouse. The willingness of Overseers of the Poor to continue out-door relief, despite rules to the contrary, undermined the efficacy of the system.

A new development following the American Revolution was the amount of attention paid to poor and orphaned children by city elites increasingly concerned that the achievements of the American Revolution might be lost by a generation of poorly educated youths. Charleston opened a city orphanage in 1790, but elsewhere residential care for children was normally provided by private benevolent societies.

Orphanages gave basic tuition and training to the children in their care, girls as well as boys, to enable them to function as future citizens of the new Republic—boys as workers and voters, girls as mothers. City and state authorities also started to make the provision of education a priority for all children, orphaned or not. Funds were provided for a wide range of private and public school initiatives, and education of the poor was, for the first time, seen as something that concerned society as a whole. These trends of institutionalization and the free provision of education continued to shape welfare policy in America for the rest of the nineteenth century.

See also **Benevolent Associations; Philanthropy and Giving.**

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Tim Lockley

WEST Throughout the early Republic, the definition of what constituted “the West” in the United States underwent numerous changes. This occurred for the obvious reason that the western boundaries of the United States shifted dramatically and that white settlement moved from the trans-Appalachian to the trans-Mississippi region and finally to the Plains. But changes in definition also reflected equally dramatic demographic shifts as well as fundamentally colliding perspectives. The results were western experiences that were hardly uniform and often contradictory. Throughout the early Republic, people most often understood the West as a series of places between the Appalachian and the Rocky Mountains and would describe those places in terms of rapid resettlement, uncertain social rules, and regular outbursts of intense violence.

These varied experiences emerged in part as a result of three very different forms of western development in both political and social terms. After initial

ad hoc efforts by state and national leaders in Kentucky and Tennessee (which became states in 1792 and 1796, respectively), the newly installed federal government took a more planned approach in the Old Northwest and Old Southwest. Experiences there in turn informed federal responses to the new challenge in western government that emerged from the Louisiana Purchase. The experience of western residents was equally varied. Kentucky and Tennessee saw the fastest shift from a world of Native American villagers and interracial contact to a place dominated by whites. In sharp contrast, the Northwest and the Southwest would be the sites of racial conflict between whites and Native Americans that continued for a generation. Finally, much of the region west of the Mississippi River remained a place of Indian control well into the nineteenth century.

Differences in policy in different times and places notwithstanding, the broad contours of government and society remained the same. The West would be a place where, ironically, the greatest form of continuity was the regularity of great change. After decades in which European empires, Indian villagers, and Anglo-American migrants had reached varying forms of accommodation, the United States in the years of the early Republic pursued more aggressive policies designed to establish federal sovereignty and, in the end, secure racial supremacy. The people living in the midst of these political developments were redefining themselves in the process.

REGIONAL DISTINCTIONS

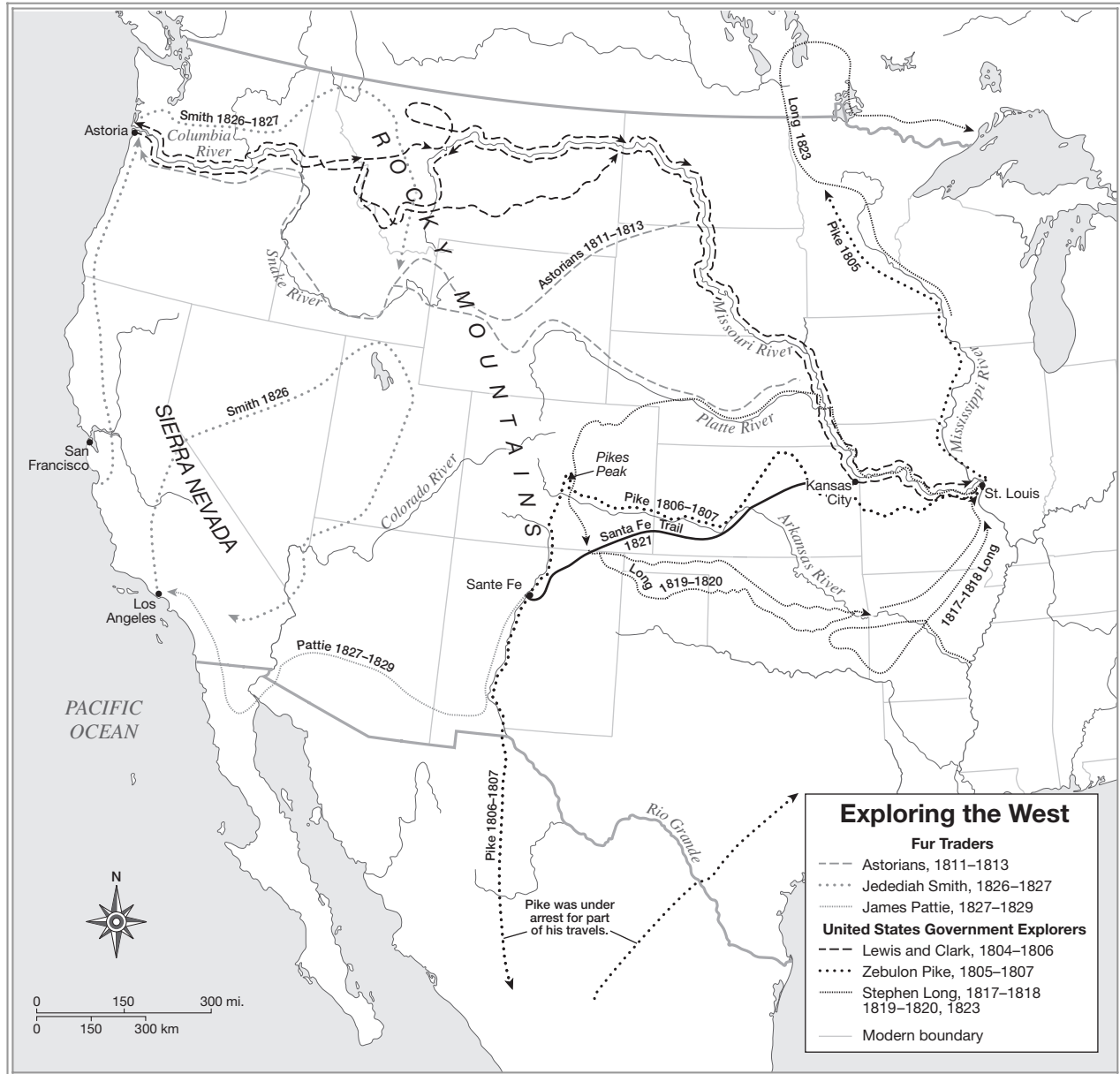
The overlap of white migration, interracial contact, and national politics first emerged in the trans-Appalachian West, where the American Revolution had been a war for racial supremacy as well as the site of a vicious civil war. White settlers, many of whom joined the Patriot movement in response to British efforts to restrain incursions onto Indian land, joined or initiated a series of military ventures against Indians as well as Loyalists. Those efforts enjoyed considerable support among Patriot leaders because it furthered their strategic goal of defeating a broader British alliance while requiring only minimal resources from the Continental Army or the state militias.

A very different situation was emerging to the north. In the Great Lakes region, Indians remained both numerous and powerful. During the eighteenth century, they had built elaborate trade relationships with the French, in large part because the French had been eager parties in this arrangement. Rather than promote migration from Europe, the French had

hoped to generate revenue through the Indian trade. French-speaking settlers were indeed scattered throughout the Illinois country (a region corresponding roughly to modern Illinois and Indiana), but they had never come in the same eager rush as the Anglo-American settlers who came to Kentucky and Tennessee. While the French surrendered the Illinois country and Canada to Great Britain as a result of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), many of the institutions and practices constructed during the French period remained in place after the American Revolution. The first signs of change came when George Rogers Clark led an expedition of Virginia militiamen to the Illinois country in 1778. In his efforts to defeat both the British and the Indians, he drew on his experiences in the trans-Appalachian West, hoping to replace the old multiracial system with a racial hierarchy that placed whites clearly in charge.

In stark contrast to the trans-Appalachian West and the Illinois country, where Europeans and Anglo-Americans were struggling to secure sovereignty from Indians, much of the land west of the Mississippi was clearly under Indian control. Throughout the Missouri River valley, a series of large, permanent Indian settlements controlled trade and set the rules of cultural contact. The same held true in the eastern Plains, with the Osages enjoying particular power over their Indian neighbors as well as the small number of Europeans and Anglo-Americans there. The Europeans remained the weakest power in the region. Only in the Lower Mississippi Valley were whites securing real power over Indians. Meanwhile, in the western Plains and the Rocky Mountains, relations between independent Indian villages remained dominant. White visitors occasionally observed developments there but rarely influenced them in any substantive way.

The greatest catalyst for change in these western regions would be the arrival of white settlers, most of them Anglo-American migrants from the eastern United States. At a time when land ownership was nearly synonymous with liberty and opportunity in the United States, white settlers often concluded that their prospects were dim in an East where land prices continued to rise and where intensive agriculture was exhausting the soil. Many saw their own future in the West, and they demanded that the state and federal governments make that future secure. In addition to these pressures, state and federal leaders worried about defending western boundaries against European powers and Indians. Western policy would be among the most important forces shaping the politics, institutions, diplomacy, and demography of



the new Republic, with ramifications that extended long after the early years of the nation. It defined the contours of federal policymaking and created a cohesive vision of the Union premised on commercial development, an aggressive foreign policy, and racial supremacy.

SETTLEMENT, CONFLICT, AND CONQUEST

The process of settlement and government began soon after independence. States increasingly realized they lacked the means to control their western reserves. Kentucky was formed out of Virginia territory, and Congress created Tennessee after North Carolina reluctantly surrendered its western lands. In

1787 Congress, operating under the Articles of Confederation, combined land ceded by several states into a single Northwest Territory, containing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota. The Northwest Ordinance defined territorial policy for over a century. In a radical break from the European colonial model, the ordinance provided for the eventual incorporation of new states with rights identical to those of other states. Article II of the ordinance also provided for the eventual elimination of slavery.

The federal Constitution, written at the same time as the Northwest Ordinance, offered the means to implement this plan for the West. Unlike the Arti-

cles of Confederation, the Constitution provided the fiscal resources for the government to fund direct civil administration. The Constitution also created a diplomatic structure that would enable the United States to negotiate more effectively with Europeans in an effort to settle western boundary disputes. Finally, the Constitution made possible a military that could assert federal sovereignty and racial supremacy in the Old Northwest. Indeed, no sooner was the Constitution ratified than the federal government dispatched a series of increasingly large armies to the Northwest.

As western settlement caused profound changes in Anglo-American politics and culture, similar changes were emerging within Indian communities lying in areas where there was increasing contact with whites. While the village remained the fundamental locus of Indian social organization, increasing pressure from the United States and from Anglo-American settlers would lead a growing number of Indians to endorse stronger alliances between villages. Congress dispatched those ever-larger armies to the West because they were repeatedly challenged and often defeated by an increasingly organized Indian response. And as military conflicts consumed whole villages, many Indians were forced to create new communities and social practices as a means of survival. These changes were most dramatic in the Northwest Territory, where older systems of contact and exchange gave way to an increasingly violent racial landscape.

Nothing reflected the intersection of domestic governance, racial conflict, and foreign policy in the West more clearly than three treaties signed within a year of each other: Jay's Treaty (1794), the Treaty of Greenville (1795), and the Treaty of San Lorenzo (1795). Although Jay's Treaty is known primarily for creating political disputes over relations with Great Britain that fueled the creation of the first political parties in the United States, the British made important concessions by agreeing to surrender forts on American territory and by forswearing aid to Indians at war with the United States. The end to old British-Indian alliances proved crucial to the American victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and the collapse of the militant Indian coalition in the Ohio country. The new state of affairs in the Northwest enabled the United States to impose the Treaty of Greenville, through which a series of Indian tribes surrendered claims to land in much of Ohio.

While the Jay Treaty and the Treaty of Greenville secured American concerns in the Northwest, the Treaty of San Lorenzo redefined power in the

South. In addition to normalizing trading relations between the United States and Spain, the agreement also ceded Spanish lands, including what became Alabama and Mississippi, with the notable exception of the Gulf Coast. Forced to govern yet another vast western domain, in 1798 Congress passed legislation creating a separate Mississippi Territory and moved "to establish therein a government in all respects similar to that now exercised in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, excepting and including the last article of that ordinance." The "last article" in the Northwest Ordinance prohibited slavery. That vital passage from the Mississippi governance act not only guaranteed that slavery would remain in place in Mississippi, but also extended a rough North-South line separating free and slave territory.

Throughout the 1790s, the number of white settlers and slaves grew in direct relation to the declining power and population of Indians. The federal government focused on securing its existing western holdings, and while white settlers might covet land further west, the constant demands and expenses of governing existing territories left federal leaders unprepared to consider any major acquisitions. In 1803 Ohio became the first new state to emerge from the Northwest Territory, and this seemed to suggest an orderly process of western government for a United States whose West ended at the Mississippi River. But the Louisiana Purchase of the same year transformed that definition of the West by adding a vast new space to the national domain.

The federal government responded by extending the general principles of the Northwest Ordinance and the Mississippi governance act to Louisiana. As had been the case in the Northwest and later in Mississippi, the Purchase territories would become the sight of unending racial conflict caused primarily by white settlers and the federal government. A series of federal military ventures combined with epidemic diseases to decimate Indian populations and destroy Indian power. The United States made sovereignty a reality in the land immediately west of the Mississippi River during the 1810s and 1820s, just as a new surge of white settlers descended on the Mississippi Valley and the eastern Plains. The policy of removal, first developed by President Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) and implemented by General Andrew Jackson (1767–1845), emerged accordingly as a means to force Indians off the first areas of white settlement. In sharp contrast, early federal expeditions farther west to the Plains and Rockies failed to achieve clear authority over Indians.

CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE WEST

For white settlers, slaves, and Indians, the West increasingly became a place of dislocation and redefinition. Whites might seek western land to settle, but once they arrived they immediately longed for communal connections. They rushed to create churches, social organizations, and other institutions. Slaves in the Southwest faced new physical hardships as they were driven to carve farms and plantations from land that had never seen intensive agriculture. Meanwhile, Indians continued to seek a means of responding to the death and forced relocation brought on by the federal government and white settlers.

These developments together contributed to changes in the ways that Anglo-Americans conceived of the West. After decades in which public officials had doubted whether the United States could successfully expand into the West, they began to conclude that expansion was not only possible but necessary. This outlook would reach fruition in the principle of Manifest Destiny during the antebellum era and attained its most tangible expression when the United States declared war on Mexico in 1846 in pursuit of a new western domain that stretched clear to the Pacific.

The people who most consistently espoused the notion that the West was a place of opportunity were white settlers. Resettlement to the West remained a difficult and dangerous process for whites, many of whom failed to find prosperity or success in their new homes. But the promise of the West as a place where whites could achieve independence, prosperity, and respectability remained a powerful tug for people who concluded that life in the East had its own drawbacks. The western settlers also created an increasingly democratic political culture that an emerging class of western politicians struggled to navigate. Henry Clay (1777–1852) of Kentucky and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, young men in new states, exemplified the possibilities and limitations of their society. Both born to modest means, they concluded that their own success as attorneys and planters at the turn of the nineteenth century reflected the tremendous opportunities that abounded in the West. But where Jackson embraced the rough-and-tumble politics of frontier democracy, Clay early on feared that frontiers settlers needed an orderly system of public and private institutions to preserve a stable society. Both men, however, believed in the West as a place of equality and opportunity, despite the fact that both owned slaves and both endorsed near-genocidal campaigns against Indians.

Jackson and Clay could emerge as national leaders because, by the end of the early Republic, their outlook had spread beyond the West. This happened in large part because western migration was rapidly making the region an increasingly powerful political constituency. After a generation of presidents from the East, Andrew Jackson was the first in a series of western presidents who dominated national politics through the Civil War. In 1861, when Kansas joined the Union, the thirteen western states equaled the number of colonies that had declared independence in 1776. Secession in 1860 and 1861 also resulted in two governments run by men from the first federal territories, Abraham Lincoln from an Illinois carved out of the Northwest Territory and Jefferson Davis from Mississippi. By the close of the nineteenth century, the passage from Indian control to territorial status to fully incorporated state had become the normative experience for the vast majority of the politics that together constituted the United States.

See also **American Indians: American Indian Relations; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion; Frontier; Frontiersmen; Jackson, Andrew; Northwest; Northwest and Southwest Ordinances; Pioneering.**

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WHALING The American whaling industry started on Long Island in the mid-1600s and by the end of the century had expanded to Cape Cod and

Nantucket Island in Massachusetts. Colonists off the coasts of North Carolina, Delaware, and New Jersey also developed fledgling whaling operations, but it was New England that came to dominate the industry. In the period from 1754 to 1829, the New England whale fishery far outpaced the rest of the world in expertise and in the size, geographic reach, and economic productivity of whaling enterprises.

A ready supply of Atlantic right whales in New England waters, combined with knowledge of an existing demand for whale products in Europe, gave colonists the initial idea that whaling might be profitable. Whale oil fueled lamps and lubricated machinery. A fat, it served as an ingredient in the manufacture of soap. Right whales, humpbacks, and several other whale species also had baleen plates in their mouths. Like modern-day plastic, baleen was firm yet flexible, making it a valuable component in women's corsets, umbrellas, and luggage. Sperm whales lacked baleen but had a waxy oil in their heads that proved to be ideal for candle making.

At first, New Englanders targeted right whales and set up shore stations from which men kept lookout, with whaleboats and try-pots for boiling blubber into oil standing ready on the beach. American Indian men, sometimes by their own choice but often by the more coercive means of debt indenture, made up the majority of the whaling industry's first labor force. By the mid-eighteenth century, New England's right whale population had become scarce from overhunting, which led to two transformations of the industry. In Nantucket folklore, one turning point occurred in 1712, when Captain Christopher Hussey caught Nantucket's first sperm whale. Sperm whales increasingly became the most desired of whales, a trend that would continue into the first half of the nineteenth century, when the American whaling industry reached its peak. The second innovation developed around 1750 and involved putting try-pots permanently on board oceangoing vessels, thereby freeing the manufacturing process from its prior dependence on shore stations.

Although American shorewhaling continued into the early twentieth century, deep-sea whaling for sperm whales emerged as the major type of whaling activity in the 1750s. Oceangoing vessels increased in size and spent longer periods away from home ports; by the 1820s a whaling ship typically had twenty to twenty-five men aboard and went on voyages of about three years. Otherwise, in the decades preceding and following the American Revolution, the economic and technological aspects of

whale hunting showed continuity over time. Upon sighting a whale, whether from shore or from a ship, crews of six or eight men rushed to whaleboats to give chase. They attached a line to the whale by throwing a harpoon at it and then lanced it to death, after which they towed it back to the ship. They boiled the blubber into oil and stowed it away in barrels below deck. As the whaling industry grew in size and wealth, American Indians still labored as whalemens but as part of crews composed largely of white and African American men drawn from New England and the mid-Atlantic states. The dangers and enormous risks entailed in a whaling venture probably explain the unusual pay structure: instead of earning wages, whalemens received a "lay" or share of the whaling profits after the owners and other investors had taken their share—that is, if there were any profits.

IMPACT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

From the Seven Years' War (1756–63) to the War of 1812, war wreaked havoc on the whaling industry as privateers attacked and appropriated whaling vessels and American whalemens faced impressment. The American Revolution had a particularly devastating impact on the American whaling industry, for Britain had bought most of the whale oil that American colonists produced. Whaling communities tended to be Loyalist, especially Nantucket, which had little other industry besides whaling. When the Revolutionary War started, Nantucket's merchants and shipowners made protestations of neutrality and schemed to keep alive their trade with Britain. Immediately after the Revolution, the British adopted a punitive duty on American imports of whale products, and many Nantucketers were seduced away to Nova Scotia, France, and Wales in hopes of rebuilding their whaling enterprises out of a European port. American whaling all but disappeared during the war and did not embark on a full recovery until the War of 1812 ended, in 1815. Most American whaling families eventually returned to the United States, to Nantucket itself or to the more recently founded whaling cities of Hudson, New York, and New Bedford, Massachusetts.

EXPANSION TO THE PACIFIC

The American whaling industry was in flux in the 1790s for another reason: the opening up of the Pacific Ocean as a rich new territory ripe for sperm whaling. The first generation of American whaling vessels to return from the Pacific arrived back at New Bedford and Nantucket in 1793, kicking off several

decades of rapid expansion of the industry. From the 1810s to the 1820s, whaling voyages out of American ports more than doubled, from about four hundred voyages to over a thousand. Also in the 1820s, New Bedford, Massachusetts, overtook Nantucket to become the whaling capital of the world. The other most active whaling ports at that time were Fairhaven and Westport located near New Bedford; New London, Connecticut; Provincetown on Cape Cod; and Sag Harbor on Long Island, New York. Besides bringing wealth to elite whaling families such as the Coffins, Rotches, and Howlands, whaling led Americans to venture into distant seas, where they played an influential role in the expansion of American influence abroad and in disseminating knowledge about Africa, South America, the Pacific Islands, Australia, New Zealand, and Japan to those Americans who remained at home.

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WHISKEY REBELLION An uprising in western Pennsylvania sparked by a tax on distilled spirits, the so-called Whiskey Rebellion of 1794 tested and ultimately affirmed the power of the national government. The roots of the conflict reached back to the severe depression that beset rural America during the 1780s. As urban elites enriched themselves with banknotes and government certificates left over from the Revolution, farmers were left with heavy debts and scarce currency. Economic distress—and anger towards “moneyed men”—grew the further one traveled from the Atlantic coast. The crisis stretched from Maine to Tennessee and triggered the New England Regulation, or Shays’s Rebellion, of 1786–

1787. Western Pennsylvania suffered as much as any region; in some counties, a majority of households faced debt prosecutions and foreclosures. When, in 1791, the new federal government imposed an excise tax on whiskey—a major commodity as well as libation on the frontier—western farmers refused to pay. Invoking the memory and message of the American Revolution, frontiersmen decried the invasions of “corrupt” government and called for a more equitable legal and economic order.

From 1791 to 1793, settlers in rural Pennsylvania and elsewhere used protest petitions, scare tactics, and simple foot-dragging to defy the excise. Few farmers who owned a distillery registered it; local constables and justices of the peace refused to enforce foreclosures on their neighbors’ farms. On more than sixty occasions between 1787 and 1795, Pennsylvania farmers blocked roads to keep out tax collectors. Tax men who made it through these social and physical barriers risked tar and feathering, hair shaving, and other forms of public humiliation. Over the course of a decade, frontiersmen fused revolutionary and evangelical values into a logic of resistance. Engaged in chronic warfare with Indians and enmeshed in labor obligations with neighbors, they defined their “public” in opposition to a remote, oppressive government. Living close to survival’s edge, they embraced an emotional form of Christianity that underscored the frailty of human will and effort. Itinerant preachers told frontier seekers that God did not respect earthly titles, that the wealthy and powerful had once persecuted Jesus, and that the meek and lowly would soon inherit the earth. Why, then, should patriotic citizens heed the unjust decrees of distant magistrates? Did they not have the same right to resist arbitrary power that their colonial forbears had so recently exercised?

Federal authorities in Philadelphia, however, insisted that popular defiance of the law was no longer legitimate once the United States had established a republican government with ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1788. For President George Washington, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton (author of the excise tax), and other Federalist power holders, the Revolution was definitively over: it was something to be defended, not reenacted. Indeed, they viewed dissent of any kind as seditious. Drawing from a cultural register that privileged “conspiracy” as an explanation for events, the Federalists believed that their Republic faced enemies within and without during the 1790s. Hence their reactions to western unrest: Hamilton wanted to suppress it with “super abundant” force. Washing-

ton initially took a more moderate tack, but when a furious crowd destroyed an inspector's mansion on the Pennsylvania frontier in July 1794, he declared that the frontier rebels menaced "the root of all law and order." The president was particularly alarmed by reports that some westerners had met with Spanish and British agents, perhaps to foment secession all along the frontier.

The Pennsylvania backcountry thus became the focal point of the government's response to rural discontent. From July to August 1794, Washington's cabinet mobilized a force to cow or crush the farmers. The state government of Pennsylvania, meanwhile, pursued negotiations with its distraught citizens. Early in September, rebel leaders agreed by a vote of 34 to 23 to the state's demands of loyalty oaths and the gradual payment of taxes. But the high number of nays, along with the continued harassment of customs officers, convinced Washington that force was still necessary. After mobilizing nearly fifteen thousand militiamen from four states, Washington and Hamilton personally led the troops westward in late September. Intimidated by this army and by the apparent turn of public opinion against them, the rebels offered little resistance. Federal troops arrested 150 men and sent 24 back to Philadelphia for trial; two were convicted, and Washington pardoned both. The defeat of the rebels continued (and continues) in the collective memory of the new nation. The name "Whiskey Insurrection"—coined, it seems, by Hamilton—suggests that the unrest was sudden, knee-jerk, and alcohol induced. Aggrieved farmers who had disputed profiteering and "speculation" since the 1780s became intoxicated, paranoid yokels who shook a fist at progress itself. By defeating the insurrection and then trivializing its roots, Federalist elites narrowed the scope of legitimate popular action to the ballot box.

See also **Frontiersmen; Hamilton, Alexander; Pennsylvania; Taxation, Public Finance, and Public Debt; Washington, George.**

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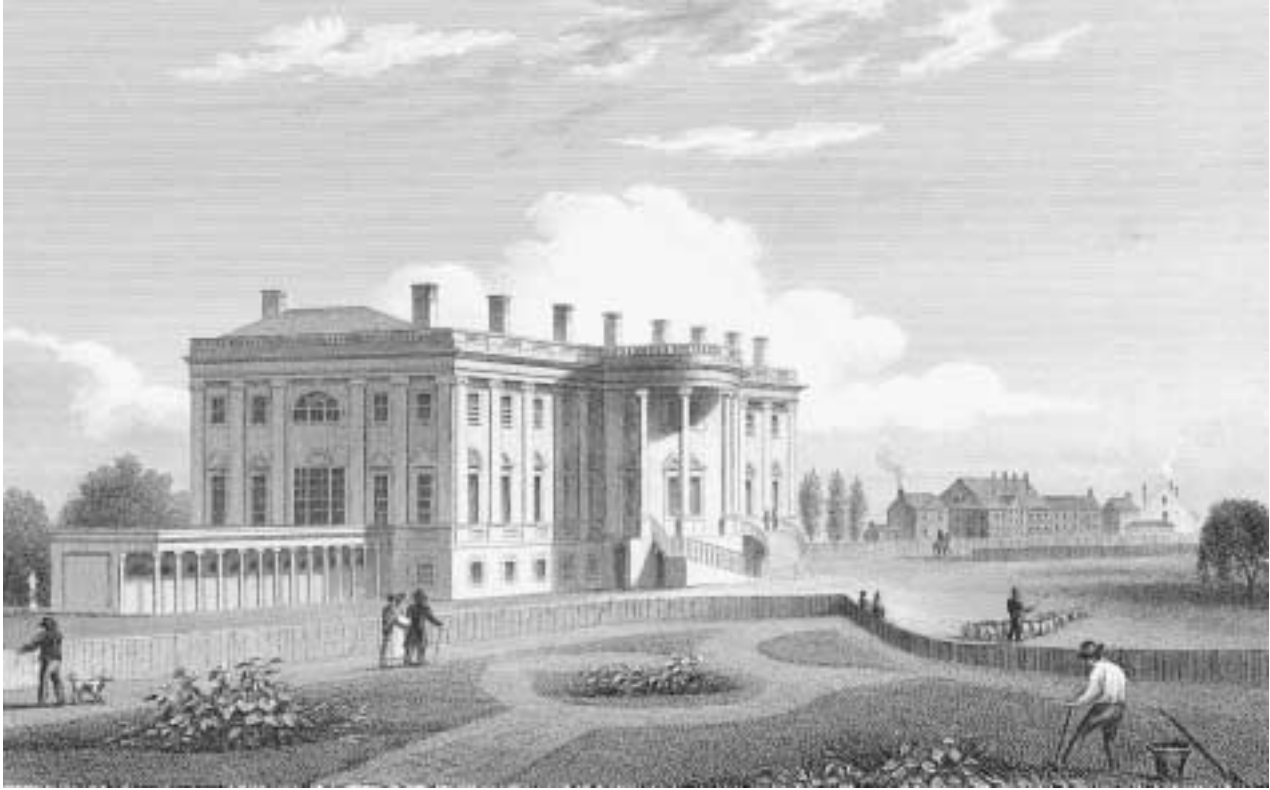
WHITE HOUSE The first official home of the president of the United States was not white but red. When George Washington assumed the presidency in 1789, his official residence was in what was called Government House, a two-story red brick building in lower Manhattan. This was the first of two official residences—the second in Philadelphia—to which Washington was assigned while the new federal city was being constructed on the Potomac.

The Residence Act of 9 July 1790 proposed a Congress and a president's house to be built in what would become Washington, D.C. Inspired by the residence of a Dublin nobleman, Irish-born architect James Hoban based his design on the traditional Palladian palazzo, proposing a large rectangular house much grander than any other mansion in the new nation. The final plan called for several staterooms on the lower story surrounding a distinctive oval room, with space for private family quarters on the two upper floors. The cornerstone was laid on 12 October 1792, and the house gradually took shape over the next eight years.

The nation's second president, John Adams, was the building's first occupant, and when he moved in on 1 November 1800, he found his new home far from finished. Despite a lack of staircases and an abundance of damp, cold rooms, the Adams family soon adapted, making the most of the six livable rooms. Early in 1801 they were finally able to entertain and opened their state rooms to the public. Many marveled at the grandeur of the president's home, but there were detractors who quickly dubbed the residence "the president's palace."

Indeed, when Jefferson superseded Adams, he saw the president's house—which, because of its whitewashed walls, was becoming known as the White House—as an awkward monument to federal monarchicalism. To disassociate the residence from any palatial associations, Jefferson immediately sold the coaches, horses, and silver-mounted harnesses Adams had bought and abandoned the rounds of levees and parties that had made the White House such an important center of polite society. Ever the improver and, besides, pressed for additional office space, Jefferson added the East and West Wings, marked by a matching pair of colonnades designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

While it remained for some a reminder of the excesses of federal power, the White House slowly emerged as a symbol of national identity. Certainly this was the understanding of the British commanders who burned the building's interior, along with



The White House. This 1828 engraving shows the White House and its front garden. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

the U.S. Capitol, on the night of 25 August 1814, at the height of the War of 1812.

Humiliated but energized, President James Madison pledged to restore the White House. James Hoban returned to supervise reconstruction, adding the north and south porticos. The rebuilding was funded by a \$500,000 appropriation from Congress, a sign of the public's growing affection for what was becoming a symbol of the new Republic. Few architectural changes were made following this reconstruction, and the White House passed into Andrew Jackson's hands in a form that would remain essentially unchanged until the 1880s.

See also **Architecture: Public; Washington, Burning of; Washington, D.C.**

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WIDOWHOOD Brides and grooms in the late colonial, Revolutionary War, and early national periods took to heart the words “until death do us part” when exchanging vows. Women in that era usually were several years younger than the men they married. Most marriages did not survive intact, however, until couples attained a ripe old age.

The death of a spouse in the prime of life affected more women than men. “[It is] the most Forlorn and Dismal of all states,” wrote Abigail Adams in 1778, nearly half a century before her own husband died. Widowhood altered family arrangements, transforming women's economic and legal status. Having rarely been able to make autonomous decisions, or even to hold possessions in their own name, women had to learn new survival skills. Letters from the period indicate that some widows adapted reasonably well, while others withdrew from society, angry and depressed. Once widowed, many women began a sad decline into senectitude.

The religious commandment to “honor thy father and mother,” usually reinforced by the courts, in principle gave widows and widowers the right to expect their children to care for them until they

died—or, depending on their age and wealth, at least until they remarried. Custom dictated that at least one (adult) child remain with the surviving parent, providing labor and support. In return, she or he received in due course a disproportionate share of the estate.

Economic realities reinforced filial piety. Especially in farming communities, men's assets on average increased with advancing years, peaking around age sixty. Women's prosperity or poverty depended on their spouses' success or lack thereof—regardless of how much the wives had contributed as household managers and producers of goods. Control of the land and other property gave the parents authority over their children's future sufficient to ensure the former a basis for financial assistance in later years. Household heads generally retained control of familial wealth until they died—though many fathers gave loans, bequests, and gifts to mature offspring as they were starting out. Unless otherwise stated in the will, a woman would count on her “widow's third,” even in situations where her husband died intestate. This was the single most important source of financial security for widows during the period. Even if the third was modest in value, it typically sufficed, providing a widow enough leverage to exert a measure of control over her offspring.

Some husbands were very precise in stipulating what they were leaving to their widows. They even specified the names of the livestock their surviving spouses were to receive. They warned their children that failure to care for their widowed mothers might result in their loss of valued possessions. Some men went a step further, naming their wives guardians or trustees of their estates. Yet detailed wills did not always work to the widow's advantage. By specifying the room in the homestead in which the widow would sleep, a woman's primacy in the household often passed to a younger family member. Rich men sometimes privileged certain children to the detriment of their wives. Those concerned with the intergenerational transfer of their estates and property could stipulate that their spouses would forfeit their designated assets should they choose to remarry. In the Maryland court of appeals, Martha Griffith in 1798 won her right to one-third of her husband's personal property, though her late spouse had pointedly left all his possessions to his children and excluded her.

Widows unacquainted with familial finances often were shocked to find that they had inherited considerable debts. To make ends meet, widows relied on the acumen of their adult children or neigh-

bors. During a period in which a majority of families struggled to eke out a living, financial insecurity heightened most widows' sense of vulnerability.

Most widows crafted ways to remain as independent as possible. Typically, this meant retaining possession of the family homestead as long as possible. When that was no longer feasible, women moved in with their children, doing domestic duties for room and board. Arrangements rarely were permanent: widows moved from the residences of siblings, offspring, and friends as circumstances warranted.

With advancing years, many widows were forced to rely on outsiders for assistance. Under the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601, which became the basis of most state welfare provisions, local officials had to support the needy in the community. Typically, agents provided poor widows with food, money, and wood so that they could remain in their homes. Sometimes, women were placed in the residence of the householder who made the lowest bid for their upkeep. Over time, an increasing number of cities and counties erected poorhouses, where the sick, deaf, blind, lame, orphans, and criminals shared shelter with widows. “Of all the classes of the poor,” declared Josiah Quincy in an 1821 report on welfare in Boston, “that of virtuous old age has the most unexceptionable claims upon society.” Young widows who were unwilling to work while in the almshouse would not be viewed so favorably as infirm, impoverished women.

Revolutionary War pensions provided some relief for eligible widows. The first pensions, authorized in 1780, provided officers' widows half of their late husbands' salaries for seven years if their spouses had remained in the Continental Army until the end of the war. These widows' provisions were abolished in 1794. Revolutionary soldiers in need (presumably, widowers were in this pool) were granted pensions in 1818; their widows, on proof of marriage, became eligible for pensions in 1832. Congress thereafter liberalized widows' Revolutionary War benefits.

See also **Domestic Life; Inheritance; Marriage; Women: Rights.**

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WIGS During the seventeenth century, men of the upper classes shaved their heads and wore long elaborate wigs that grew shorter and simpler during the early decades of the eighteenth century. By 1750 these, too, gradually went out of fashion as men began to give up shaving their heads and natural hair became more popular, although it was usually curled and powdered to look like a wig. The powder could be brown, gray, or white, although the latter was preferred. If the natural hair was worn unpowdered and short, a hairpiece with a braided or tied queue could be attached at the back of the crown to fill out the hairstyle. By the 1790s soldiers in the American army were ordered to wear their hair tied and powdered when they appeared for review. From 1770 to 1800 hair styles among American men ranged from natural hair worn short to natural hair worn long and tied back to natural hair crimped and curled and powdered to full formal wigs. By 1800 wigs had universally died out among men except for older or more conservative men, especially those in the clergy, lawyers, and doctors, some of whom continued wearing wigs through the first three decades of the nineteenth century.

At his second inauguration in 1793, George Washington wore his own hair tied back and powdered, but his successor, John Adams, wore a wig which, it was said, he hurled to the ground in anger when his cabinet displeased him. Thomas Jefferson wore his reddish hair natural and his successor, James Madison, powdered his receding locks. By the time of Andrew Jackson's election in 1828, most men wore their hair short to medium in length and natural in color. Vanity also played a role in the choice to wear a wig or not, and former Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin was described in 1832 as wearing "an ugly wig" that was intended to hide his baldness.

Women, on the other hand, rarely wore wigs from 1750 to 1800. The high, elaborate hairstyles of the time were constructed by brushing one's own hair, well greased with pomatum, over rats or puffs, and powdering it. When shorter hairstyles became popular among women after 1790, wigs, too, became more popular and were frequently worn to eliminate the necessity of styling one's own hair for



President Adams's Wig. John Adams, shown here in a painting (c. 1770) by Joseph Badger, reportedly had a habit of hurling his wig to the ground in anger when his cabinet displeased him. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

formal occasions. President Jefferson's married daughters asked him to have wigs made to match their natural hair for their visits to Washington in 1802 and 1805, and Dolley Madison and her sister ordered wigs in 1807 and 1809. Women whose hair was turning gray would often wear natural-colored wigs to hide the fact. From 1810 to 1830 women wore full wigs less often than partial wigs, with false curls, ringlets, and bangs being utilized to fill in hairstyles where needed. Also, the high-piled curls so popular about 1830 were frequently augmented by false ringlets attached to combs. Wig use gradually died out among women also, and by 1830 wigs were seldom worn by either sex.

See also **Clothing**.

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Mary A. Hackett

WISCONSIN TERRITORY The Wisconsin Territory was not formed by act of Congress until 1836. It was a part of the Northwest Territory beginning in 1787, the Indiana Territory in 1800, the Illinois Territory in 1809, and the Michigan Territory in 1818. The Wisconsin Territory stretched north to the British-Canadian border and was originally bounded to the west by the Missouri River, although in 1838 an act of Congress made the Mississippi River the official western boundary.

Over twenty thousand American Indians resided in the Wisconsin region in 1768. They belonged to a number of tribes, the largest being the Ojibways, Winnebagos, Potawatomis, and the Sioux river bands in the West. Indians traded furs with British and Montreal-based French traders, who continued to dominate the fur trade even after the United States assumed sovereignty by the Treaty of Paris in 1783. The United States did not begin establishing factories to regulate the fur trade in Wisconsin until one was built on Mackinac Island in 1809. The British quickly captured this factory during the War of 1812 but abandoned it after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814.

The fur trade economy relied on buffalo hunts and the importation of foodstuffs to support hunters and traders. White traders often married into Indian families and settled in villages where their mixed-race children were known as Métis. Indian and Métis women had key roles in negotiating accommodation in this society, were included in gift-giving ceremonies, and largely dominated the important process of maple sugar production.

The Fox Indians mined lead in southern Wisconsin in the eighteenth century and in 1788 permitted

a French Canadian, Julien Dubuque, to mine there as well. In 1822 a U.S. Indian agent reported to the secretary of war that southern Wisconsin had large quantities of lead ore, and the report subsequently leaked. Over five hundred Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee miners came to southern Wisconsin between 1822 and 1825. By 1829, over four thousand European Americans and one hundred African Americans had arrived from the eastern states and Illinois. Lead miners intruded onto Indian lands secured by treaty, and the Winnebagos began scatter-shot raiding of white settlements. In 1827 a raid led by the Winnebago warrior Red Bird prompted the quick formation of a force numbering over one thousand infantry and cavalry. Red Bird surrendered and the Winnebagos distanced themselves from his raids. In 1829 the United States reached a treaty with the Ojibways, Ottawas, Potawatomis, and Winnebagos that resulted in their surrender of the mining region east of the Mississippi.

See also **Fur and Pelt Trade; American Indian Relations, 1815–1829; American Indian Removal; American Indian Resistance to White Expansion.**

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H. Robert Baker

WOMEN

This entry consists of eight separate articles: *Overview*, *Female Reform Societies and Reformers*, *Political Participation*, *Professions*, *Rights*, *Women's Literature*, *Women's Voluntary Associations*, and *Writers*.

Overview

In the period from 1754 to 1829, virtually every facet of women's lives—from politics to the economy to their own sexuality—underwent dramatic change. Although women's historians have long debated whether these changes benefited women, the developments were complex and ambiguous, and



Molly Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth (1854). The Pennsylvania heroine Mary Ludwig Hays, pictured here in a painting by Dennis Malone Carter, won her nickname, Molly Pitcher, by carrying water to the troops during the Battle of Monmouth in 1778. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

they affected different women in different ways, especially when one takes into consideration class, race, and region.

EDUCATION AND INTELLECT

Nowhere was the change for women more dramatic than in the realm of education. Enlightenment thinkers asserted that man was a creature of reason, and although they often meant males rather than humankind more generally, there was enough ambiguity in their discussions to allow others to assert, more explicitly, that women had the same intellectual capacity as men. "Will it be said that the judgment of a male of two years old, is more sage than that of a female's of the same age?" the Massachusetts author Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820) asked rhetorically. If women appeared less learned than men, advocates of women's education argued, it was only for the lack of opportunity, not innate ability. In

order to remedy this deficiency, almost four hundred female academies were established between 1790 and 1830, in the North and South both. Indeed, a higher percentage of women were enrolled in female academies than men in academies and colleges both. Among the most important of these institutions were the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia, chartered in 1792 but training women for perhaps a decade before that, and Sarah Pierce's Litchfield Female Academy, begun the same year.

The advances in women's education were stunning. By 1850, the literacy gap between white men and women was closed in New England and narrowed in the South, and at the female academies, women received advanced training as well. Yet if the academies trained a generation of women and made many of them, as Mary Kelley has argued, not only active readers, but truly learned, they also illustrate the limitations of Enlightenment notions of female



Lady with a Harp, Eliza Ridgely (1818). Eliza Ridgely, daughter of Baltimore merchant Nicholas Ridgely, was a teenager when she posed for this portrait by Thomas Sully. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK.

equality. Enlightenment optimism was undercut by a pervasive fear that too much education would make women “pedants,” unfit them for their domestic duties, and make them unattractive to men.

POLITICS

Like men, women were drawn into the political conflict that led to the American Revolution (1775–1783). Women actively participated in the boycott of tea and other goods taxed by the Townshend Act of 1767. Indeed, because women were avid consumers of just the sorts of luxury goods that were the focus of this and subsequent colonial boycotts, the boycotts could not have succeeded without women’s involvement. Moreover, such boycotts were part of the process of political mobilization that helped colonists see themselves as Patriots and devote themselves to the Revolutionary cause. Women, such as the fifty-one women in Edenton, North Carolina, who in

1774 pledged to do “everything as far as lies in our power” to support the “publick good,” played an important part in this effort, as did the many women who, during the Revolution, raised funds to support the effort and rioted to protest what they considered unpatriotic price gouging.

Republican thought, one of the sources of Revolutionary ideology, placed a premium upon self-sacrifice for the common good and imagined the paradigmatic citizen as male. In the Revolutionary maelstrom, however, republicanism lost some of its historically misogynist elements. Both women and men committed themselves to the patriotic cause, and Revolutionary thinkers began to carve out a gendered role for female Patriots. Benjamin Rush, the Philadelphia physician and Revolutionary, suggested that mothers could instruct their children in “the great subjects of liberty and government.” He also noted that “the opinions and conduct of men are often regulated by the women,” and that “the principal reward” for male acts of valor was female “approbation.” Magazines and novels encouraged young women and men to marry only those who were the living embodiments of republican virtue. It is not clear that such injunctions actually shaped behavior: curricula at the female academies placed more emphasis on Enlightenment principles and sensibility than republican concepts of domesticity, for example, and there is little evidence that suitors sought out Patriots for their mates. Nonetheless, such discussions drew women into Revolutionary discourse as both participants and subjects, and there is abundant evidence—from their attendance at political events, their support of nascent political parties, and their letters and journals—that many women were deeply interested in the Revolution and the political affairs of the new nation.

Revolutionary ideology drew from liberal notions of equality, and they, too, would affect thinking about women. So pervasive was the doctrine of equality that most Revolutionaries seemed to take it for granted that women were in some measure equal, but just what that would mean in practice was problematic. Revolutions by their very nature raise questions about established patterns of authority. We can see this process at work when Hannah Lee Corbin asked her brother, the Virginia Revolutionary Richard Henry Lee, why single, propertied women (who were not encompassed by the principle of coverture, which placed daughters and wives under the rule of the male head of household) could not vote, and he could not make an effective answer. Abigail Adams famously instructed her husband John, then

attending the Continental Congress, to “Remember the Ladies” in “the new code of Laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make. . . . Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the Husbands. Remember all Men would be tyrants if they could.” Abigail Adams gave the republican commonplace about the corrupting tendencies of power a gendered gloss. Just as famously, John Adams made light of his wife’s concerns. “I cannot but laugh,” he told her. “We have been told that our Struggle has loosened the bands of Government every where,” provoking uprisings among children, apprentices, slaves, and Indians, “but your letter was the first Intimation that another Tribe more numerous and powerfull than all the rest were grown discontented.” John Adams treated the issue more seriously, however, in an exchange with his fellow Massachusetts Revolutionary James Sullivan. Sullivan wanted to know how Lockean theory, which held that people can only be bound to laws to which they have consented, could be squared with the customary exclusion of women and other groups from the franchise. John Adams accepted the principle of consent “in Theory,” but worried about it in practice. “It is dangerous to open So fruitfull a Source of Controversy and Altercation. . . . There will be no End of it.”

Yet without either a genuine feminist movement or a fully articulated doctrine of female political inequality, both ideas and practices were in flux. In the furthest reach of Revolutionary egalitarianism, New Jersey, as if in answer to Hannah Lee Corbin’s query, permitted unmarried, propertied women to vote from 1776 to 1807, when, in a narrowing of the Revolution’s democratic possibilities, the franchise was withdrawn from free blacks, aliens, and untaxed men, as well as women.

Although the Constitution nowhere mentions women explicitly, records of the debates in the Constitutional Convention make it clear that women were to be included when congressional representatives were apportioned and hence that women, even though they could not vote or hold office, were to be represented by the new government. Likewise Bill of Rights guarantees such as freedom of religion, assembly, speech, and trial by jury all applied to (free) women. At the same time, as Linda K. Kerber has shown, women were not allowed to perform the duties of citizenship, not only (with the exception of New Jersey) voting and holding office, but also serving in the militia or on juries. Women’s relationship to the new government was, hence, ambiguous. In one sense, they were the paradigmatic citizens, construed, like children, as weak members of society, in



Mrs. John B. Bayard. *Portrait of Mrs. John B. Bayard* (1780) by Charles Willson Peale. © PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM OF ART/CORBIS.

need of government’s protection. At the same time, although they could lobby and petition government—which they certainly did—they were precluded from representing themselves. Indeed, this exclusion from formal participation only made them more worthy, or so it appeared. The presence of women at political ceremonies, in the halls of Congress, or even in the U.S. Supreme Court seemed to assure that whatever took place there was done for the benefit of society more generally, and not just for the presumably self-interested men who exercised power in their name.

LAW

The years after the Revolution witnessed several small improvements in women’s legal status. For the most part, however, the legal reforms of the post-Revolutionary era were not designed for women’s relief, even if that was sometimes their effect. For example, the elimination of primogeniture worked to the advantage of younger brothers as well as women. Consider also the case of divorce, which both Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson justified in liberal terms of consent and contract. “No partnership can oblige continuance in contradiction to its end and design,” Jefferson wrote, and the principle applied both to governments and marriages. By

1800 divorce, which before the Revolution had been rare except in the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, was legal in twelve states and the Northwest Territory. Yet as Norma Basch has shown, liberalized divorce laws benefited primarily those women whose husbands had already abandoned them; now they were afforded some legal protection. Divorce, however, remained rare, and if it provided relief for the occasional wife with an adulterous or abusive husband, it did almost nothing to redress the imbalance of economic and legal power under which many more women suffered.

There were other small improvements in women's legal status. For example, in some states, married women gained expanded rights to enter into business, and in 1808, married women in Connecticut secured the right to bequeath real estate. Significant change for women would not come, however, until the middle of the nineteenth century.

ECONOMY

The economy in this period was shaped by several significant trends. The "consumer revolution" of the eighteenth century put an array of consumer goods, ranging from tea and teapots to mirrors, linens, and chests of drawers, into the hands and homes of perhaps half the colonial population. Women were avid consumers of such items. At the same time, there were significant gains in productivity over the course of the century in advance of the technological innovations that accompanied the industrial revolution. Although economic historians are not yet certain how these gains were made, they believe the advances were the result of an "industrious revolution" in which people worked longer and harder. In an economy still based upon the family, significant gains in productivity could come only from the work of women and children (and of slaves of both sexes).

Overcrowding, particularly in New England, and a series of imperial wars dislocated numbers of young people of both sexes and made widows out of young wives. The Revolution only exacerbated this trend as countless young people flocked to the cities, where they hoped to make a living. There they were joined by emancipated slaves, who created the first urban, free black communities. These new urbanites, many of whom, of course, were women, constituted the United States' first working class. The women found employment in a variety of manufacturing and service occupations, ranging from domestics in wealthier women's homes to prostitution.

The heightened pace of economic change after the Revolution affected other segments of the female

population in different ways. As paid work increasingly moved out of the home, the labor of middle-class white women was obscured. To be middle class meant not to work for pay, and hence domestic labor, from caring for children and making clothing to taking in boarders, was—in Jeanne Boydston's term—"pastoralized," or redefined as love rather than work.

During the same period, slavery was eliminated, sometimes immediately and sometimes gradually, in every state north of Maryland. And even in those states where slavery remained legal, thousands of slaves, some the mistresses or daughters of their owners, were freed by their owners, especially in the Chesapeake region. The result was a new class of free blacks, which was disproportionately female. Most of the women among them faced a life of hard work as domestics, cooks, seamstresses, and laundresses, but freedom enabled them to associate with whom they wanted, to move more or less freely through the North, to marry and maintain families, and to join churches and voluntary associations, all of which would have been difficult if not impossible under slavery. At the same time, as slavery became more entrenched in the South, conditions for slave women generally worsened. New, skilled positions generally went to men, leaving slave women with the drudge work. The spread of slavery, however, and the development of larger plantations generally made family life more secure for women, although the separation of families by sale and forced removal was so common that a term such as "secure" has only relative meaning.

The condition of Indian women in this period deteriorated. All Indians were losers in the Revolution, and many found their lands seized and their homes destroyed. Others would face defeat by the American army and eviction from their lands in the decades to come. The wars left countless Indian women widows. Also, increasing dependency on the market altered gender relations in Indian country. Men traded undressed skins and pelts to whites and too often spent the proceeds on liquor. Women's work was no longer vital to their communities.

SEXUALITY

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the power of fathers was in decline as a rapidly changing economy and new doctrines of equality limited their control over their children. This change should have been more beneficial to women than it was. Although the ideal of companionate marriage suggested that marriage should be a union of equals, and while increas-

ing numbers of young people hoped to find a soul mate, young women had very little power and even less protection should they succumb to the entreaties of a faithless suitor or marry unwisely. Once again the promise of the Revolution remained unfulfilled. Women, particularly those of the middle class and the elite, benefited from ideals of equality and even increased freedom. But without the power to protect themselves or to secure their own livelihoods, such gains were only partial.

See also **Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Law: Women and the Law; Marriage; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Sexual Morality; Sexuality; Work: Women's Work.**

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Jan Ellen Lewis

Female Reform Societies and Reformers

Women's efforts to change and improve American society—and in the process alter their own status—began to develop significantly at the end of the eighteenth century. One reason for this was that the patriarchal attitudes toward women's roles in society, whereby women were seen largely as domestic drudges confined to the home and inferior to men in every way, began to yield to the idea that women in the new Republic needed to become more active in making the family a bedrock of republican virtue and a repository of religious instruction for the children. This elevated women to a distinct position of authority concerning morality and gave them the opening to define not only moral standards in the home but in the community.

REVIVALISM AND REFORM

Aiding this development was the emergence at the turn of the century, from New England to the Mississippi, of the Second Great Awakening. This revivalism, particularly as it developed in the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist churches, not only produced large numbers of female converts but instilled in them the belief that sin and vices such as intemperance, gambling, and prostitution were voluntary activities that the new converts could eradicate. Moral suasion, a reform technique whereby sinners were persuaded by preachers, lecturers, and religious publications to give up their vicious ways, was a major development of the Second Great Awakening outlook and would inspire thousands of reformers of both sexes to improve American society.

In the cities, religion-inspired charity, in which women played a major role, developed extensively in the 1790s and 1800s. As the nation entered the industrial revolution and embraced a market economy, the soaring urban population brought with it a growing number of widows, orphans, and other groups needing assistance. Men and women from the upper and middle classes, often inspired by the new religious developments, began to organize efforts to succor the needy and at the same time bring them into religious institutions. Caring for the poor, especially the "worthy" poor, emerged as one of the earliest reforms in which women could participate. In 1797 Isabella Graham, a wealthy New York City woman, took the lead in establishing the Society for the Relief of Poor Widows with Small Children. Graham and other members found jobs for the women, gave them food and clothing, and provided fuel for

their fires. In addition, they tried to “improve” them by providing lessons in household management and instructing them in religion. A Boston female association founded in 1812 noted that by the 1840s it had aided more than ten thousand families. By the 1820s, not only in the larger cities but in places such as Rochester, New York, and New Orleans, women had set up hundreds of relief societies, orphanages, charity schools, and poorhouses. The New Hampshire Missionary Society established more than fifty local female auxiliaries to support its efforts to find and place domestic and foreign missionaries and to help distribute Bibles and religious tracts. Between 1810 and 1815 across the nation, thousands of women joined “cent a week” societies where their savings when pooled went to support more missionaries and to distribute more religious materials.

REFORMING PROSTITUTES

Relief efforts brought evangelical women and men into contact with the lower classes, where they found not only widows and orphans in need of help but also women being exploited, especially by prostitution. A male-controlled prostitute asylum, where penitent prostitutes could be reformed, opened in 1800 in Philadelphia. Eleven years later, Isabella Graham and her wealthy matron friends joined with men to found a similar asylum in New York City. The asylum approach to reform came from the religious belief that all people, regardless of their sins, could be converted to Christianity and trained to live moral and productive lives. In the controlled environment inside the asylum, female instructors, aided by male preachers, taught the penitents religion and encouraged them to convert. At the same time, the inmates were trained to be seamstresses or domestic servants, “respectable” occupations that they could enter after leaving the asylum. Although the asylum approach failed to redeem many prostitutes and the asylums themselves had short lives, women increasingly took the lead in the movement against prostitution. By the 1830s, when the asylum approach to prostitution revived, women would dominate every aspect of the reform effort.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Women also became deeply involved in educational reform. Since colonial times, girls had received a smattering of elementary education—enough to be able to read the Bible—but had seldom had any instruction beyond that level. Private academies in the eighteenth century sometimes enrolled girls as well as boys, and the all-female academy or finishing

school emerged in the second half of the same century. All too often, the finishing schools instructed girls in household matters, good manners, and correct posture and in nothing else. By the 1820s, however, women reformers such as Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, Zilpah Grant, and Mary Lyon called for more rigorous education for women to prepare them for the moral guardianship of the younger generation. Willard proposed in 1818 that girls receive religious and moral training in their schools and education in natural philosophy and literature. She and others also demanded that girls receive instruction in algebra, geometry, history, geography, and the natural sciences. Beecher, Grant, and Lyon used their own female academies to create rigorous curricula and to promote their new approach to female learning throughout the nation.

Women’s education, while it continued to develop and spread during the early national period, caused considerable alarm among people who feared that educated women would forget that they were in a sphere that revolved around the home. For every Emma Willard who called for more education for girls, there was someone, usually a male authority figure, who warned that women’s brains were too small and too fragile to handle the rigors of subjects such as philosophy. This theory of female inferiority indeed had long been used to prevent more educational opportunities for women and had provoked from some women stinging counterarguments calling for female equality. Judith Sargent Murray, a Gloucester, Massachusetts, education advocate, argued in the 1770s that the supposed superiority of male intellect arose from nothing more than men having more education than women. The anonymous female author of *The Female Advocate* in 1801 claimed that God and Nature had given both sexes “equality of talents, of genius, of morals, as well as intellectual worth” and that only male arrogance had deprived women of this equality by keeping them from education and experience.

Such ventures into a feminist critique of society remained daring—and rare. When Mary Wollstonecraft’s *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), calling for equality for the sexes, appeared in Britain, American women largely ignored her plea and continued to strive for change in the form of aid to the needy, vice eradication, and expanded educational opportunities for women rather than for sexual equality. A fully developed crusade for women’s rights would not emerge until the 1840s.

See also **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Prostitutes and Prostitution;**

Revivals and Revivalism; Welfare and Charity.

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Larry Whiteaker

Political Participation

Once, an entry on women's political participation would have been absent from an encyclopedia such as this one, on the assumption that women had no political presence in this historical period because they lacked the vote. But scholars, in addition to uncovering rare and proscribed examples of voting by women, have shown that women were indeed active in a continuum of political activities ranging from acts of patriotism, to work with voluntary associations (which often involved personal dealings with governments), to appearances at partisan gatherings, to more publicly organized efforts to influence the distribution of power or resources in their communities, their states, and their nation.

Before the war, most colonies' laws allowed only propertied, often only white propertied, men to vote. Women were thus part of a large category of the excluded that also contained nontaxpayers, slaves, the poor, and, in some colonies, free blacks, Catholics, and Jews. In a few towns in Massachusetts and a few counties in New York, propertied widows voted in local elections.

The colonial protests that became the American Revolution, however, forced everyone to consider arguments regarding the government's legitimacy. Women with Revolutionary sympathies supported the boycott of British products; they drank herbal teas and made clothes from homespun cloth. In poems, plays, essays, letters, and diaries women on both sides of the war advocated for their political views. After the war, in 1788, Mercy Otis Warren, whose brother James Otis had been a leader in the tax rebellion, published a pamphlet opposing ratification of the new federal constitution, thus engaging directly in political advocacy, albeit anonymously.

The war's justification—no taxation without representation—supplied obvious arguments in favor of widening the suffrage to taxpaying men and single taxpaying women (married women were thought to be represented politically by their husbands). Nevertheless, only one state, New Jersey, did so: its 1776 state constitution specified that black and white unmarried and widowed women in possession of fifty pounds could vote.

In the opening decades of the nineteenth century, women found themselves under increasing pressure to redirect their political energies into raising their children to be good citizens. The distinction between public and private spheres established the banishment of women from the civic arena as a moral good. (In response, New Jersey ended single wealthy women's suffrage in 1807.) Organized benevolence, however, was considered a proper quasi-public endeavor for women. Working in partnership with men and on their own, black and white women founded orphanages and asylums and lobbied individuals and local governments for funds to maintain the new institutions. They also worked for temperance, antislavery, and education.

Women's engagement in organized benevolence drew them into policy arguments that only Congress could settle. The tool they chose to influence the federal legislature was the petition. This ancient method, originally intended to redress individual grievances, had become a political means as early as the 1780s, when men in Massachusetts petitioned their state legislature for tax relief and women seamstresses in Charleston petitioned the South Carolina legislature to impose a duty on imported ready-made clothing to protect their industry. The first women's petition to Congress was on behalf of the Indian tribes in Southern states. That two-year campaign began in 1829 when the educator Catharine Beecher wrote a pamphlet urging women to petition Congress not to remove the Indians from their lands and orchestrated its circulation among "benevolent" women. Beecher, aware of the controversial nature of these efforts, undertook them anonymously. But the deed spoke for itself. Women's use of the petition for political purposes expanded in the decades to come, as did their use of other soon-to-be-discovered methods of nonvoting political participation.

See also **Education: Education of Girls and Women; Marriage; Widowhood; Work: Women's Work.**

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Louise W. Knight

Professions

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, female participation in professional fields was limited to areas related to the household and family, or those that emphasized nurturing skills. A woman might routinely step out of her traditional role and take over her husband's profession, trade, or shop while he was away on business because the family's livelihood depended on it. Other women worked in the medical profession; midwives such as Martha Ballard delivered babies, tended new mothers, and treated illness in both female and male patients. By the 1820s, though, most states enacted laws requiring practitioners to be graduates of medical schools, and this effectively limited the practice of medicine to men only.

Even as the medical profession contracted, the fields of education, writing, benevolence, and reform opened to women. Following American independence, the physician Benjamin Rush argued that mothers were the perfect people to teach republicanism, patriotism, and virtue to their sons while passing on domestic skills to daughters. This renewed emphasis on domesticity and the added emphasis on goodness enabled women to move into new types of work, related to their assigned roles as family educators and moral guardians. In 1792 Sara Pierce opened a female academy in Litchfield, Connecticut; over the next decades, Emma Willard, Catharine Beecher, and Zilpah Grant also established schools in New York and New England for young women. By the 1830s, when a newly established public school system faced a teacher shortage, an army of educated young women filled the void. (The influx feminized the profession, and teachers' salaries were halved.)

Writing was another professional choice for some women. In the late eighteenth century, Mercy Otis Warren defied convention by writing plays; in 1805 she completed a three-volume history of the American Revolution. In this same period, Judith

Sargent Murray published essays, plays, and poetry on women's education and equality, but she wrote under a male pseudonym to avoid criticism. By contrast, early-nineteenth-century authors Catharine Beecher, Lydia Maria Child, and Sarah Josepha Hale gained popularity, not by taking on a male persona or writing on typically male subjects, but by focusing on women's issues such as the domestic economy and child rearing. In fact, Child supported her husband, a struggling attorney, by writing. Hale was particularly influential as the editor of *Ladies Magazine* from 1827 to 1836 and *Godey's Lady's Book* from 1837 to 1877.

Benevolence and reform also offered a professional path related to what were seen as women's moral and domestic roles. Southern women were less likely to attend seminaries or become teachers than those in the North, but women in both regions were involved in benevolence. In 1812 women in Petersburg, Virginia, started a female orphan asylum; New York women organized a society to aid widows and children as early as 1797. After 1830 some Northern women adopted such causes as abolition, temperance, saving prostitutes, and woman suffrage. These experiences paved the way for women to become organizational managers and social workers, as well as teachers and writers, though professions such as medicine, law, and the ministry remained closed.

See also **Abolition Societies; Education:**

Education of Girls and Women; Gender:

Ideas of Womanhood; Marriage;

Medicine; Work: Midwifery; Work:

Women's Work.

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Diane Wenger

Rights

Natural rights were a topic much discussed in the early years of the Republic. Modern scholars study-

ing these debates have sought to identify early advocates for women's rights, determine the extent to which they judged men's and women's rights to be different, and assess women's place in early American republicanism.

THE IDEA OF NATURAL RIGHTS

For most of the eighteenth century, the rights usually invoked in popular discourse were constitutional rights, those having to do with law and procedure. The British colonists were aware of John Locke's writings on natural rights, but the idea did not take on political valence until the 1760s, and then mostly among the leaders of the Revolution, such as James Otis. The phrase "rights of man" and "women's rights" were not in widespread use until the 1790s, following the publication of Thomas Paine's treatise on the French Revolution, *The Rights of Man* (1791, 1792) and Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).

The idea that all human beings possess equal rights to autonomy, property, and happiness, advanced by Locke and others, was as potentially revolutionary for the new Republic as the theory of "consent of the governed" had been when the colonies were under British colonial rule. The issue now became just how far rights advocates could push the argument. By 1829 white, unpropertied, and untaxed men were well on their way to achieving full political rights in all the states. For women, however, voting rights were barely under debate. (Only New Jersey had seriously considered the issue, having granted and then rescinded the vote to landowning single women between 1776 and 1807.) The first question was whether they possessed natural rights at all. Judged to be men's inferior, particularly in matters of intellect and civic virtue, women were expected to embrace dependence on, and obedience to, men as the proper arrangement.

In the midst of the Revolutionary War, a twenty-eight-year-old woman, Judith Sargent Stevens (later Murray), began work on a manuscript, "The Sexes," in which she argued for the natural equality of women's minds and for providing mentally challenging education to all girls. The first portion of this manuscript, on which she continued to work throughout the 1780s, was published anonymously in 1790 in a prominent literary magazine with the title, "On the Equality of the Sexes." Frustrated by society's neglect of women's intellects, Murray set out several arguments in favor of educating girls. Some arguments, most of which were in general circulation by the 1780s, were purely practical—that

women would be less coquettish, vain, and frivolous, better companions to their husbands, better mothers to their children, happier, and be brought closer to God, if their minds were trained. But Murray, while avoiding the word "rights" and generally favoring women's traditional role as obedient helpmeet, argued that women's minds were naturally equal, that they possessed immortal souls and that they ought to be able to realize their full potential—all ideas advanced by natural rights theory. Whether Murray was America's first advocate for women's rights is still in dispute.

WOLLSTONECRAFT'S CONTRIBUTION

Two years after Murray's essay was published, the phrase "women's rights" was boldly laid on the table by the British philosopher and essayist, Mary Wollstonecraft. Her book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), shocked and excited readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Three American editions of this first major work of feminist political theory were immediately in print, and the book was excerpted in several literary journals, including the one that had published Murray's essay. Wollstonecraft used natural rights arguments to conclude that women belonged in the republican vision of citizenship. The rights of humanity also belonged to the female side of the population, she wrote; women, too, should enjoy independence, cultivate their virtue through the exercise of their reason, and realize their "full potential." Like Murray, her primary focus was on why women's minds should be educated; unlike Murray, she extended the implications of the rights argument into other areas. Talented women, she argued, should be able to take up the professions, such as medicine, or to practice business, or even to be elected to represent other women in legislatures. Although Wollstonecraft affirmed that women's duties were different from men's and that they included managing her family, educating her children, and helping her neighbors, she continually repeated the point that these duties flowed from women's natural rights. If a woman's rights were not honored, then her duties were cancelled.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS REDEFINED

The early years of the nineteenth century were years of consolidation and retrenchment for issues related to women's rights. As the century turned, the traditional gender hierarchy—of women dependent on men and under their authority—reasserted its influence through the ideal of the republican mother and through the distinction drawn between public and

private spheres and the theory that men's place was in public and women's place at home. But rights had entered the national vocabulary. Hannah Mather Crocker in her *Observations on the Real Rights of Women* (1818) voiced the new assumption that women were equal and that women and men had different rights, with women's centering on their domestic duties.

Still, the argument for educating girls made some progress. A few academies for young ladies sprang up in the 1780s, and their numbers increased in the 1790s. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, such schools were entirely noncontroversial. Many taught dancing, French, and good manners, and a little mathematics; the best ones, however, taught rhetoric, philosophy, and history. The natural rights argument that had helped produce this educational revolution was hidden from sight but not forgotten. A second generation of Wollstonecraft's readers, those equipped with a better education, would expand the arguments for women's rights in the near future.

See also **Citizenship; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; European Influences: Enlightenment Thought; European Influences: Mary Wollstonecraft; Gender: Ideas of Womanhood; Home; Natural Rights; Parenthood.**

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Louise W. Knight

Women's Literature

Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women read and wrote in every conceivable literary form despite prevailing laws and customs. Most Americans believed that only men could be active citizens, a role that included participating in political discourse in newspapers, pamphlets, or other such forums. Women were denied participation in political forums such as town meetings and could not hold political office. However, they seized opportunities available to them to write for a wide audience.

The American Revolution helped bring women into the world of published literature. When the first crises between the American colonies and Great Britain arose in the 1760s, women wrote about their political opinions and in some cases sent these opinions to newspapers. In their writings women often apologized for violating gender customs. They justified their publications by arguing that they were defending their honor from insult or argued that specific female roles, such as manufacturing and mending of clothing, gave them the right to write in the midst of a crisis that rendered these roles political.

Women were acutely aware of gender boundaries. Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814), in a published poem titled "Primitive Simplicity," averred that if she exceeded what she called the "narrow bounds" of womanhood, she would put her pen down and gladly fit herself into her proper place as wife and mother. Warren was not alone. Most women who wrote for public consumption conformed to the social standards of the time with the exception of their published writing.

POETRY

American women have a long relationship with poetry. Anne Bradstreet began publishing her poetry in the mid-seventeenth century, paving the way for later female poets. In the early American nation, one of the most renowned poets was Phillis Wheatley (1753?–1784). In her lifetime she published at least forty-six poems and was the author of many more that have since been published. The poem that brought her recognition was one she published in 1770, the subject being the death of George Whitefield, the famous itinerant preacher who captivated audiences in England and America during the religious revival known as the Great Awakening. A volume of her work, *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, was published in London in 1773. Wheatley's accomplishments are particularly remarkable as she was born in West Africa and stolen into slavery in 1761. She was taken into the Massachusetts

household of John Wheatley where, by all accounts, she was treated kindly and taught to read and write. Although much of her poetry is conventional, it was highly praised at the time.

At the onset of the American Revolution, poetry was used for propaganda purposes, with writers on both sides arguing their case. Although Mercy Otis Warren is less well known today for her poetry than for her incendiary plays and her history of the American Revolution, poetry was one of the forms she used to help wage the ideological war against the British. Following the Boston Tea Party in December 1773, John Adams encouraged her to write a poem commemorating the bravery of the participants. Adams sent her an outline of the poem, which Warren used as a starting place. With Adams's help the poem, "The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs," was published in a Boston newspaper, intensifying anti-British feeling. Warren, encouraged by prominent men, became a mouthpiece for the American cause.

In the period after the American Revolution, women's poetry focused less on politics and more on morality and sentiment as these characteristics were increasingly seen as inherently female. The most successful of the early-nineteenth-century American poets was Lydia Howard Sigourney (1791–1865), who published her first work, *Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse*, in 1815. She followed this first work with almost seventy more books and more than a thousand articles. Her poetry and prose embraced gender conventions, focusing on moral and religious issues and women's roles in society.

PLAYS

Like poetry, plays were used as propaganda pieces in the cause of the American Revolution. Mercy Otis Warren was one of the United States' first playwrights, playing a key role in the development of the genre. Her three political plays, *The Adulateur* (1772), *The Defeat* (1773), and *The Group* (1775) worked to rouse Americans in opposition to British policy. Published in newspapers and pamphlets, they were not written to be performed but to be read out loud. All three focused on the evils of the Tory government in Massachusetts, particularly the actions of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Placing the action in fictional Servia, Warren thinly disguised the leading Massachusetts political figures. Hutchinson became the conniving Rapatio, contrasted in the play with the characters who stood in for virtuous Whig colonists. Although not of high literary value, the plays served their purpose, winning support for the American cause.

In 1794 the first dramatic works by women were performed on the American stage. The libretto for the opera *Tammany; or The Indian Chief*, performed in New York, was written by a Welshwoman, Ann Julia Hatton (1764–1838). *Slaves of Algiers; or, A Struggle for Freedom*, written by Susanna Rowson (1762–1864), was performed in Philadelphia. Its setting was the North African Barbary Coast, where the United States Navy was running into trouble with pirates. Although specifically focused on a white slave trade that involved selling girls and women into prostitution, the play was broadly anti-slavery. Rowson's play engaged in the ongoing debate of the new American nation on the nature of freedom, particularly the ideals of the Revolution as opposed to the institution of chattel slavery.

THE NOVEL

The most controversial literary form in the early American nation was the novel. Americans worried about its allure, fearing that fiction might pull readers into false worlds, detaching them from necessary involvement in the New Republic. Doctors proclaimed that reading too many novels could cause madness and cautioned parents to steer their children toward history and other works of nonfiction. In 1807 Dr. Thomas Trotter wrote that men were, in part, guarded from the risk of madness induced by novels as they had natural outlets in their work life. Women, in the opinion of Trotter and other doctors, were far more vulnerable to the supposed dangers of novel reading. Women in the new American nation were warned repeatedly against reading novels because novels could lead them to put passion before reason and to neglect their womanly household duties. Immersed for hours in stories of love and romance, women might lose touch with reality, causing them to commit moral indiscretions. Because being a good American woman had become tied to morality, some believed that this failure on women's part would do nothing less than bring the new American nation to ruin.

Nevertheless, the novel took off in the new United States. The first American novel, *The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature Founded in Truth* (1789) was written by a man, William Hill Brown (1765–1793); but because it was published anonymously, many believed it had been written by a woman. *The Power of Sympathy* and other early American novels largely detail stories of the seduction and ruin of young women. Running beneath the theme of seduction were broader themes that reflected authors' and readers' anxieties about the new na-

tion. Who would speak for the people? Who had power? Had democracy gone too far? Americans were far from united in the period following the Revolution; the novel grappled with the problems and highlighted the dangers and upheavals of the new nation.

Novels were an accessible form and could be read by people who had little formal education. In addition, novels focused on the everyday life of female characters, allowing women readers to place themselves within the action of the stories. Early American novels all emphasized better education for young women as a way to empower them to make decisions that would lead them away from damnation and toward morality. The plot lines emphasized that if women received adequate education they would be able to guard themselves against rakes and flatterers. These early American novels showed the restrictions of women's lives but entered into a debate about women's status and rights, particularly as it concerned female education.

BEST-SELLERS

Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple* (1794) was the best-selling American novel until Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* surpassed it in 1852. Not only did American readers buy more than fifty thousand copies by 1812, but they identified so completely with Charlotte that they flocked to the Trinity Church graveyard in New York City to visit a grave that was allegedly hers.

Rowson's heroine is a young, innocent Englishwoman who has been seduced by Montraville, an army officer, brought to the United States, and then left with her shame as well as with decreasing support from her lover. When finally her morality and goodness seem lost forever, and her monetary support is cut off owing to the connivance of Montraville's friend, Belcour, Charlotte dies in childbirth, destroyed as much by her emotional state as by the poverty and hunger that surrounded her because of the abandonment by her seducer.

Although Rowson's heroine is passive, except in her initial choice to run away, the message of the novel spoke against female passivity. The story warned young women not to follow Charlotte's path. As in most American seduction novels, the author's message was that Charlotte's path could be avoided only if women received a good, solid education. Charlotte's downfall was ignorance and dependence.

The Coquette; or, The History of Eliza Wharton, by Hannah Webster Foster (1758–1840), ran second to

Charlotte Temple in sales. In the novel Eliza Wharton is troubled over the choice between coquetry and married life. The story is based on the story of Elizabeth Whitman (1752–1788), an educated woman from a prominent family who died at the Bell Tavern in Danvers, Massachusetts, where she had checked in under a false name. She had delivered a stillborn baby out of wedlock, and her story became widely circulated in New England as a cautionary tale. Whitman became a symbol of what too much of the wrong kind of reading could do to a woman.

The fictional Eliza Wharton worried about the constraints married life would put on her. She would lose her women friends, and her life would focus entirely on her husband and children. What other choice did she have? In the end she chose the path of the coquette, becoming involved with a married man. Like other American novels, *The Coquette* raised important questions about the nature of the new United States. What role did women play in the new nation? Were their freedoms to be constricted? The dilemmas faced by Eliza Wharton were compelling enough that the book went through thirteen editions before the end of the nineteenth century.

Several trends in the new American nation affected the development of women's literature. In the eighteenth century, print culture expanded rapidly. The revolution in printing made mass production of literary works possible, and the production of a mass market allowed books to be passed along established commercial networks. White women had increased access to education, particularly in the North, which gave them the skills they needed to read and write. The Revolution and the nation-making that followed opened up further avenues for women as women participated in the debates over the shape of the new nation and women's role within it. Women of the middling sort had more leisure time as consumer goods became more available and as servants took over some of the household work. In addition, ladies' magazines furthered women's opportunities to become published writers. By the early nineteenth century, women were fully participating in writing for publication, although no American woman or man was able to make a living from writing until the 1820s.

See also **Fiction; Poetry; Print Culture; Printing Technology.**

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Sarah Swedberg

Women's Voluntary Associations

The history of women's voluntary associations begins during the Revolutionary period, when everyday domestic pursuits became politicized as defiant opposition to mercantilist policies imposed on the North American colonists by the British Empire. Groups of women called Daughters of Liberty met, usually in ministers' homes, to produce homespun in order to sustain economic boycotts of British goods. The urgent need to outfit General George Washington's army during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) further eroded customary barriers to the movement of women in public spaces; ladies' associations collected donations for the Revolutionary cause by going door-to-door.

Voluntary associations were few in number and short-lived until the confluence of two ideologies, republicanism and evangelical Christianity, altered women's relationships to family and community. Women had no political status, but their claims to moral authority from active participation in churches and religious movements were imbued with new meanings in the new nation. Improvements in women's education occurred in the nascent Republic of the 1780s and 1790s as reformers used the rhetoric of republicanism and assumptions about women's moral authority to argue that they, as men, must be prepared to assume civic duties. Although women were not schooled to enter public life but to oversee the spiritual training of their sons in order to ensure a virtuous citizenry, education nevertheless raised women's expectations for having a public role in the new nation. Many of the first generation of leaders of early-nineteenth-century benevolent societies had attended female seminaries.

In the first third of the nineteenth century, benevolent societies founded by middle-class northern and southern white women and free black women proliferated to serve the indigent in rapidly growing

towns and communities. Many benevolent societies, initially organized as auxiliaries to churches to provide crucial financial support to local clergy and religious missions, became an indispensable apparatus of social welfare, especially for widows and orphans. Isolated by racism, African American women organized for mutual spiritual, intellectual, and material benefit in groups such as the Colored Female Religious and Moral Society founded in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1818, but these organizations also provided charity to those in their communities living in dire poverty. Associations of white women acted as the guardians for the most vulnerable members of the community. Along the Eastern seaboard, benevolent societies cooperated to establish orphan asylums and schools.

The spiritual fervor of the Second Great Awakening in the 1820s and 1830s, with its emphasis on conversion and combating sin, transformed female benevolence into a broader movement for moral and social reform. While many associations remained committed to good works though local charity, some women banded together in public crusades against alcohol abuse and prostitution. Collective efforts for reform included types of public activism previously pursued only by men, including petition drives, rallies and conventions, public lectures, and published broadsides. The New York Female Reform Society, founded in 1834 to reform prostitutes and discourage their clients in New York City, published a newsletter and empowered its members to visit brothels. Susan B. Anthony's first introduction to politics was through her involvement in a local chapter of the Daughters of Temperance in central New York during the 1840s. And as her long career in public life as a leader of the suffrage movement demonstrates, the early women's rights movement in the mid-nineteenth century owed its beginnings to female associations in the new nation.

See also **Benevolent Associations; Orphans and Orphanages; Prostitutes and Prostitution; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Temperance and Temperance Movement; Welfare and Charity.**

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Kathleen A. Laughlin

Writers

During the years from 1754 to 1829, American women writers made many contributions to the shaping of the nascent American nation. Their voices speak through private diaries and journals, and in their letters one discovers a record of the events of their lives. Their poems, novels, and sermons unite religious teachings with domestic themes, as they question their place in the emergent social, political, and geographical landscapes of the United States. Some women's writing reflects the "cult of domesticity," which suggested that a woman's place in the domestic sphere was actually the locus of her power. Other women's writing explores the psychological struggles of women in their relationships with men—especially in novels of seduction, which became popular at the turn of the century. High society women expressed an interest in "polite letters"—newspaper articles, essays, and manuscripts largely circulated in literary salons and coffeehouses—as they attempted to infuse social discourse with their aesthetic concerns. Most important, women's writing during the Revolutionary era illustrates an emerging sense of self-awareness. The inward focus of much of their work in the mid-eighteenth century turned outward by the beginning of the nineteenth century. As women gained self-confidence in their abilities and access to education, their writing reflected an evolution in thinking about significant issues, including religion, attitudes toward Native Americans, racial and gender inequities, and human relationships with the natural world.

Phillis Wheatley (1754–1784), an African slave educated by her American masters, was a highly regarded young poet in Boston. Wheatley's poetry pays homage to her religious faith and to her training in classical education; it does not fully engage

with the issue of slavery. After the Revolutionary War, many women writers expressed their support for the abolitionist cause, which led them to question gender inequities within the dominant religious framework of the times. By the early 1800s, Jarena Lee (1783–1849) challenged a patriarchal system in which women were not allowed to be preachers, claiming that her personal conversion prepared her for the role. Her spiritual autobiographies tell the story of how she became the first African American female preacher for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Many women also began to interrogate their own religious beliefs. For example, in her 1822 novel, *A New-England Tale; or, Sketches of New-England Character and Manners*, Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789–1867) chronicles her conversion from Calvinism to Unitarianism. Such later works demonstrate an emergent sense of personal religious freedom for many African American and European American women.

In most stories white women told of their experiences being held captive by Native Americans, such as *A Narrative of the Captivity of Mrs. Johnson: Containing an Account of Her Suffering during Four Years with the Indians and French*, published by Susannah Willard Johnson (1730–1810) in 1796, white women's religious convictions are tested during captivity. In Mary Jemison's *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* (1823), however, Jemison recalls her adoption by her Seneca captors and her assimilation into native culture. At the same time, Native American women of the era were losing their personal religious freedom. As the new nation experienced the inception of its own political independence, some women writers began to question the treatment of Native Americans by white settlers. Unlike earlier captivity narratives, the novel *Hobomok* (1824), by Lydia Maria Child (1802–1880), suggests that Puritan ideology oppressed both Indians and women. Sedgwick's *Hope Leslie; or, Early Times in Massachusetts* (1827), scrutinizes the Puritans' approach to relations with Native Americans. As women writers explored the subjugation of Native Americans, so too did they consider their own oppression within the same patriarchal system.

As early diaries and journals of the period suggest, women increasingly turned from concern with domestic affairs to curiosity about the possibilities for women in civic and political arenas. The diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker (1734–1807), a member of the Philadelphia Quaker elite, is a quotidian domestic record of life during the Revolutionary era. Yet novels of seduction, such as the *The Coquette; or,*

Yet haste the era, when the world shall know,
That such distinctions only dwell below;
The soul unfettered, to no sex confined,
Was for abodes of cloudless day designed.
Meantime we emulate their manly fires,
Through erudition all their thoughts inspires,
Yet nature with *equality* imparts,
And *noble passions*, swell e'en *female* hearts.

From "On the Equality of the Sexes,"
Judith Sargent Murray, 1790.

The History of Eliza Wharton (1797) by Hannah Webster Foster (1758–1840), emphasized the limitations of the domestic sphere for women. During and after the Revolutionary War, many women were challenged to consider broader social and political concerns in their writings. Judith Sargent Murray (1751–1820) was one of the earliest women to question the role of women in American society. In her 1790 essay "On the Equality of the Sexes," Murray advocates for equal educational opportunities for women, and in her three-volume collection of published and unpublished writing, *The Gleaner* (1798), Murray discusses a variety of topics, including politics, American history, morality, and the intellectual equality of women and men. The poet, playwright, and author Mercy Otis Warren (1728–1814) wrote *The History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution, Interspersed with Biographical, Political, and Moral Observations* in 1798, taking a political stance in support of American Revolutionaries. In 1814, Sarah Savage (1784–1838), a Massachusetts schoolteacher, wrote *The Factory Girl*, one of the first works to examine the impact of industrialism on female workers. Women writers also considered the injustices of slavery. The poet and novelist Sarah Josepha Hale (1788–1879) explored themes of slavery and regional identity in her 1827 novel *Northwood*. This awareness of women's roles in social and political spheres would later galvanize early feminist, labor reform, and abolitionist movements.

Women writers also explored their relationship to the American landscape, exhibiting the knowledge they had attained through formal and informal education in the arts and sciences. The letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney (1722–1793) provide a detailed natural history of a South Carolina plantation, which she deftly managed after inheriting the operation from her parents at age sixteen. After the Revolutionary

War, women's mobility increased, and their perspectives on their place in the world broadened. Frances Hornby Barkley (1769–1845) ventured around the world for eight years with her sea captain husband and penned one of the earliest travel narratives about her adventures. Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793–1884) examined landscapes closer to home in her work *Familiar Lectures on Botany, Practical, Elementary, and Physiological* (1829). She was one of the earliest advocates for women's education in the sciences.

During this seventy-five year period, women writers set the stage for a future revolutionary era of women's rights. In 1848, a group of women and men convened in Seneca Falls, New York, to discuss women's equality. Their *Declaration of Sentiments*, following the structure of the Declaration of Independence, called for the rights and privileges of men to be extended to women. In the language of the new declaration are echoes of many women writers' voices from an earlier revolutionary age.

See also **Antislavery; Autobiography and Memoir; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Emotional Life; Fiction; History and Biography; Home; Magazines; Nonfiction Prose; Poetry; Revolution: Women's Participation in the Revolution; Work: Women's Work.**

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Jennifer Hughes Westerman

WOOL Techniques for the home production of cloth from natural fibers were common knowledge in early America. Like all fibers, wool had to be cleaned, combed, spun into yarn, and woven into cloth. The card, spinning wheel, and loom had a place in most homes, along with a flock of sheep in many pastures. Woolens were the most commonly used fabric for making clothing. During the colonial period fine woolens, such as broadcloth, were imported from Britain, but the girls and women of America's households produced most of the rougher homespun and flannel.

Wishing to suppress any competition, Britain passed laws aimed at preventing woolen production in the colonies. The laws barred textile machinery and machine operators from leaving Britain and, for a time, prohibited the importation of sheep or wool into America. However, most colonists used whatever coarse wool they could obtain from their existing sheep to fill their household needs.

The boycotts of the pre-Revolutionary years and the war itself encouraged greater home textile production and, by necessity, decreased reliance on British textile imports. At the same time, the Continental army desperately needed woolens for uniforms. American households could not begin to fulfill that need, and the slaughter of many sheep to feed the army made matters worse. A lively wartime trade in smuggled British woolens ensued. When the war ended, Americans resumed the importation of fine British woolens but bought considerably less of the coarser grade. As a patriotic gesture, George Washington wore a domestic homespun suit for his inauguration as president.

Carding, the laborious hand-combing process, was the first wool production task to be mechanized in the new nation. People increasingly took advantage of mechanical advances to produce finer cloth. Carding machines were developed in Britain and probably smuggled to America; they were operating in New England by the late 1780s. Householders brought their wool fiber to carding mills for machine processing and then took the processed fiber home for spinning. In 1810 more than seven hundred wool-carding mills were operating in New England alone. Improvements to the spinning wheel considerably sped up home production of wool yarn as well. After weaving cloth at home, people brought their home-produced woolen cloth to local fulling and finishing mills.

Although a commercial mill began producing woolen cloth from homespun yarns in Connecticut

in 1788, the enterprise lasted just a few years. Not until Colonel David Humphreys imported a flock of fine-wooled merino sheep from Spain in 1802 did domestic flocks begin to improve and commercial woolen manufacture become economically viable. Whereas American-grown wool was relatively coarse, merino wool fibers were finer and better suited to the new spinning machinery from Britain. Humphreys began woolen production in a Connecticut factory in 1806. Others soon followed, and by 1812 at least two dozen woolen mills were operating in the United States. The Embargo Act (effective 1807–1809) and the War of 1812 (1812–1815) again cut off foreign trade and further boosted domestic woolen manufacture. One estimate values factory-made woolens during this period at about \$19 million a year.

The estimated total factory production in 1812 of 200,000 yards accounted for only about 4 percent of all American woolen production. As late as the 1820s, two-thirds of all woolens in New England were still homemade.

The gradual introduction of merino sheep and improved machinery, aided in 1828 by a hefty tariff on woolen imports, led to the expansion of woolen manufacturing in America. By 1830 it was well established as a profitable industry.

See also **New England; Textiles Manufacturing; Work: Domestic Labor; Work: Women's Work.**

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Roberta Wiener

WORK

This entry consists of seventeen separate articles: *Labor Overview, Agricultural Labor, Apprenticeship, Artisans and Crafts Workers, and the Workshop, Child Labor, Domestic Labor, Factory Labor, Indentured Servants, Middle-Class Occupations, Midwifery, Overseers, Sailors and Seamen, Slave Labor, Teachers, Unskilled Labor, Women's Work, and Work Ethic.*

Labor Overview

Like most aspects of American life in the post-Revolutionary decades, work in the new American nation underwent a prolonged state of transition. Even as older, established ways persisted, new ways of working and of thinking about work slowly took shape, spreading over decades rather than months or years. Because the connections among national markets in goods and labor were still weak, rapid change, when it did occur, was usually limited to isolated cases. One of the most significant changes was the decline of traditional craft production as factories redefined the methods and means of production of goods. Tensions over the role of free and unfree labor in the workforce began to divide the nation. Women entered the workforce, challenging society's understanding of male and female roles. These changes were profound and would come to define American work.

REGIONAL LABOR SYSTEMS

Taking the early national period as a whole, the most striking change in the nature of work was the increasingly regional concentration of labor systems. Colonial America had been rich in land but poor in labor. Those who needed labor, whether temporary labor for fall harvests or permanent labor for year-round agriculture and craft manufacturing, were generally forced to take whatever labor they could find. For this reason, colonial labor tended to be a mixture of free and unfree labor systems, with free workers often working side by side with indentured servants and slaves. This all changed in the wake of the Revolution. Building on changes that were already under way during the French and Indian War (1754–1763), rapidly expanding population in the early nineteenth century and the Revolutionary rhetoric of freedom combined to place considerable pressure on unfree labor systems. In the end, the issue of unfree labor divided the new nation into two sections, each with its own distinctive labor system. In the North, states gradually or immediately abolished slavery and indentured servitude became both economically infeasible and ideologically unpopular. As a result, free labor became the norm. In the South, slavery remained the keystone of the southern labor system, especially after the spread of cotton agriculture in the 1790s. This trend toward distinctive sectional labor systems would continue through the first half of the nineteenth century and would become one of the central issues leading to the Civil War (1861–1865).

CHANGING PRODUCTION SYSTEMS

If labor in the South remained constant in the years following the Revolution, the opposite was true in the North, where both its labor system and the economic relations that supported it underwent profound change. Industrialization began to transform production in the new nation almost immediately after the Revolution. Improving on mill technology borrowed from industrializing Britain, early American manufacturers consolidated mechanized production of textiles in rural factories sited along the Northeast's major watercourses. At the same time, and with even greater impact, small groups of merchants and master craftsmen created urban manufacturing in which they divided traditional craft production into discrete tasks and used the resulting gains from the division of labor to increase production of a wide variety of goods, ranging from cutlery to shoes. Taken together, these early forms of industrialization virtually transformed the nature of work in the early nation.

DECLINE OF CRAFT PRODUCTION

The most significant change took place at the level of traditional craft production. As late as 1800 nearly all American manufacturing took place in artisan shops employing the skilled labor of master artisans, their journeymen, apprentices, and families. This craft system, with its roots stretching deep into the European past, had provided work and a way of life to tens of thousands of craftsmen since the beginning of English colonization in the seventeenth century. Resting on a tiered system of education and training, the craft system promised a life of economic well-being (competence, as people at the time put it) and social and political independence. For artisans, the skill they learned in their youth was a form of property; in a society in which rights devolved from the ownership of property, their skill entitled them to the same active voice in community political affairs that were claimed by modest landowners. If any one word described artisan identity, that word was "independence."

This independence was severely challenged by the new organizations of work and manufacturing that developed during the early national era. Competition from factories and manufactories—both of which could produce goods faster and more cheaply than artisans—drove prices down and forced artisans to work faster and longer in an increasingly futile attempt to maintain their standard of living. In time, most artisans simply could not keep pace with mechanized factories and more labor-efficient manufactories and were forced to seek work in these new

workplaces themselves or follow some other line of employment. Whatever path they chose, however, their expectations of lifelong economic independence were usually dashed by the new productive systems.

WORK AND NEW GENDER ROLES

One of the most profound social and cultural changes occasioned by the dissolution of the craft system and the rise of manufacturing was the redefinition of gender roles that the new work regimes forced on the new nation. Factories employed women as well as men, and this situation presented one of the most important challenges to established gender roles in American history. Since before colonial times, masculinity had been rooted in a concept of male independence and female dependence, and society had operated along patriarchal lines. What, then, did it mean to have independent working women and dependent wage-earning men in the new nation? Would the relations between the sexes be turned upside down? Would anarchy ensue? These fears dominated discussions of men's and women's roles in the post-Revolutionary era. In the end, traditional male and female norms were preserved by translating the meaning of masculinity and patriarchy from one anchored in artisan independence to a new norm in which a man fulfilled his masculine role by being employed, working diligently at his job, and supporting his family. Masculinity was redefined in ways that maintained male dominance in society. So long as women's work was largely isolated and peripheral (which it was throughout this period), women commanded meager resources. This alone prevented them from mounting a serious challenge to the received patriarchal system. In the new world of work, working women came to be seen as deviant, and the domestic ideal came to dominate early nineteenth-century conceptions of women.

See also **Class: Development of the Working Class; Cotton; Cotton Gin; Manufacturing.**

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Ronald Schultz

Agricultural Labor

Agriculture was the backbone of American life in the new American nation. More than 85 percent of the American people participated directly in agriculture, making agricultural labor arguably the most important single factor in the early national economy. In an age that relied on human and animal muscle to accomplish virtually all farming tasks, a regular supply of labor was always a crucial consideration. Agricultural labor was performed in four contexts: family labor on family farms; hired labor on family farms; hired labor on commercial farms; and slave labor on plantations.

FAMILY FARMS

For the majority of people in the new American nation, agricultural labor was family labor. Family farms dominated the northern, mid-Atlantic, and western states, but even in the South, despite the high visibility of plantation agriculture, family farms far outnumbered tobacco, rice, and, later, cotton plantations. Although conditions varied slightly from region to region, family farming followed a common life and labor cycle. Newly formed families and families with children younger than seven or eight years of age often did not have enough labor for the myriad tasks—plowing, planting, harvesting, pruning, and building—that early national farming required. This was especially true in frontier areas, where trees had to be felled, land cleared of boulders and stumps, fences erected, and farmhouses and outbuildings constructed. Lacking family labor in these early years, young couples usually hired labor from surrounding farms, young women to help the new wife and mother and young men to help the husband and father. In most rural areas, these “helps” (as laborers were called) were teenaged men and women from surrounding farms who spent from two to three years working for neighboring farmers to save for their dowries or to help them purchase land for their own future farms.

Once a family's children reached an age when they were capable of regular farm work, parents let

their “helps” go and introduced their children to the routines of farm labor. As children grew through childhood and into the teenage years, their labor became an essential component of the family’s well-being. Beginning with simple, easily learned tasks, children mastered the regime of labor, and by the time they were eleven or twelve years old, they had become full-fledged family workers, supplying at least as much labor as their fathers and mothers.

As the family aged and children neared adulthood, the family labor cycle shifted again. Now children had to be launched into lives of their own. Better-off parents kept their older children at home, helping the family until they married. In less prosperous families, older children left home to work as “helps” for others. In both cases, when sons reached their early-to-middle twenties and daughters their late teens or very early twenties, they married and left the family homestead. Most farm families were large, however, and the departing older children were replaced by their younger brothers and sisters, who quickly took on their siblings’ former role as laborers.

The final stage of the farming labor cycle came when the youngest children reached maturity. By this time both parents were aging and less able to keep up with the labor demands of the farm. Just as they did in their early child-rearing years, farm families needed help in middle and old age. This help often came from the youngest son, who stayed in the home with his own family, helping his parents and eventually inheriting the family farm when his parents died. Where the youngest son was unable or unwilling to stay, parents turned again to hired labor from surrounding farms, much as they had done when they were first married.

This family labor cycle described the lives of the majority of Americans in the new American nation, but in areas where land had been worn out and families grown too large to provide for, life held out a different and less pleasant future. Faced with few prospects at home, young adults by the early 1790s could be seen roaming the countryside, looking for work far from home. These surplus men and women walked from farm to farm and from town to town in hopes of finding employment as farm laborers or household servants or in the rural textile mills that were beginning to dot the American countryside. Little is known about the fate of this growing body of displaced men and women, but they were an increasingly visible and troublesome phenomenon in long-settled agricultural regions, especially in New England.

COMMERCIAL FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

Even less is known about agricultural labor on northern commercial farms. Large commercial farms producing grain for national and overseas markets existed in small numbers near the ocean ports of New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Work on these commercial farms was performed with hired labor, the workers most likely coming from the flow of displaced agricultural workers mentioned above or from the growing number of Irish immigrants, who began entering the new nation in the early nineteenth century.

Southern plantations were the largest agricultural enterprises in the new nation. Growing tobacco, rice, wheat, and—by the mid-1790s—cotton for export, these plantations relied by the mid-eighteenth century almost exclusively on the labor of African American slaves. Agricultural work on southern plantations was arduous and often unrelenting. Unlike the labor cycle of family farms, which was regulated by the shifting priorities of the seasons, plantation owners demanded constant work from their slaves, putting them to nonagricultural work when crops did not need attention.

Continuing the labor regimes of the colonial period, plantation owners worked their slaves following one of two labor systems. In the gang system, large contingents of slaves were marched to the fields by overseers and given specific tasks to perform. Oversight was intense and slaves had little freedom under the unrelenting gaze of the overseer. The task system allowed much more freedom and self-direction and was much preferred by slaves. In the task system, slave foremen were given a list of tasks and an expected time of completion. The organization of tasks and laborers, as well as the apportionment of work time, was left to the slaves themselves. Both labor systems were in common use throughout the early national period; George Washington, for example, worked his male slaves by the task system and his female field hands by the gang system.

Wherever one traveled in the new American nation, one found men and women working in fields, orchards, and gardens. Not until the advent of the McCormick reaper in 1831 did the age of mechanical agriculture begin. And with it came a new kind of agricultural work unthought of in the new American nation.

See also **Agriculture; Childhood and Adolescence; Farm Making; Plantation, The.**

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Ronald Schultz

Apprenticeship

As the main path to the acquisition of a skill in the early modern world, apprenticeship was an important custom throughout the colonial American and early national period. Although the institution continued to be the main means of attaining a skill, changes in the early American economy, the Revolution, and the experience of new nationhood diminished the importance of apprenticeship and, by the nineteenth century, it was less vital than ever before.

OPERATION OF THE SYSTEM

Throughout the Old World and the New, apprenticeships had lain at the core of the production of a skilled labor force. They represented the first stage in a system in which workers began as pupils, progressed to the status of journeymen, and finished their careers as masters. Usually, at the age of thirteen or older, children would be sent away from home to live in the household of a master tradesman. Following seven years of training, workers would then “journey” around looking for employment from those with established shops, aiming to accumulate enough capital eventually to purchase their own workshops and tools and take on their own apprentices. Parents paid a fee for their sons (and sometimes daughters) to enter into an apprenticeship, with the amount charged linked to the status and earning potential of the chosen profession. One of the most prized placements was an apprenticeship with a merchant, and many British and colonial American middling sorts would quite happily pay large sums to get their sons taken on at a prestigious trading house in London, Bristol, Philadelphia, or Boston. Cheap apprenticeships for poorer people were to be found in shoemaking or tailoring, where profits would always be modest and capital requirements were low.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when large numbers of Britons were departing the metropole for the nation’s colonies, certain elements in this traditional working structure had already begun to break down. Most notably, the power of guilds to regulate the cost of apprenticeships, the price of goods, and the number of masters and journeymen working under their jurisdiction was disintegrating. The weakness of the English guilds had a strong impact on the structures of skilled work in eighteenth-century America, as they were too ineffective by this time to reestablish their authority in a New World setting. For one thing, weak government authority meant that terms of apprenticeship did not always last for the full seven years, and by the 1750s shortened terms of five years had become common. In the southern American colonies, training became further curtailed by the prominence of slave labor. Plantation owners often sent some of their slaves to local artisans to learn a trade, with carpentry, bricklaying, tailoring, and shoemaking proving to be the most popular skills. Artisans also purchased slaves themselves and trained them to work in their own shops. However, African Americans rarely received the full seven years of instruction and often obtained as little as two years. For early America’s slaves, however, an apprenticeship nevertheless proved to be one of the few routes to a measure of economic independence. Equipped with a specialist skill, African Americans in northern and southern cities were able to earn money on their own account, despite the best efforts of their white masters to prevent them from doing so. A few slaves used such wages to buy their freedom, while many more were able to run away safe in the knowledge that they were in possession of a means to earn a living.

The institution of apprenticeship in America received boosts that kept it vital at least to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In particular, apprenticeships proved to be an excellent tool for emerging public institutions seeking ways to make poor and orphaned children support themselves. Throughout colonial and early national America, church vestries, orphanages, and charities placed their destitute charges with local artisans to learn a trade, ensuring a steady stream of new trainees. At the same time, as long as the household maintained its position as a building block of early American society, apprenticeship was firmly woven into the social fabric. Often, apprentices were the sons or daughters of family friends, and they lodged with a master and dined with his wife and offspring. As close acquaintances, apprentices sometimes became more than mere employees: many married into their

master's family and were then entrusted with the running of the business following his retirement.

DEMISE OF THE SYSTEM

At about the time of the American Revolution (1775–1783), however, growing industrialization began to threaten the traditional structures of skilled work, apprenticeship included. Despite mercantilist restrictions imposed by Britain and designed to stop New World manufacturers from competing with their metropolitan counterparts, colonial American industrial development accelerated significantly from the mid-eighteenth century onward. Especially in the large northern cities of Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, workshops increased considerably in size and in some industries—shoemaking, for example—the unit of production began to resemble a small factory. Political independence accelerated this process of industrialization. In the new Republic, Americans not only had the freedom to manufacture their own goods, but had also a strong patriotic desire to free their young nation from dependence on British imports as quickly as possible. Boycotts against the buying of British goods during the 1770s, and again during the War of 1812 (1812–1815), were designed to prevent all purchase of British goods and encourage their replacement with American-made manufactures.

The resulting growth of factories gradually led to the disappearance of the highly skilled and intensely personal working culture embodied by apprenticeship. Unskilled men and women workers began to fill factories. Masters became distanced from their employees, and they no longer hosted them in their households or counted them as part of their families. The position of journeyman also became threatened, and newly qualified apprentices had difficulty finding long-term employment as masters sought cheaper sources of labor and required fewer skills. The wealth gap between masters and journeymen became ever wider, creating a class of dependent workers who had no prospect of being in control of the means of production. And, as the upper echelons of traditional skill structures disintegrated, the institution of apprenticeship was swept away too, as there was little hope of such training leading to a secure income. In the luxury trades (such as cabinetmaking and silversmithing) and in the American South, the demise of apprenticeship was undoubtedly slower, but was under way nevertheless. As the early national period drew to a close, apprenticeship was, if not completely extinct, severely under threat.

See also **Industrial Revolution; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes.**

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Emma Hart

Artisans and Craft Workers, and the Workshop

Craftsmen were the largest sector of the population in America's seaports. They were central to the political and economic life of its emerging municipalities.

LATE COLONIAL AMERICA

Though found throughout the colonies, artisans were most heavily concentrated in towns and cities, especially the major seaports. They worked in a panoply of trades ranging from goldsmithing, silver-smithing, and cabinetmaking at the top to baking, butchering, and carpentry in the middle to tailoring and shoemaking at the bottom. The trades with the largest numbers of artisans were the building crafts, particularly carpentry and masonry, which might employ 40 percent of craftsmen during construction season. Tailoring and shoemaking followed in size.

Mid-eighteenth-century artisans could be classified as either wage earners, the beginning of a working class, or as master craftsmen, incipient bourgeois entrepreneurs, since in the course of a colonial career they were often both. Normally a lad of thirteen or fourteen would contract with a master craftsman to learn a trade as an apprentice. He boarded with his master, who was responsible for his rudimentary education and clothing as well as teaching him the secrets of the trade. Learning the mysteries of the most demanding trades, such as cabinetmaking or watchmaking, took many hours at the hands of the ablest craftsmen, who passed down knowledge gained from centuries of craftsmanship. The more rudimentary trades, such as shoemaking, which required awl and hammer skills, took less time to master. Following release from indentures at the age of twenty-one, the apprentice would become a wage earner, or jour-



Chippendale Chest. Eighteenth-century Chippendale style combined Chinese, rococo, and pseudo-Gothic elements in ornately carved furniture. This American Chippendale chest of drawers was made around 1760. © PETER HARHOLDT/CORBIS.

neyman, often working in various cities for master craftsmen. If competent and savvy, he would open his own business. A master's dwelling commonly included a lower-story shop and an upper floor where his family lived.

While the vast majority of artisans in colonial America remained craftsmen throughout their lives, upward mobility was possible within the middling or lower middling ranks of society. Expert cabinetmakers, for example, participated directly in colonial trade, shipping thousands of Windsor chairs. Other highly skilled artisans worked closely with merchants in a nascent capitalist economy operating under the rules of British mercantilism.

Within the poorest trades, notably, shoemaking and tailoring, however, mobility to master craftsman standing was not the rule. Moreover, even masters owning small shoemaker or tailoring shops often earned a subsistence living, with little security in times of personal crisis or economic recession. This

was particularly true of Boston, a city impoverished by wars for empire, where many craftsmen sank to subsistence levels. Shoemaker George Robert Twelves Hewes, the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party (1773), was imprisoned early in his career for small debts; such were the perils of his trade. Poorer artisans, like other economically weak urbanites, were also prey to the scourge of epidemics, especially smallpox and yellow fever, that decimated the nation's seaports.

English guild traditions that limited admission to a trade, controlled prices, supervised craft practice, allowed for the building of elegant headquarters, and provided artisans a respected place in their city's life did not survive the transatlantic crossing. While a few trades established benevolent societies to provide social security and camaraderie for master craftsmen, and some traditions of apprenticeship indentures and workshop practices persisted, colonial America had no guild tradition, nor did it develop one. Artisans, possessing demanding skills and well-fashioned tools, were clearly above the level of laborers on the docks, indentured servants, and the slaves who made up 10 percent of the population of New York and Philadelphia and much more of Charleston. Wearing their noted leather aprons, they dressed in a common manner, kept common hours, and shared common social customs. Yet they were subject to a tradition that classified anyone who performed manual labor, however refined, as beneath the rank of gentlemen. Lacking breeding, wealth, and education, they were expected to defer to their mercantile and professional betters, who regarded mechanics (as artisans were commonly known) with a measure of condescension. There were no guilds to mediate that pejorative standing.

On the other hand, the absence of guilds allowed for a more open society in which many artisans gained freemanship. As independent entrepreneurs who owned their shops, freemen were entitled to vote, an important part of the political mix of eighteenth-century urban politics. If they seldom attained significant political positions, their voices were nevertheless considered by elite factions seeking office. They could easily make the difference in factional struggles such as that between the De Lanceys and Livingstons in New York. Within this role, artisans were generally literate, politically aware, and proud of their craft skills. If not a class consciousness, they developed a sense of their own interests and a readiness to see that their concerns were addressed.

Skilled craftsmen lived in rural communities as well as in urban society. In those communities they

were most likely to be a jack-of-all-trades artisan, such as a joiner who could fix a wheel, mend a coach, or build a chair. There were only a few craftsmen in farming communities, though occasional villages, such as that of the Moravians in Rowan County, North Carolina, were known for their craftsmanship, male and female, in leather and textile.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the Revolutionary era, skilled craftsmen became central players in the movement toward independence. Not that there were no Loyalist artisans; those with strong Anglican roots or allegiance, as well as Scottish or recent (except for Irish) immigrants, often inclined to the British position. Overall, however, artisans tended to be more radical in opposition to British measures compared to the other sectors of the urban population. In Boston the mercan-

tile and professional elite, including John Hancock and John Adams, remained in power to become Revolutionary leaders. The role of craftsmen was largely played out within the Sons of Liberty, an association that enforced anti-British measures, through coercion if necessary, as at the Boston Tea Party (1773).

In New York a sizable number of merchants, though against British measures, remained loyal to the crown; there, artisans took on a stronger political role. Besides enforcing anti-British measures, they rallied behind three incipient merchants with plebeian background—Alexander McDougall, John Lamb, and Isaac Sears—to form their own political party, one that allied first with the DeLancey and later with the Livingston party. As British-American relations deteriorated and the British lost control of the city and colony, artisans formed their own Mechanics Committee that consistently advocated more radical



New York Mechanick Society Certificate (1791). This etching celebrates the republican spirit of the nation with symbols representing liberty and the pioneering of the frontier, as well as the various crafts of the city. The central theme is taken from the English blacksmiths guild. COURTESY, WINTERTHUR MUSEUM.

measures than the mercantile leadership, from the calling of a continental congress to a boycott of British imports to a call for independence. As in Boston, craftsmen were willing to use force. When the Stamp Act (1765) was in effect, they required one printer to publish only on unstamped paper, while in 1776 craftsmen and others burned a bookseller's pamphlets that were critical of the artisan hero Thomas Paine. They were supporters of democratic reform, petitioning the state legislature that New York's new constitution be ratified by a popular vote and that property restrictions be lifted for suffrage.

In Philadelphia, a power vacuum occurred as the two governing parties relinquished office, the Quakers from pacifist orientation and the Proprietary Party from Loyalist inclinations. In its place young merchants, supported by the city's artisan population, took power. As in New York, in the years pre-

ceding the outbreak of war Philadelphia's artisans participated in many ad-hoc governing committees such as the Committee of 43, that included artisan members. With Benjamin Rush and Thomas Paine, they backed a radical state constitution that eliminated property requirements for voting and called for free public education and ratification of important legislation by the public and a unicameral legislature. This party and the radical politics it stood for were strongly opposed by more conservative Whigs. Moreover, during hard economic times that was exacerbated by wartime inflation, in 1779 violence broke out at the home of noted conservative Patriot jurist James Wilson over an attempt by large sectors of the artisan population to implement a traditional moral economy of price controls in opposition to the laissez-faire outlook of the mercantile elite and some master craftsmen.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

The period from 1790 to 1830 was the golden age of the American craftsman. The era left a great legacy in craftsmanship, as Federal furniture maintains its standing into the twenty-first century as the greatest craft work produced in the American experience. In this period, too, artisan crafts gave birth to the American labor movement and to manufacturing and entrepreneurial innovation. Also, artisans emerged as a major players in American politics.

The craft work produced by such cabinetmakers as Duncan Phyfe and Charles-Honoré Lannuier, to name but two, command very high prices in the early-twenty-first-century antique market. Replacing the eighteenth-century Chippendale fashion, a style that combined Chinese, rococo, and pseudo-Gothic fashions in heavily and ornately carved furniture, Federalist design possessed a manner that emphasized grace, linearity, and proportion based on neoclassical models. This approach first became popular in England in the 1770s. American furniture and craftsmanship drew on the English, Greek, and Roman models, making subtle differences in proportions. It was known for its grace, delicacy, and artful display of color, and used inlays, painted designs, and fine upholstery. Given the spirit of republicanism that pervaded the era, it is not surprising that much of the furniture and silver and many of the grandfather clocks and other fine works displayed American eagles and other symbols of the American Republic, blending easily with classical republican symbols.

From master to employer. The business of a craft in the early national period was far more extensive than in the colonial era. First, the economic ambitions and horizons of craftsmen were enhanced by the Revolution. Independence meant more than political rights; it denoted the opportunity to enter the marketplace and prosper subject only to the limitations of one's abilities in craft and business skills. Craftsmen were deft users of advertisement, credit, and banking. Indeed, New York in 1810 incorporated the Mechanics Bank, the city's highest capitalized bank at \$1.5 million, with the specification that \$600 thousand be devoted to the state's mechanics. Successful artisan entrepreneurs hired many employees and used division of labor; Duncan Phyfe employed over one hundred journeymen, divided among departments of inlay makers, turners, upholsterers, carvers, and gilders. His quarters included a workshop, a warehouse, and display rooms. Large amounts of furniture—of both high and low quality—were built and stocked in the city for sale to the mercantile elite there and to bro-

kers in the West Indies, the hinterlands, and other American cities.

Many other crafts prospered within the period thanks to the strong economic growth during the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). Shipbuilding contractors employed large numbers of craftsmen in the production of clipper ships and naval vessels. In construction, master builders contracted to construct a home and then hired carpenters, masons, and stonecutters. A number of crafts remained small businesses; many bakers, butchers, and watchmakers still had their own shops. On the other hand, the city's largest crafts—printing, cabinetmaking, construction, shoemaking, and tailoring—became large-scale enterprises requiring considerable capital investment. Type and printing presses, for example, cost well beyond the means of an aspiring journeyman. In these trades masters tended to become cost-conscious employers rather than the paternal master craftsman who nurtured journeymen and apprentices on their way to master standing. (While small enterprises remained, they were more and more the exception.) More and more journeymen lived in boardinghouses rather than with masters, and more and more apprentices left their indentures early for wages in crafts that demanded less skill than the trades they abandoned.

From journeymen to laborers. In the new American economy, journeymen had to accept that they were unlikely to become master craftsmen. In so doing, journeymen printers, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, and masons in American seaports formed their own benevolent associations. These provided benefits in case of illness or death and also negotiated conditions of employment with employers. As masters sought to maintain lower prices for labor, journeymen responded by demanding negotiated wages either by the hour in construction or by piecework in tailoring and shoemaking. When the two sides could not agree, the journeymen were not unwilling either to walk out of a single master, stage a citywide walkout, or even open their own stores. They demanded that masters hire only those who belonged to their journeymen societies. It was this demand, and the walkouts that ensued when violations of this principle occurred, that led to major labor conspiracy trials against shoemakers in both Philadelphia and New York in 1806 and 1809. Journeymen were charged with conspiring under English common law against the rights of other journeymen who wanted to work. The trials ended in convictions, and though the fines assessed were not severe, they limited the ability of journeymen to establish a powerful coun-

tervailing force in the marketplace. Labor strife continued, however; at stake for journeymen was no less than the right to maintain republican standing, a station that demanded economic independence. If land ownership or master status was unattainable in the new economy, an acceptable replacement was to be secure wages that offered an opportunity to raise a family within a decent standard of living, a standard faithful to and within the Revolution's legacy.

For masters, at stake in labor conflict was the right to organize their businesses as they saw fit and to fully engage within the new marketplace. Also at jeopardy was their sense of artisan republicanism, in which they saw themselves as the paternalist guardians of the artisan trades. In this light, aside from organizing for labor conflict, which they denounced as harming the unity of the trades, they formed venerable artisan societies like the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen in New York, an ongoing institution, that provided libraries for its apprentices, schools for the children of its members, death and illness benefits, a place of fellowship, an organization to lobby for protective tariffs, and a forum for personal advancement. Stephen Allen, later the mayor of New York, entered public life as president of the Mechanics Society.

Political allegiances. Politically, artisans became the pivotal voting bloc in the nation's seaports. Supporters of the U.S. Constitution as a compact that offered trade protection and an advantageous market position, they were originally strong followers of the Federalist Party. However, Jeffersonian egalitarianism soon made strong headway, especially against the deferential expectations and arrogance of Federalist leaders. The Jeffersonian appeal to artisans was not the agrarianism espoused by John Taylor of Caroline. Rather, in pivotal states such as Pennsylvania and New York, it was based upon a sense of equal opportunity and entry into the marketplace and an attack against economic privilege. Artisan masters must be allowed to exploit the new economy without cumbersome restriction or regulation. (However, monopolistic factorylike organizations were not acceptable in a republican marketplace.) Artisan journeymen also had the right to be free of intimidation by Federalist employers who expected them to vote as instructed, as the Republicans were quick to point out through an active press. Also, many artisans joined the Democratic Republican societies in support of the French Revolution, which the Federalists staunchly opposed. A number of artisans followed the deism of Thomas Paine, and these were welcomed into Republican ranks, while others, al-

though still Jeffersonian, formed the backbone of new Baptist and Methodist congregations. Enough artisans had shifted their votes in Philadelphia and New York City by 1800 to give Jefferson the presidency and maintain Jeffersonian political dominance in the mid-Atlantic, even into the hard years of the War of 1812; at that time many craftsmen were willing to temporarily sacrifice their economic welfare for the greater good espoused by President James Madison.

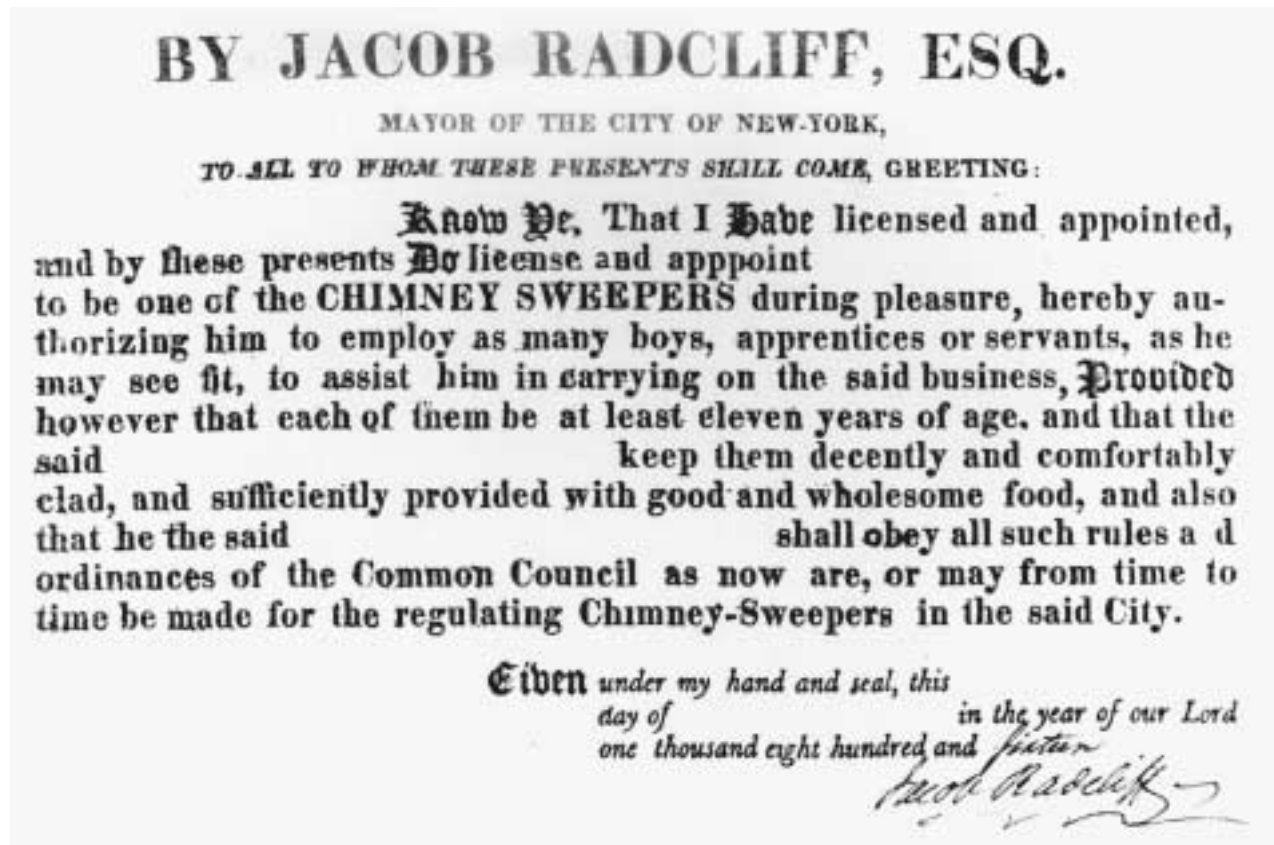
With the rise of the industrial revolution, party machines, and mass immigration, the influence and role of the nation's artisans would soon diminish. The early years of the nineteenth century represented its zenith in American history.

See also **Boston Tea Party; Election of 1800; Labor Movement: Labor Organizations and Strikes; Manufacturing; Moravians; Paine, Thomas; Sons of Liberty.**

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Howard B. Rock



Chimney Sweep Certificate (1815). New York City was determined to improve the lives of young chimney sweep apprentices, usually black children of eight to ten who climbed chimneys and were subject to both disease and abuse. A number of masters, also African American, opposed regulation. NEW YORK CITY MUNICIPAL ARCHIVES.

Child Labor

In the early Republic, adults expected most children to labor as soon as they were physically able to do so. Typically, free white boys and girls began by helping out their parents on farms. Slave children went to work early on plantations. By the time free white youngsters reached their early teens, the parents of many had apprenticed them to learn skilled trades, although this practice began to decline in importance after the American Revolution. Public welfare authorities interceded and arranged for the indenture of poor free white and black children at a young age to work until their late teens or early twenties.

FARMS AND PLANTATIONS

In the early Republic, most Americans were farmers. To survive, white farm families required the labor of all family members, although the tasks that each person performed varied by gender and age. Between the ages of six and twelve, white boys began to help their fathers in the fields and girls began to assist

their mothers with domestic tasks. Nonetheless, such gendered roles varied, depending on the makeup of the family: if there were no daughters, sons also helped out in the garden and kitchen, and if there were no sons, daughters helped in the fields. In a society that depended more on barter than on cash, parents of large families sometimes exchanged the labor of their youngsters with neighboring families in need of child labor.

Enslaved black children in the South went to work at about the same age as white children, although they did not labor for their own parents but for white masters and mistresses. While young slave boys might learn from their fathers how to stack wheat or pick worms off tobacco plants, and slave girls might learn to dust and clean silver alongside their mothers in plantation homes, for black children labor in family groups was short-lived. As soon as they were physically able, most slave boys and girls became field hands, where they worked directly under the control of white slave masters and their overseers. Only a few slave children, most girls,

worked in plantation homes, and there they worked not for their mothers but for their white mistresses. White owners could punish black slave children harshly or sell them away from their families. As cotton became the dominant crop in the South in the early nineteenth century, whites moved from Virginia and the Carolinas south to Georgia and Mississippi and west to Texas. They took their slaves with them or purchased young slaves to work in the cotton fields. Many slave children were sold away from their parents and put to work picking cotton far from their family homes, a work experience unlike that of any white children.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

During the American Revolution, children frequently had to take over the work of fathers who had gone to fight. In some cases, the work of children was not enough to keep a family solvent. Then, or when a father died, families were broken up. Mothers often became live-in servants and welfare authorities placed children in other families to work.

During the war, some boys enlisted in the military. While the minimum age for service was sixteen, some boys lied about their age, while others served as waiters to their fathers or as substitutes for them. Few actually engaged in battle. Many were fifers at a time when the fife was used to broadcast signals to the military, including the time to get up, eat meals, assemble, and turn lights out. Fifers were also used to position troops and signal them to turn, halt, and march.

YOUNG PEOPLE, FAMILIES, AND APPRENTICESHIP

By the time their children were in their early teens, parents in all but the poorest white families sought to prepare them for self-sufficiency by apprenticing them to learn a trade. Parents typically searched for a place that suited the youngster's interests and inclinations. If the father were himself a skilled craftsman, sometimes he took his son as an apprentice. More commonly, parents contracted with a skilled craftsman for a set number of years. The craftspeople who took on the children promised to feed, clothe, house, and educate the youngsters. Some slaves learned trades as well, but few ever became self-sufficient, in contrast to white boys and girls. Instead, they worked to learn a skill and then plied that skill for their white masters, not for themselves.

Apprenticeship was highly gendered. Only boys were apprenticed to a whole variety of crafts, including furniture making, shoemaking, printing, candle

making, blacksmithing, weaving, and others. Girls were typically apprenticed as domestics or seamstresses—about the only jobs outside the home then available to females.

Apprenticeship began to decline in importance after the American Revolution. The war challenged patriarchal relationships and led some apprentices to rebel against their masters' treatment. The economy changed after the Revolution as demand for various products fluctuated. Masters proved reluctant to take on apprentices for long periods when demand for their service might not be needed, and apprentices were less willing to spend long years learning a craft that might be outmoded. By the 1820s masters increasingly paid wages to apprentices and refused to promise them room, board, and clothes.

Children who were not apprenticed sometimes found jobs in textile mills. Samuel Slater opened one of the first in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1790. There he employed children from ages seven through twelve. By 1810 there were eighty-seven textile mills in the United States employing thirty-five hundred women and children. In the 1820s new cotton mills opened in Lowell, Massachusetts, and employed many children under the age of fifteen, mostly girls.

INDENTURING BY PUBLIC AUTHORITIES

Throughout the early Republic, impoverished white and free black children were removed from their families and placed out to live and work with more prosperous adults. In this way, public officials sought to take care of needy children, provide families with needed labor, save money on welfare in the short term, and forestall applications for relief in the future. The children were placed out through an indenture, a contract that was signed by local welfare authorities and the families that took in the children. In contrast to apprenticeship, parents of poor children and the children themselves had little choice in the matter of indenturing. Boys were typically indentured to age twenty-one and girls to eighteen, presumably because boys supposedly took longer to become self-sufficient farmers or craftsmen than girls took to learn how to keep house.

See also **Industrial Revolution; Slavery: Slave Life; Textiles Manufacturing.**

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Priscilla Ferguson Clement

Domestic Labor

Between the birth of the new Republic and the advent of the Civil War, a great transformation occurred in domestic labor. This transformation was not a result of inventions that made housework easier but rather of market penetration and the reallocation of tasks within the household. The American colonial farmstead, although never self-sufficient, had been the site of much household production. However, by the 1840s and 1850s the market revolution had taught women that it was to their advantage to buy many mass-produced items (including candles, soap, and cloth) rather than making them at home. Domestic labor was transformed from an integral part of the family economy, producing goods that could be obtained nowhere else, to a vaguely discredited activity that paid no wages. In North and South alike, most middle- and upper-class families, and many farm families, had always had servants, but the nature of servitude was changing as the definition of domestic labor changed.

DOMESTIC LABOR IN THE NORTH

In the North the allocation of tasks within the household depended on location and social status. Frontier women, assisted by children, had the most onerous domestic burden, as is evident in documents like the diary of Martha Ballard, a Maine midwife. Their labor was unrelenting and thought to be detrimental to health, with tasks like washing, brewing, or baking consuming entire days' work. Daily cooking required the kindling and tending of fires and the provision of vast amounts of wood—theoretically a man's job that devolved onto women when men were absent. Cooking, laundry, and personal hygiene also required large amounts of water, often carried in from wells some distance from the farmhouse. In addition to these daily tasks, women were

responsible for child care, sewing for clothing production and maintenance, animal husbandry, gardening, and seasonal or occasional work, such as candle making, soap making, and butter and cheese making. Although some tasks, like warping looms in preparation for weaving, were farmed out to specialists, frontier households also engaged in spinning and weaving their own cloth, especially if there were teenage daughters at home needing to outfit their own future households.

In contrast with toiling farm women, urban middle-class women hired household "helps" to do heavier tasks while they supervised. In the first decades of the Republic, as in the colonial period, many native-born teenagers were sent out to service other households, either as a form of domestic apprenticeship or out of economic need. These young women, who formed emotional bonds with the families they served, coexisted alongside wives of "cottagers" who got paid to help with household work.

By the 1820s and 1830s, the stigma of heavy and dirty domestic work, and the appearance of opportunities for factory work and work outside the home, or outwork, led native-born white women to desert domestic jobs. They were replaced by Irish immigrants. Although their work schedules kept them moving from dawn until late in the evening, Irish women were said to prefer domestic work, which enabled them to earn money to pay for the migration of family members, to save money for their old age, and to donate to causes they found worthy. The expectation that a live-in domestic worker would be a member of the household (although not an equal member) did not disappear, despite yawning cultural differences between mistress and maid. Households that were unable to find and keep live-in domestic servants relied on a piecework system, in which women living within their own homes did extra washing, sewing, and other such chores for families in the community. This arrangement allowed women to participate in the cash economy while still retaining autonomy over the way in which these chores were completed.

DOMESTIC LABOR IN THE SOUTH

Southern domestic labor was organized on a two-track system. Yeoman households without slaves resembled farm households throughout the North, with women still accomplishing much of the household production and heavily weighed down by their tasks. In contrast, in Southern planter households domestic labor was largely carried out by slaves. House servants included not only women but also

children who were too young to work as field hands. Slaves worked in Southern households as cooks, provided child care, and even served as wet nurses. Many of these slaves had a double burden, as they were responsible for cooking, sewing, and cleaning within their own households in the slave quarter as well as for the maintenance of the Big House. Plantation mistresses taught the slaves their tasks, superintended their work, and planned household consumption, including the feeding and clothing of the workforce.

Like their Northern counterparts, many antebellum Southerners felt that it was more ladylike for women to devolve the heavier tasks of household upkeep onto servants if they could afford to do so. As a result, even yeoman households rented single slave women or children to work at domestic tasks. Hirers had to pay these slaves' owners an annual hiring fee and also provide the slaves with food, shelter, and clothing. Hiring slaves to perform domestic tasks did not necessarily help yeoman families climb the economic ladder by acquiring more land and slaves, but it did help them to feel as though they were higher up in the hierarchical social order of the South.

Jeanne Boydston, one of the most prominent historians of domestic labor, has pointed out that as the division between the public world of commerce and the private world of the house became more distinct, women took less pride in, and received less credit for, their unpaid work around the home. At the same time, however, housework done well contributed to the family economy, as when working-class women took in boarders and their children scavenged fuel from local docks. Furthermore, for many rural and urban women alike, "domestic labor" meant labor performed for the market within the home, as well as unpaid labor to keep the family economy running. Whether they were shoemakers' wives stitching shoes or rural women plaiting straw hats and straw brooms, women and girls prefigured much of the tenement-based outwork that would characterize the second half of the nineteenth century.

See also **Domestic Life; Economic Development; Immigration and Immigrants: Ireland; Market Revolution; Women: Professions; Work: Work Ethic.**

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Jamie L. Bronstein

Factory Labor

Industrial systems are evolutionary. While seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manufacturing and labor systems in British North America did not, in many ways, resemble nineteenth-century factory systems, they were the building blocks on which the processes of the industrial revolution were built.

COLONIAL MANUFACTURING

Early American manufactories, where commodities were processed or produced in large quantities for designated markets, both local and far away, included iron furnaces and forges, tanneries, glassworks, and various types of mills. The greatest difference between colonial manufactories and those of the nineteenth century and beyond was that their operations were seasonal. Prior to the advent and application of the steam engine to American manufacturing in the 1790s, ironworks and mills were dependent on waterpower from fast-moving rivers, creeks, and streams. Nearly 75 percent of the water sources suitable for effective milling were located from the Upper Chesapeake Bay region (the northern counties of Maryland) northward through the New England colonies. In this region, winter freezes limited the availability of waterpower to run the mill wheels to approximately nine months in northern Maryland and southeastern Pennsylvania and to little more than seven months in New England. The seasonal dependence on waterpower not only placed limits on the extent of production but also ultimately dictated the relationship between entrepreneurial owners and managers of manufactories and their workforces.

Free men, whether landowners, tenant farmers, or landless, could not depend on factory work as a

constant source of income. Landowning farmers needed industrial jobs the least, while landless men most needed any type of work to live. Work at an iron company or a mill could be a source of supplementary income for farmers, particularly for those with older children whose labor was not constantly needed at the farm. Farm work, however, had to come first, meaning that a balance had to be achieved between the need or desire for work and its seasonal availability. Landless men sought work both on farms and at manufactories, hiring on where and when labor was needed. Given the seasonality of colonial manufacturing, in either case most men worked part-time in manufacturing. Across all the colonies, at least 50 percent of families had at least one member working in industry in any given year, but the work was overwhelmingly part-time. Even if one considers an eight-to-nine-month industrial work year as the basis for full-time employment, over two-thirds of industrial laborers worked only part-time in manufacturing prior to the American Revolution.

Owners, realizing that they did not have access to a sufficient full-time labor force of free men during peak manufacturing seasons, turned to bound workers—both indentured servants and slaves. In all regions, servants and slaves formed the core of full-time workers at ironworks, mills, and tanneries, but there were regional variations. In New England, approximately 20 percent of full-time manufactory workers were slaves (5 percent of all workers) and 65 percent of full-time workers were servants (20 percent of all workers). In the middle colonies, 60 percent of full-time workers were slaves (17 percent of all workers) and 25 percent of full-time workers were servants (7 percent of all workers). In Virginia, 80 percent of full-time workers were slaves (60 percent of all workers) and 13 percent of full-time workers were servants (10 percent of all workers). These regional differences were directly related to seasonality and the relative value of various types of labor.

In New England the costs of bound labor, particularly slaves, were prohibitive in industry, as they were in farming. To buy a slave for seven months' work at a manufactory without enough work to keep that slave busy the other five months of the year was economically inefficient. The availability of slaves for hire in New England was also limited because of their overall rarity, so that manufacturers could not access slave labor only at times when needed. The purchase of an indentured servant's contract was generally much more common, and servants for

hire could more easily be found. In the middle colonies the manufacturing season was longer, as was the growing season. There, it was more feasible to purchase a slave for nine-months' work in industry and also find them work for another month or two during the year. The greater number of slaves in the region from northern Maryland through New York, approximately 12 percent of the overall population, also made it easier to hire slaves as needed—for a month or a year at a time. In Virginia, a manufacturer could count on a ten-month productive season, and winter was not so severe that work could not be found in the off-season for slaves. Therefore, a much greater number of slaves were purchased for full-time manufacturing work than further north.

MANUFACTURING AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The American Revolution acted as a watershed of a kind for industry. While no technological changes of any consequence occurred, labor patterns during the War for Independence and the war's effects caused both entrepreneurs and laborers to view industry and industrial work differently beginning in the mid-1780s.

The disruptions of war as well as its length created opportunities for bound servants and slaves to run away from their masters. Beginning with the call of Lord Dunmore, the last royal governor of Virginia, for bound workers to run to the British lines to seek their freedom, successful flight encouraged others to run. While flight affected production in all areas, industrial production, necessary for the war effort, was hurt the most. Ironworks and mills, particularly in the mid-Atlantic and the South, had constructed their core, full-time workforces around slaves and servants. Commercial operations lost over 20 percent of their total workforces during the war and nearly 35 percent of their full-time workers. The realization that bound labor was not always dependable hit home with force. In the mid-Atlantic region generally, which was the center of early American manufacturing, there was an impetus toward a full-time workforce of free labor by the Revolution's end.

If this could be achieved, factory owners would save on the up-front investment in bound workers and remove the possible loss of that investment should the worker escape from bondage. Also, free wage earners were not paid for their labors until after production was completed, which would enable manufacturers to exert more quality and production controls. The question was whether a conversion to a free labor base could be done.

Workers proved to be generally cooperative in the decades immediately after the Revolution. The economic crisis of the 1780s put both landless workers and tenant farmers in a very poor position, and many landed farmers felt the pressures of high inflation and sagging markets. Immigration after 1785 also began to have an effect, as many newcomers sought work in industry as a possible step toward land ownership in the future. The availability of workers allowed owners and managers to slowly move toward a larger full-time workforce of free workers. The only thing many could not offer until the 1790s was year-round work. Beginning at that time, however, the opportunity for converting to steam power, the availability of loans for conversion and expansion made possible by the new Bank of the United States, a stabilizing currency, and increasing support for manufacturing by the federal government made it possible for full-time, free industrial labor slowly to become a reality and opened the way to the industrial revolution.

See also **Iron Mining and Metallurgy;**
Manufacturing.

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Michael V. Kennedy

Indentured Servants

Indentured servitude was an important form of labor utilized in British North America during the colonial and early national periods. Bound laborers came in a variety of forms and their experience changed significantly over the time period, both in type of labor

performed and in opportunities for advancement. The term "indentured servant" applied to the largest and broadest group of European immigrants who sold their labor for a period of years in exchange for passage to the New World. Indentured servants first appeared in the Chesapeake colonies, but they also were present in the middle colonies and the Lower South. The term "redemptioner" applies to eighteenth-century immigrants, usually from Germany and Switzerland but also from England and Ireland, who traveled to the colonies in family groups and sold their labor upon arrival to repay the cost of passage. This group was most common in Pennsylvania. A third group, transported convicts, became more prevalent after the Transportation Act of 1718 permitted the banishment of convicted felons. They usually went to Virginia and Maryland, were of English, Scottish, or Irish descent, and were the least popular form of bound laborer in the colonies. Colonists complained about the questionable character of convict servants and were thus more reluctant to purchase their services.

LEGAL STANDING AND CONTRACTS

Likened to slaves in that masters had almost complete control over them, including the right to control their labor and the ability to severely punish them, indentured servants nevertheless possessed some legal rights that clearly distinguished them from lifetime chattel. Reflecting the colonies' British heritage, as did the impulse to enter into an apprenticeship or servant relationship in one's teens and early twenties, servants negotiated contracts, owned property, sued their owners for abuse, and testified in court while in service.

Servant contracts varied in length. For adults, who were sometimes able to negotiate their contract based upon their skill level, periods of service usually lasted from four to seven years. For minors, indenture lasted until they reached adulthood. In reality, this meant that most servants did not achieve their freedom until they were in their early to mid-twenties. Until they were free, servants could not marry without the consent of their master. This restriction had long-term consequences on colonial population growth. At the end of their indenture, servants received their freedom and "freedom dues," which consisted at various times and different locations of land, clothing, corn, tobacco, a musket, blankets, or tools—or some combination of these.

MIGRATION

Indentured servants played a critical role in the process of populating the North American colonies, and

their motivation to migrate changed over time. Estimated to have made up 75 percent of the seventeenth-century migrants, servants were critical both to population growth and to successful tobacco cultivation in the Upper South. They continued to arrive in significant numbers during the eighteenth century, especially in the middle colonies. Most seventeenth-century servants were drawn from the mass of the increasingly mobile English population unable to find work because of enclosure, economic instability, and overpopulation. Eighteenth-century bound migrants came from more diverse backgrounds and for a variety of reasons. With many of the previous century's challenges in England resolved by the eighteenth century, English servant migration waned. Scottish Covenanters and Jacobites from the 1715 and 1745 uprisings were deported to American plantations as an expediency. Irish from Ulster traveled out of Belfast as indentured servants and redemptioners. Restrictions on Irish trade, the rack-renting of absentee landlords, and anti-Catholic fervor made survival in Ireland difficult and many saw emigration as an appealing alternative. Famine in the late 1720s gave particular impetus to emigration. Germans from the Rhineland and Palatinate, having survived decades of war, found themselves persecuted for their Protestant practices as the eighteenth century unfolded. The British government also sent thirty-two-hundred Germans to New York in 1710, hoping to provide a labor force to produce naval stores. Convict laborers were also more common in the later period. An estimated two-thirds of British felons were transported between 1715 and 1775, with estimated total numbers varying from twenty thousand to fifty thousand. There was a particularly intensive period of migration between the end of the Seven Years' War and the American Revolution (1763–1775).

CHANGES IN OCCUPATION

As the southern colonies came to rely upon African slave labor in the eighteenth century, the type of labor in which indentured servants engaged and their opportunities for advancement changed. Most worked as agricultural laborers during the seventeenth century, learning the skills they hoped would one day enable them to establish their own farms. Although seventeenth-century bound laborers faced grueling conditions and high mortality rates, their opportunities for advancement and economic independence were reasonable. By the end of the early eighteenth century, however, reduced availability of land, a more complex economy combining agriculture, nascent industries, urban commercial ventures,

and a more diverse and plentiful supply of labor changed the nature of servitude and the opportunities for freed servants.

While some servants still engaged in agricultural work, the shift to slave labor meant that they increasingly worked as skilled laborers and in supervisory positions on farms or plantations. Indentured servants appeared with much greater frequency in craft shops and as workers for merchants and retailers either in their businesses or as domestic workers. In *White Servitude in Colonial America* (1981), David W. Galenson noted a rise in the eighteenth century in the percentage of servants who had skills. An estimated 60 percent of registered servants during the period from 1725 to 1750 described themselves as skilled, and that proportion jumped to 85 percent in the 1770s. Similarly, servants identifying themselves as having an agricultural background declined significantly. In northern Maryland, servants worked alongside slaves and wage laborers in the growing iron industry. In cities like Philadelphia, servants made up an increasing proportion of workers in small craft shops and in domestic trades. Bound labor in Philadelphia peaked in the mid-eighteenth century, when it accounted for nearly half of the city's workforce. (This percentage includes slave labor.) During this period, artisans purchased two-thirds of the indentured servants in the city. Given high wage rates for journeyman workers, servants were a better economic investment and were more manageable in the domestic shop structure at that time.

WANING OF SERVITUDE

An important shift occurred during the Revolutionary period, especially in cities such as Philadelphia. With growing economic instability, increasing stratification of wealth, and the gradual move toward a more capitalist wage-labor economy, the proportion of bound laborers in the city shrank while that of wage laborers grew. Artisans no longer purchased long-term servants because their cost grew while that of wage laborers fell. The greater number of journeymen unable to raise the capital for their own businesses provided a ready supply of wage earners whose costs were tied to supply and demand. Wage laborers also permitted a greater flexibility in hiring that was valuable during periods of economic instability. Sharon Salinger has noted that in Philadelphia less than 15 percent of those who owned servants were artisans by 1791. As they disappeared from craft shops, servants appeared with greater frequency in the homes and businesses of merchants and re-

tailors. This transition also signaled the end of a need for skilled servants. Servants now functioned as unskilled workers and domestic help. Concomitantly, those masters seeking servants requested and purchased female servants in much greater numbers.

The shift to a market economy after the American Revolution and in the early nineteenth century signaled the demise of bound labor (apart from slaves) as an appealing choice for employers. The market revolution guaranteed the dominance of wage labor in areas where slaves were not owned, and the practice of indenture became less economically viable and desirable for most immigrants and workers.

See also **Economic Development; Immigration and Immigrants.**

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Alexa Silver Cawley

Middle-Class Occupations

The occupations that characterized the American middle class included many jobs that predated the market revolution as well as a few that were created as a result of it. A list of middle-class occupations would include physicians, lawyers, educators, merchants, and ministers. But it would also have includ-

ed new kinds of businessmen, whose jobs resulted from the decline of artisanal production. In general, middle-class occupations were defined by nonmanual, or what came to be called "white-collar," work. Over the course of the antebellum period, these jobs, available mostly to Euro-American men, were increasingly associated with upward mobility, proprietorship, and respectability.

Early-nineteenth-century city directories reveal few new job titles. But new forms of business organization and, to a lesser extent, technological innovation transformed the component tasks, status, and cultural meanings of older occupations. By the 1820s many successful artisans were no longer master craftsmen, working alongside journeymen and apprentices on shop floors. Instead, they had abandoned the practice of their crafts to become businessmen who concentrated on supervising employees and monitoring increasingly complex accounting systems. Many of these men continued to identify with their artisanal origins, describing themselves as tailors or cabinetmakers in city directories. Still, the nonmanual work they performed, and the opportunities it afforded, served to increase their social and economic distance from the laborers they employed.

This distance was reflected in several ways. As early as the 1820s, some firms created specialized retail spaces, whose clean, well-lit interiors and architectural embellishments marked a sharp contrast to the noise, smells, and dirt of artisans' shops and factories alike. White-collar work environments conferred a status that was underscored by salaries: in general, nonmanual proprietors and salaried employees in the early nineteenth century enjoyed higher incomes and accumulated more wealth than did manual workers. The elevated status of white-collar work even extended to entry-level clerical employees—clerks, salesmen, and bookkeepers—who typically earned less than skilled journeymen and who often performed manual labor, including stocking shelves, sweeping the store, and distributing handbills. Focusing on the prospect of upward mobility, these young men identified themselves as future businessmen and proprietors. At the same time, they exaggerated the differences between themselves and manual laborers.

Perhaps most important, white-collar occupations derived social prestige and economic power from their association with proprietorship. By the end of the Jacksonian era, cities like Philadelphia witnessed a growing correlation between white-collar work and business ownership on the one hand and manual work and permanent wage labor on other.

Small firms owned by manual laborers did not disappear, although proprietorship became more elusive and more precarious. But over the course of the antebellum era, especially in urban areas, they would be overshadowed by firms whose owners devoted themselves to management. Middle-class occupations thus derived their status partly from economic benefits, including income and proprietorship, and partly from their growing spatial, cultural, and economic distance from manual labor. By emphasizing that they worked with their heads, not with their hands, artisans who had developed into businessmen and their salaried employees aligned themselves with members of the nascent professions—lawyers, physicians, educators, and ministers.

The segmentation of labor markets by gender and race ensured that the majority of middle-class occupations were dominated by white men. Nevertheless, many middle-class women found themselves drawn into the labor market, despite the rise of a domestic ideology that relegated them to privatized, sentimental homes and that emphasized their roles as wives and mothers. Married women took in boarders and sewing. Single women most often found work as teachers. Although large numbers of middle-class women worked for money, if not for wages narrowly defined, their opportunities were restricted by domestic ideology. Women's occupations replicated the unpaid labor that they performed for their families; even teaching was cast less as a career than as an extension of child nurture. Many middle-class women worked to pay for the educations and support the early careers of male kin who struggled to establish themselves in a white-collar world.

Racism all but prohibited free blacks from securing most of the nonmanual jobs that defined the northern, white middle class. Pervasive, deeply rooted prejudice undercut the respectability that might have been accorded to African American teachers and ministers by northern society at large. But some ministers, teachers, and entrepreneurs attained relative economic security and exerted considerable influence in their communities. Members of these occupations formed the core of the black middle class that would emerge after the Civil War.

See also **Class: Rise of the Middle Class; Consumerism and Consumption; Economic Development; Market Revolution; Women: Professions.**

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Catherine E. Kelly

Midwifery

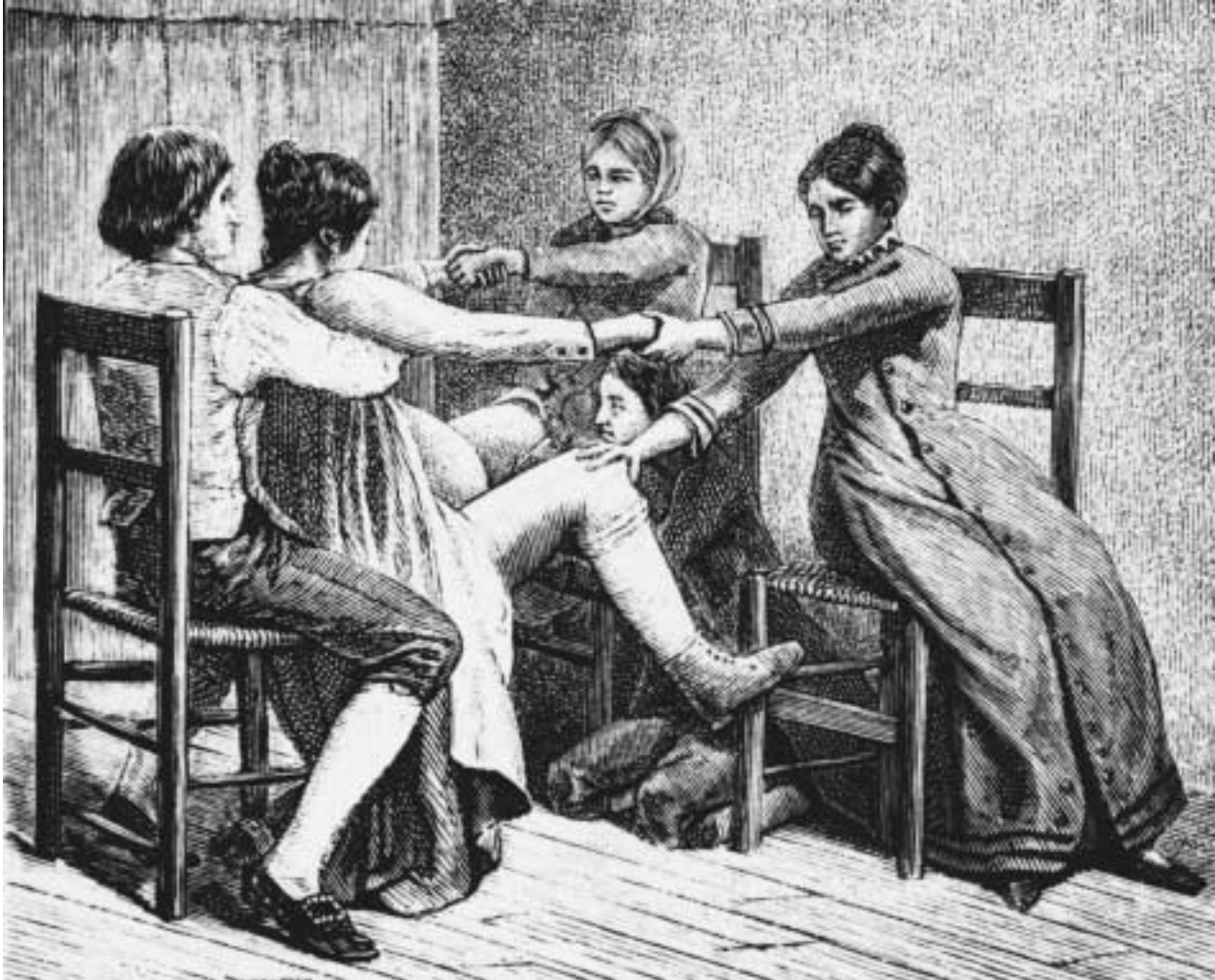
Midwives cared for women during and after childbirth and provided advice on other problems related to female reproduction, including breast-feeding and infant care. They also served as general medical advisers and practitioners.

THE WORK OF MIDWIVES

The most common and well-known work of midwives was delivering babies. A woman in labor called the midwife when she entered what modern physicians call “active labor,” the early stage of childbirth when the contractions become regular and strong. Usually the midwife would encourage the woman to remain active as long as she could at this stage, believing that activity such as walking made labor shorter. Midwives rarely used medicines, allowing nature to take its course.

In the system of “social childbirth” that dominated this period, births were attended not just by a midwife but by a group of female neighbors and relatives. At some point—usually when the birth seemed imminent—the woman or her husband would “call the women.” The women took an active role in assisting the midwife. Often a woman gave birth supported on either side by other women; some accounts describe women delivering babies while seated on another woman's lap. Midwives sometimes used birthing stools, a horseshoe-shaped raised chair on which a woman could sit while giving birth, but even then the birthing woman would be held or supported by other women. The midwife's job was to catch the infant, cut the umbilical cord, and deliver the afterbirth.

After the birth and the delivery of the placenta, the midwife would wrap the mother's abdomen and legs with linen bands, a practice thought to prevent postpartum complications. Mothers would then “lie in” for a week or so to recover from the birth, but midwives rarely cared for their patients during this



Social Childbirth. In the system of social childbirth, births were attended not just by a midwife but by a group of neighbors and relatives, as shown in this picture, which dates to around 1800. © BETTMANN/CORBIS.

time unless complications arose; instead, new mothers were attended by an “after-nurse,” who could be a paid caregiver or an unpaid relative.

In addition to attending childbirth, midwives provided advice and remedies on breast-feeding and postpartum complications. Midwives supplied medicines to increase the flow of breast milk, made ointments for sore nipples, and sometimes even lanced breast abscesses. If childbed fever set in, as it sometimes did, midwives nursed the invalid and provided what medicines they could until the woman either recovered or died.

Although midwives were primarily birth attendants, their responsibilities often went further. Many midwives acted as general practitioners, making medicines, nursing the sick, and even setting broken bones. At a time when physicians were some-

times in short supply or beyond the purses of many patients, midwives filled the gaps in available medical care.

MIDWIVES’ TRAINING

A midwife was typically a married or widowed woman past menopause who had borne children herself. Most often, she was of middling rank or class, although elite women also became midwives. All of these characteristics were considered crucial for midwifery. The midwife must be respectable and well-thought of by her neighbors, or they would not trust her; she must be past childbearing herself, or her own pregnancies and the care of young children would interfere with her duties; and she must have given birth in order to properly empathize with her patients.

Most midwives did not have formal education or training. Instead, they served informal apprenticeships with older midwives. Often this apprenticeship was as simple as merely attending many births as one of “the women,” learning from the midwife, and gradually taking on more and more responsibility. Women also learned home remedies and herbal medicines from their older female neighbors and relatives, especially mothers and grandmothers. Such knowledge was passed down through families along with other household practices and family remedies.

MIDWIVES IN NON-EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

Enslaved African American women also served as midwives. Like their European American counterparts, African American midwives provided general health care as well as obstetrical services. Slave midwives took care of their own families, their fellow slaves, and sometimes the white family as well, using herbal remedies and homemade medicines. They relied on oral traditions to learn their skills, although occasionally a master provided more formal training. On large plantations, masters often built specialized slave hospitals or infirmaries, with slave midwives and nurses in attendance.

Midwifery was one of the few specialized skills reserved for female slaves. As such, it sometimes conferred unusual privileges. Some slave midwives were called not just to their fellow slaves but to neighboring white families as well. As a result, they had unusual freedom of movement. Such mobility enabled midwives to see friends and relatives on other plantations and to act as messenger or go-between for other slaves. Midwifery could also be a source of outside income for an enslaved woman if her master allowed her to keep some of her fees. Because of their skill and their privileges, slave midwives were deeply respected in their communities. Their fellow slaves looked to them for wisdom as well as healing.

Less is known about Native American midwives. Research on Native American childbirth customs suggests that they, like other cultural practices, varied considerably from culture to culture. In general, Native American women were attended by other women, often kin, who assisted and supported the mother during childbirth. If a birth was complicated, a traditional healer or shaman might be called in, and in some tribes these healers were women. Shamanistic healers used sweat baths, herbs, roots, and prayer to ease the birth.

CHANGES BETWEEN 1750 AND 1820

The years from 1750 to 1820 were a critical period in the history of midwifery. Shortly after the Revolution, male physicians trained in Europe began attending the births of wealthy urban women. Male physicians could offer services that midwives could not, specifically the use of forceps and painkillers such as opium. Patients felt these techniques made childbirth safer and less painful, and women who could afford to do so chose male physicians over midwives.

As time passed, physician-attended birth became more and more common, even in rural areas and among the middle class. At times, a woman called both a midwife and a physician to attend her. Midwives and physicians thus negotiated a delicate balance between traditional childbirth and the new physician obstetrics. What did not change, however, was the female domination and control of childbirth. As long as births remained in a woman’s home, as they would until the early twentieth century, women remained in charge of their own birth experiences, and the tradition of social childbirth continued. Midwives themselves continued to practice throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although their practice became more and more marginal, often limited to remote rural areas, new immigrants, and the poor.

See also **Medicine**.

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Rebecca J. Tannenbaum

Overseers

Overseers supervised the slave plantations of absentee owners or planters who could not themselves manage a large agricultural enterprise.

In the Deep South, absentee planters with more than a few slaves were legally required to hire overseers. In the rice-growing region of the Southeast, overseers enjoyed higher salaries and more prerogatives than their counterparts in the Upper South. Depending on local customs and laws, overseers might share planters' authority to permit slaves to travel, conduct business, purchase liquor, assemble in large groups, or possess weapons.

In the Upper South, many overseers earned modest salaries and lacked the prerogatives and privileges of a trusted manager. They were financially liable for harm to their employers' property, including damage caused by slaves, regardless of the overseers' fault. On a Virginia plantation during the 1820s, Charles W. Jones and O. L. Fowler lost their jobs because they injured slaves while punishing them and negligently caused the death of livestock. Planters were not required by law to hire overseers, and the social distance between the two classes discouraged collegial relationships.

Most overseers were mature white men, some of them neighboring farmers. If they were aspiring planters—like Maryland's James Riggs, who worked for Charles Carroll for several years during the 1770s, and Jordan Myrick, who once managed thirteen South Carolina rice plantations simultaneously—then they frequently performed their duties capably and enjoyed job security. Planters' sons and other relatives performed less predictably. Itinerant, propertyless overseers who lacked relevant aspirations and skills gave the occupation a bad name but nonetheless found positions when cotton planting became profitable in the Deep South during the early 1800s.

Some planters appointed slaves to manage plantations rather than merely lead work gangs, but they often bore the title of "overlooker" or "driver" rather than "overseer." In Louisiana, they were called "commandeurs." This arrangement was not unique to the Deep South. Thomas Jefferson sometimes used an enslaved overseer named Jim. At the end of his life, George Washington relied solely on slave overseers, as he prepared all his slaves for their eventual freedom. In times of revolution or invasion, black overseers replaced white counterparts whose militia units were called to active duty.

Wary planters insisted that overseers sign highly restrictive contracts. These contracts spelled out in detail an overseer's duties, from times and methods of cultivation to care and feeding of slaves and livestock. These contracts also imposed an isolation on overseers by restraining them from leaving the plantation and entertaining visitors. Accounts by both planters and former slaves attest to overseers' cruelty and degradation, including the despicable but legal exploitation of female slaves. Nonetheless, after the Revolutionary War, planters grew cautious about slave revolts. As a result, overseers gained enhanced power, including the authority to deny slaves' basic needs and comforts such as hunting for meat or gathering for religious worship.

Overseers plied their trade amid several conflicts. Planters insisted that they produce bumper crops while not exhausting plantation resources, notably the slaves. Absentee employers appointed relatives, friends, and neighbors to scrutinize overseers' performance even as they entertained slaves' complaints. At the same time, slaves devised clever methods of resistance.

See also **Antislavery; Slavery: Overview.**

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William E. Wiethoff

Sailors and Seamen

Maritime work and labor in America from the 1750s to the 1850s was predominantly a world of men from poor working families. However, there were variations in the socioeconomic backgrounds of sailors. The third son of a well-to-do farmer, lacking the prospect of a lucrative inheritance in the future, was just as likely to go to sea as the firstborn son of a destitute urban mechanic. There were also variations in race and ethnicity. In the two major branches of maritime employment, the American merchant marine (commercial shipping) and the navy, crews regularly comprised men from various nations around the globe. In addition, African Americans also carried

cargo across the oceans and fought to keep shipping lanes open to American commerce. The motley workers of “the wooden world” made key contributions to the commercial and industrial expansion that took place in America up to and beyond the Civil War.

For the most part, the terms “sailor” and “seaman” were used interchangeably throughout the Age of Sail, or roughly from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Any sailor could be given the moniker Jack Tar, taken from the maritime weather-proofing agent that frequently covered worker’s clothing. On a warship the quarterdeck was the space reserved for the captain and the officers; those not permitted to walk along the quarterdeck were sometimes called fore-the-mast men. This phrase was also used to describe the people on board merchant vessels, generally those common seamen who lived in a ship’s forecabin. Although the term “mariner” applied to anyone at sea, it could specifically designate a ship’s captain.

Women sometimes masqueraded as males at sea, working in the merchant marine and in the navy. Wives followed husbands in their berths and performed a variety of functions, from carrying water to gun crews in battle to washing clothes and preparing medicinal cures for the many diseases that afflicted seamen. In certain circumstances, women even became pirates.

Through the first half of the nineteenth century, different wooden worlds awaited an American Navy seaman or a sailor in the merchant marine. Work on an American warship was typically more demanding than work on a merchant marine vessel. In addition to the manual labors associated with the day-to-day art of harnessing trade winds and ocean currents, naval seamen conscientiously prepared to engage in battle at sea. Regular military training, including gunnery exercises, and constant order were required. To ensure discipline, the captain had the authority to inflict corporal punishments on the crew. Punishments for poor work performance in the naval service ranged from isolation in iron chains to flogging with the cat-o’-nine-tails (a whip of nine knotted lines that left scars resembling cat scratches) and, in extreme cases, hanging. Impressed men, those who served involuntarily, frequently equated naval service with slavery. Owing to their propensity to mutiny or desert, these coerced laborers were confined to quarters below deck when not at work; their movements on board were closely monitored, and they were typically denied shore leave or liberty. Upward mobility, not uncommon in the merchant ma-

rine, was rare in the navy. As had been the custom in the British Navy, commissioned officers were almost exclusively politically connected, educated, and propertied. By contrast, meritocracy remained the sole province of the merchant marine up to the American Civil War. Naval service also took individuals to sea for longer periods than did the merchant marine. As a result, families were separated and naval seamen were forced to endure greater isolation than most merchant mariners. Yet, for the patriot, naval service brought honor and glory. Moreover, naval vessels were generally better provisioned with food and drink than trade ships. Regular rations of rum were given to naval seamen to help boost morale and dull the pains associated with hard manual labor.

A maritime laborer at the turn of the nineteenth century would have encountered a different life in the American merchant marine. Whereas the navy ranked its seamen, sailors in the merchant marine rated, or classified, themselves. There were three types of sailors: workers with no prior maritime experience, known as landsmen, landlubbers, green hands, and waisters; regular or common seamen, who had some experience or who were previously employed with another merchant; and the able-bodied seamen, veterans with deep working knowledge of nautical matters. (An able-bodied seaman past his prime was often called an old salt.) A sliding pay scale afforded able-bodied seamen the best wages. Typically, wages were higher in the merchant marine than in the navy, especially during wartime periods of greater risk. Merchant mariners could also supplement their wages by using the trade ship to transport private cargo for separate sales. On average, however, sea work paid less than most landed occupations. Signing on for a trading voyage required a sailor to come to terms with a captain, a merchant, or a merchant’s agent, or supercargo. This process of negotiation sharply contrasted with the hardships endured by pressed men in the navy. In addition, crew sizes and ship tonnages were smaller on average in the merchant marine than in the navy.

Despite these differences, sailors or seamen on naval vessels and merchant ships engaged in comparable work. On both merchant ship and naval vessel, maneuvering a wooden sailing vessel on the open sea required coordinated activity between those in charge of navigation—usually the captain, sailing master, or hired pilot—and the crew. It was the crew that set and reefed, or unfurled and furled, sails. The crew also maintained and altered the ship’s rigging,

including the cordage, block, and tackle, to suit varying sail positions. Even the most seaworthy vessel took on water that had to be pumped, and the sturdiest craft required routine cleaning. Scrubbing, or “holystoning,” the decks involved rigging hoses to pumps, wetting the decking, coating them with sand, using stone blocks that resembled Bibles (thus “holystones”), sweeping the planks free of sand, and swabbing everything dry. Additionally, both merchant vessels and warships had to be ever vigilant against the threat of attack at sea. Crews were therefore split into two watches, which were further divided into groups with alternating four-hour shifts. Two two-hour shifts, called dog watches (a corruption of “docked,” meaning shortened), ensured that the same group would not have a monotonous work schedule. Laboring in this manner, sailors and seamen safeguarded American commerce and transported manufactured goods and raw materials around the world.

See also **Impressment; Naval Technology; Revolution: Naval War; Shipping Industry.**

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Christopher P. Magra

Slave Labor

Slave labor was vital to the economy both of Britain's North American colonies on the eve of the

American Revolution and of the new nation. Most slaves toiled in obscurity, but the visible work other slaves did in prominent places—from making the colonial port towns go to building the independent Republic's new capital in Washington, D.C.—underscored their economic importance. But if the significance of slave labor to the economy as a whole was a constant, the years between the late colonial and early antebellum eras witnessed sweeping changes in the type and scope of the work. And given that labor molded the entire life—in nonworking as well as working hours—of every enslaved person, the transformations of slave labor shaped the lives of millions of black as well as white Americans.

BROAD CHANGES

The Revolutionary and early national periods witnessed a massive growth in the American slave population as well as in the population as a whole. At the time of the American Revolution, roughly 1 in 5 Americans—just under 500,000—was of African descent, the vast majority of these enslaved. By the 1820 census, the enslaved population had more than tripled to over 1.5 million. (There were 1.8 million black Americans altogether, however, with 13 percent of this total being free.) However, the general population had grown so quickly between 1770 and 1820 that the proportion of slaves had dropped to 1 in 6, and African Americans made up 18 percent of the American people.

The geographic outlines of American slave labor also shifted dramatically in this half century. In the Revolutionary era, almost all slaves, along with their masters, lived in settlements hugging the Atlantic coast. They could be found in every colony, however, and in significant numbers in the northern port towns and the mid-Atlantic countryside as well as on southern plantations and farms. By 1820, the abolition of slavery in the North, though gradual, was well under way. This took longer in parts of the mid-Atlantic than elsewhere in the North. In the greater New York City area, for instance, slaves were still a central component of the labor force well into the nineteenth century. When New York State and New Jersey passed gradual abolition acts in 1799 and 1804 respectively, about one-third of all households in New York City and the surrounding countryside employed slave labor. By the 1820s, the transition to free labor was advanced but not complete. Meanwhile, southern plantation and farm agriculture had spread to the Mississippi River and beyond. Slave labor had become a “peculiar,” sectional institution, but it gained more territory in the South than it lost in the North.

Sectionalization was not the only alteration in slavery's place in the American economy and society. In the colonies, African bondage was only one of many forms of unfree labor. Indentured servants and convicts from Britain, as well as bound apprentices, all worked alongside slaves. But in the 1780s, the newly independent nation was not about to continue accepting shipments of convicts from the erstwhile mother country. And legal changes in the early Republic struck down indentured servitude and gave new rights to apprentices, making all white people (except home-grown criminals) free. This left black slaves essentially alone in the category of unfree labor by the 1820s.

UPPER SOUTH

As abolition proceeded in the North, the Chesapeake states and their western satellites became the northern boundary of slave labor. But while the labor regime transmogrified in the face of crop changes and ideological attack, it hardly wilted. Indeed, it remained entrenched in old bastions like Virginia and expanded to Kentucky, Tennessee, and beyond in the early Republic. Slave labor thus demonstrated its durability and adaptability.

In the decades surrounding the Revolution, Virginia and Maryland transformed themselves from predominantly tobacco colonies to predominantly grain-producing states. As tobacco proved its ability both to exhaust the soil and to plunge planters deeper in debt as its price stagnated, slaveholders explored the possibilities of wheat and other grain crops. Those possibilities were great, especially in the form of exports to the hungry, war-torn Europe of the late eighteenth century.

As the crop changed, so did most Chesapeake slaves' labor regime. Tobacco had required painstaking year-round labor, but wheat did not. The latter did, however, bring in its train all manner of new tasks relating to maintaining draft animals (which planters were using in more abundance with the crop change) and to transporting, processing, and marketing flour. This switch imparted much greater variety to most slaves' work routines, requiring that they learn new skills and become jacks of many trades.

The lack of demand for year-round intensive work on a staple crop, however, convinced many Chesapeake slaveholders that they were now saddled with an excess slave population. For some masters, this made the antislavery ideas circulating in the Revolutionary era seem like common sense. These men and women manumitted their slaves in large num-

bers; ten thousand went free in Virginia alone in the 1780s. Maryland and especially Delaware saw an even greater proportion of slave laborers manumitted; by 1820 free people made up 27 percent of the black population in the former and 74 percent in the latter.

But other slaveholders saw a more lucrative way of unloading these surplus hands as slave labor expanded across the South in the early Republic. To be sure, the slave population of the Chesapeake grew in the period between 1770 and 1820. Virginia's quadrupled in that time, and the Old Dominion still had more slaves than any other state at the time of the Civil War. But the Chesapeake also supplied the rising domestic slave trade. "Movement," as historian Ira Berlin has phrased it, "became the defining feature of black life in the postwar Chesapeake" (*Many Thousands Gone*, p. 267). This included the growing practice of hiring slave laborers in pursuits both urban and rural, industrial and agriculture; but the main form of movement was a new migration to the interior South.

One place masters and slave traders dragged enslaved workers was the newly settled region directly to the west. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, white Americans poured into Kentucky and Tennessee, utilizing slave labor to establish and run new operations there. These were overwhelmingly agricultural as they were in the Chesapeake, but they took different forms. Kentucky, for instance, replaced Virginia as the epicenter of American tobacco cultivation and also made a name for itself producing hemp. The slaves' lives changed to suit the new crops as well as the exigencies of settling new territory.

DEEP SOUTH

The Lower South became the Deep South in the early national era. Rice cultivation in coastal South Carolina and Georgia was the main experience of slaves south of the tobacco colonies, but their lives in the new nation centered on cotton cultivation in new states and the up-country of the older states. As in the Upper South, the long-settled region's slave population persisted, but it also formed a terminus of the domestic slave traffic.

In both the colonial and the early national low country of South Carolina and Georgia, rice was king. Like all crops, its unique rhythms and conditions patterned the lives of the slaves working it. The combined effects of drudgery in knee-deep water and a pestilential disease environment, for instance, made for a higher mortality rate amongst slaves on rice

plantations than obtained anywhere else except the sugar parishes of Louisiana.

Moreover, the low country's slave population hammered out a distinctive form of labor: the task system. Low country masters and overseers found that the difficulty of supervising their large black majority militated against working their slaves in gangs from sunup to sundown as in the archetypal model of American slavery. They therefore assigned their workers plots of land to cultivate every day. Once that task was complete, the slave's time was his or her own. The tasks were not easily completed for most slaves. But this system did allow a certain autonomy for slaves both during working hours and afterward; indeed, for some it increased the number of hours not spent working for the master. Some of these turned this time to growing their own produce, which they traded in local markets both clandestine and open.

But by the early nineteenth century, the main event for slave labor in the United States was neither rice nor tobacco nor wheat; it was cotton. Aided by a new gin that allowed for easier processing, cotton culture spread rapidly in the up-country of South Carolina and Georgia in the 1790s and 1800s, then in subsequent decades to newly conquered territories in the interior—what would become the heart of the Cotton Kingdom in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana.

The rising planters of the cotton frontier employed slave labor in carving out plantations in the new regions. They required mostly young and mostly male laborers to clear trees and brush in preparation for planting. Even such workers managed to clear only twelve acres every four months, so this stage stretched laboriously on for a long time. Furthermore, it was a new type of work for slaves who had worked staple crops before moving to the cotton frontier. Accordingly both their lives and communities had been forcibly restructured.

The adjustments were by no means finished once cotton cultivation was under way. The low country task system extended to cotton in some of these new settings, but gangs of slaves predominated, forcing migrants from the Lower South into new rhythms. Furthermore, whether from the Upper or Lower South, slaves had to learn new skills to cultivate and harvest cotton. The new work routines, together with the separation slaves experienced from kin and familiar surroundings, rendered forced entrance into the Cotton Kingdom a bitter experience. It was a trauma that as many as a million African Americans would endure before the Civil War.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; African Americans: Free Blacks in the South; Cotton; Emancipation and Manumission; Slavery: Slave Life; Slavery: Slave Trade, Domestic.**

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Matthew Mason

Teachers

Ideas about teaching and education circa 1750 drew heavily on the cultural and religious heritage of the colonists. The earliest civic legislative call for the compulsory education of all children came in theocratic New England in 1642, and was followed by the organization of compulsory public (though not universal) education in 1647. In the middle colonies, however, denominations tended to establish school-

ing systems to inculcate pupils in the virtues of the doctrine of the particular faith. Thus, schooling tended to be parochial and in the hands of individual churches rather than the state. In the southern colonies, the upper-class distinction and Anglican faith of the ruling property owners forged a private and philanthropic model for education. The upper class educated their own children through private tutors or tuition schools, and philanthropic efforts provided “pauper schools” to some families without means.

Just as these three models of education varied in the early national period, so did the roles and status of teachers. In New England teachers often were preachers and college-educated. Most teachers, and nearly all of the Latin grammar school instructors, were men. The most important qualification was religious and moral character. Of secondary importance were his skills at reading and writing and, more rarely, ciphering. In towns with at least one hundred families, school law required the instruction of Latin, though compliance was not universal.

Children achieved basic literacy before entering these schools, either at home or sometimes at a petty or dame school. Dame schools provided an arrangement of day care and basic education for younger children, probably under the age of eight. As the name suggests, a woman, typically a widow, earned small fees from parents by taking in young children and teaching the older ones to read and write. By the time of the American Revolution, the practice of having women teach the fundamentals and men the more advanced curriculum was probably quite common.

There is less comprehensive information available about teachers in the middle and southern colonies, but records suggest that many were local clergymen, farmers, or individuals who used teaching to supplement their incomes. Others were indentured servants who worked to pay back their passage from Europe. But some were highly qualified and provided high-quality instruction in a broad array of subjects. Overall, the work and social roles of teachers varied significantly across and within the colonies depending on the role of the state, the size of the community, the education of the instructor, and the preparatory orientation of the school.

As the ideologies of independence and equality came to be seen as central to the new Republic, George Washington, among others, called for the development of institutions that “enlightened” public opinion. Still, free public schools, or “common” schools, did not emerge until the late 1830s. In the early Republic, it was parents’ responsibility to pay

fees for their children to go to school; sometimes local communities helped them pay for the schoolhouse and some of the materials. During this time, two trends set the direction of education: First, education became increasingly secular, and “Rithmetic” replaced “Religion” as one of the three Rs. Second, education also began to shift its focus from the classics—a curriculum that aimed to prepare students for college—toward practical education. Useful subjects such as bookkeeping and gunnery were common additions to the curricula, and records suggest that pupils learned practical skills such as writing receipts and bills of sale.

Even in the absence of significant government involvement, education grew increasingly important. For men, in this period of high mobility, having an education became increasingly important in obtaining employment off the farm in a new city or new town. For young women, school-keeping became a viable option to escape the drudgery of housework and child rearing. The incomes of these young women often enabled families to send yet more children to school.

Teaching was seasonal and often itinerant work. Teachers traveled far and wide in search of better schools, more supportive communities, and better pay. Nahum Jones (born 1779) used money from teaching to buy a farm near his father’s in Massachusetts. After failing to make a living at farming, he returned to teaching, although he complained of having to “walk around” New England. The increasing presence of women as “schoolmarms,” the term common for a schoolmistress, in the summer months when men were occupied with agriculture, allowed them to make inroads into teaching in the winter season and, in turn, a more advanced curriculum to older children.

Without a system of teacher certification, the credentials and skills of teachers varied widely, as did teaching conditions and pay. Either out of need or lack of ability to verify teacher credentials, many communities hired young teachers who could read but barely write. A teacher might have been qualified after only a few seasons of formal learning. As time passed, more teachers became trained, and some had studied in the newly emerging “academies,” which would have required advanced study of the classics as well as basic skills.

During the early national period, teacher contracts also came to govern the community-teacher relationship. Many specified the number of days to be taught and the methods to be used. Typically, teachers would assign individual lessons and would

monitor pupil progress through listening to their recitations. In addition to the single schoolmaster model, the “monitorial” system (as was adopted in New York) became a popular and inexpensive teaching methodology from around 1800. In these schools the oldest and best pupils were responsible for conveying lessons to approximately five hundred to one thousand younger pupils.

In turn, school trustees or parents often provided a schoolhouse, the children’s materials, and textbooks, which became increasingly secular and American in character. (Popular at that time were Noah Webster’s *American Speller* and Nicholas Pike’s *Arithmetic*.) Teachers were paid wages and sometimes board. Although compensation was rarely enough to justify teaching as a primary or even permanent vocation, it did offer a way to make a modest living and provided a stepping stone to other careers or marriage.

The common school movement, a public initiative to provide free, universal public education for all, grew over the course of the nineteenth century, and created the need for greater numbers of qualified teachers. This demand was partly met in the establishment of new teacher training schools. *Lectures on Schoolteaching*, notes on the “art of teaching” by Samuel R. Hall, the founder of a private teacher-training school in Concord, Vermont, constituted the first American professional textbook for teachers in 1829. The demand was also met by a growing teaching force of women. Teaching provided one of the very few jobs in which a woman could use her education. Skilled women not only expanded the supply of teachers, but they reduced the cost at which communities might provide education to local children, thus securing low-cost schools for the future.

See also **Childhood and Adolescence; Education: Elementary, Grammar, and Secondary Schools; Education: Professional Education; Education: Public Education; Education: Tutors; Women: Professions.**

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Martha J. Bailey

Unskilled Labor

After the American Revolution (1775–1783), economies in the North and South changed and grew. In the North, manufacturing and industry emerged, while in the South industry and agriculture diversified. These developments required a pool of unskilled laborers. The unskilled workers, while facing new and difficult work environments, nevertheless created lively communities and maintained an ideology premised upon independence. Many, however, would find that their condition conflicted with their ideas.

THE NORTH

In the North, numerous economic factors pushed men and women into the unskilled labor force. The scarcity of land in parts of the North forced some rural Americans to move to cities in search of higher wages, where they found work in the emerging manufacturing economy. This dearth of land led aspiring male farmers into the workforce, and it had a similar effect on women. The propensity of young men to search for better economic opportunities created a labor shortage in some areas. There, women and children filled the void, especially in textile mills. After the American Revolution, merchants also invested capital in manufacturing. They centralized production into small factories and attempted to make the job process more efficient. This required the existence of a large mass of unskilled workers, filled by hopeful young farmers, women, and children; European immigrants; and free and enslaved African Americans. Thus, race, gender, and ethnicity segmented the unskilled workforce.

Unskilled workers in the North had a diverse array of occupations. In maritime-oriented cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, men and women found jobs as seamen, longshoremen, carters, and domestic servants as well as

in ship construction, woodcutting, and road building. Workers also found jobs in the emerging factories. In Massachusetts, for instance, men and women worked in cotton mills and the shoemaking industry. These jobs were monotonous and repetitious and lacked individuality. Under the outing system, whereby manufacturers advanced the raw materials of shoes to women living on farms, the workers mass-produced shoes, working long hours and frequently finding themselves indebted to their employer.

Unskilled workers also faced capricious job conditions. Since they lacked a discernible skill, employers could fire them on a whim. Unskilled ironworkers in New Jersey, for instance, faced termination for drinking, negligence, or defiance. Fishermen in Massachusetts worked long hours and faced the dangers of the sea. Construction employees paid canal workers with alcohol (either on credit or in lieu of wages) or with credit, forcing them into a system that resembled debt peonage. The nascent capitalist system fully exploited unskilled workers. Because of the poor working conditions, many unskilled laborers were notoriously mobile. They moved from city to city in search of good wages. While this mobility enabled the laborers to escape places where work conditions were deteriorating, it also prevented effective efforts to organize them.

Despite their mobility and the dangers associated with work, unskilled workers created a common community life and ideology. Canal workers, for instance, typically lived near their job sites in shantytowns or temporary work camps. After the workday had concluded, canal workers entered a male bachelor subculture. They imbibed alcohol and participated in a variety of rough-and-tumble sports, including horse racing and boxing. Naturally, this subculture had a dark side. Excessive alcohol consumption led to fights between workers. This too was a world riddled with crime. Thefts, robbery, and assaults were common in the canal workers' camps. Yet men and women flocked to unskilled jobs, primarily because they still believed that wage work was temporary. Men aspired to own land and believed that working for wages in their youth would enable them to save enough money to purchase land in the future. Women, too, considered unskilled labor temporary because they expected eventually to marry someone and leave the factory. Still, by the 1830s many men and women were becoming life-long wageworkers.

THE SOUTH

In the South, many unskilled workers were slaves, and their conditions varied according to region. After the American Revolution, mixed farming, with an emphasis on wheat, replaced tobacco cultivation as the primary economic enterprise in the Upper South. Wheat production required fewer year-round workers than tobacco. This precipitated two important changes in the lives of unskilled slave workers. For one, mobility and movement was the norm. Some slaveholders sold African Americans into the Deep South because they no longer needed their labor. Other slaveholders, however, moved blacks into skilled jobs, both in the countryside and, increasingly, in the city. Since most men became skilled workers, women worked in the fields and, sometimes, in iron factories in unskilled jobs. Second, the agricultural revolution broadened job opportunities for slaves. Rather than working in a monoculture, slaves worked in a diversity of crops, freighted goods, and tended to livestock. Lastly, slaves in Upper South towns who worked in the ironworks earned cash wages for working overtime.

In the Deep South, on the other hand, rice production returned to prewar levels, and the expansion of cotton spread slavery into the interior Southeast. The expansion and intensification of slavery required slaveholders to import slaves from the North, Upper South, and Africa (until 1808). In rice-producing areas, the number of skilled workers increased slightly, which forced more women into the fields. In the cotton regions, however, slaveholders required many unskilled workers and thus brought men and women, young and old, into the fields. Unskilled slave workers contested changes in their workday. In the rice areas, tasking still dominated production, mainly because slaves resisted efforts to change the pace of the workday. However, in cotton-producing areas, slaveholders moved to a gang labor system, which irritated slaves removed from the rice areas of South Carolina.

Unskilled slave workers created a community life. After the American Revolution, slaves flocked to Christianity in increasing numbers. Upper South slaves utilized their newfound mobility to travel to other plantations and create a pan-plantation community life. This freedom of movement allowed Upper South slaves to maintain families, even when slaveholders sold a spouse to another plantation. Lastly, the American Revolution and emancipation in the North had opened the door, if slightly, to the possibility of freedom. Slaves resisted the efforts of slaveholders to limit their freedom and opportunities. When masters attempted to speed up the pace of

work, slaves fought to maintain tasking, which granted them some free time, and instituted stints, whereby slaves agreed among themselves the amount of work they would accomplish in a given day.

After the American Revolution, economic changes in the North and South made America's unskilled workforce expand. It absorbed landless young men, single women, children, and enslaved African Americans. Women, both free and unfree, entered the unskilled labor force in increasing numbers. Yet the Revolution's rhetoric of freedom captivated some workers. Young men believed that wages were the ticket for landed independence, while African American slaves gravitated to the messages of the Revolution and northern emancipation. Still, unskilled workers faced dangerous and exploitative work environments and faced a future where they would labor in perpetuity.

See also **Abolition of Slavery in the North; Industrial Revolution; Labor Movement; Labor Organizations and Strikes; Slavery; Slave Life; Textiles Manufacturing.**

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Women's Work

In the mid-eighteenth century, the colonial economy was centered on the household. Although tasks were usually divided along gender lines, all members of the family contributed essential labor. Importantly, this labor did not typically generate income. In an agricultural society the home was a center of production for the family's needs, with both women and men performing nonwaged labor that sustained the family. Men had primary responsibility for agricultural labor. Among women's many responsibilities were spinning thread and sometimes weaving cloth, keeping gardens, taking care of poultry, milking cows, and producing butter. Excess produce might be bartered or sold. In addition, women prepared and preserved food, made soap, washed and repaired

clothing, bore and raised numerous children, and kept their large households clean and running. These varied tasks filled the days of the overwhelming majority of colonial women. Such time-consuming and essential labor was the norm; the required, specialized skills defined a good wife. Although largely confined to a single household, some tasks involved communal labor, as when women gathered to sew quilts.

Women's labor in the farming household complemented that of their husbands. When their spouses were away, married women also acted as what the historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has termed "deputy husbands," conducting family affairs to the best of their ability. During harvest times, women joined men in the fields, although such labor was not considered ideal for women of European descent. On a temporary basis or for indentured servants, fieldwork was more acceptable. Enslaved women performed both fieldwork and a range of domestic tasks. Throughout the colonies, they contributed essential labor, whether of an agricultural nature on plantations and farms or as domestic or household servants.

In nonfarming families, women often worked alongside their spouses in their trades and in their shops, assisting in the production of goods and attending customers, while remaining responsible for child care and other housewifery tasks. In his autobiography, for example, Benjamin Franklin noted the helpful labor that his wife, Deborah Read Franklin, provided in his print shop, where she folded and stitched pamphlets. Such labor has been rendered largely invisible in the historical record by the legal position of married women in the colonial period. Under the doctrine of coverture, which dictated that a woman's legal identity merged with her husband's upon marriage, married women had no right to enter into contracts, keep their own wages, make wills, or sue debtors. For this reason, many married women who worked in family enterprises did not show up in contemporary records, unless someone commented on their labor, as in Franklin's case, or they continued to run businesses as widows. Widowhood was a common means of a woman assuming control of a business in her own name. Also, in some colonies, femme sole trader statutes allowed married women to conduct trade in their own right.

Throughout the colonial period, while most women worked within the context of the farm household, there were other women who ran or engaged in a range of enterprises. They obtained licenses to dispense alcohol and became tavern keep-

ers; many of these women were poor widows. Others taught school, took in boarders, or ran printing presses, like Mary Katherine Goddard (1738–1816). After taking over her brother's Baltimore press, Goddard became a notable printer, the first to print a copy of the Declaration of Independence with the names of the signers; she also served as the first postmistress of the colonies in 1775. Elizabeth Murray set up her own business in Boston in 1750, taking advantage of rising consumer demand for British goods to run her own shop and later setting up other women in business. Generous credit and the availability of inexpensive, high-quality cloth and ceramics prompted many women in colonial ports to pursue shopkeeping in the decades before the Revolution. Imported goods began to replace some domestically produced items, such as cloth. One of the most lucrative trades in the colonial period, as well as in the early Republic, was midwifery, a field in which women held a near monopoly.

THE LEGACY OF THE REVOLUTION

Although the Revolutionary War years interrupted prewar patterns in some regards—with women like Abigail Adams assuming more responsibility for running family farms, for example, while their husbands were away and eventually asserting a sense of ownership—the Revolution itself did not signal a dramatic turning point in women's economic endeavors. Although, the disruptions that accompanied it led to the relocation of many single women, who became part of a new, cheap labor pool, most women continued to run households and raise children; the average birthrate remained high, at 7.04 in 1800. The Revolution challenged women to make political commitments and follow them up with economic actions, such as producing homespun cloth during boycotts of British imports in the 1760s and 1770s, but its effects were limited in the short term.

One important legacy of the Revolution, however, was an increased attention to the content of women's education. Reformers argued that women needed to be better schooled so as to raise their sons to be good citizens; women would exercise their political influence within the domestic sphere. This ideal, which the historian Linda Kerber has termed "republican motherhood," contributed to a shift in female education. Although much of the schooling girls received remained oriented toward the skills of housewifery and ornamental accomplishments, new subjects entered the curriculum. Ultimately, the combined domestic and political rationale for women's improved education lay the basis for the

emergence of female academies in the early Republic. Subsequently, women began to apply their educational achievements outside of their own homes, entering the teaching profession in large numbers.

THE MARKET ECONOMY AND THE DOCTRINE OF SEPARATE SPHERES

Larger changes in industrial development and the market itself led to profound changes in work and the perception of it. In the late 1700s the putting-out system, a phase of industrial development that preceded the integrated factory, brought income-generating labor directly to the household. This process, which historian Jan de Vries characterizes as part of an "industrious revolution," signaled both an increase in the labor of women and children in the home and accompanying increases in overall productivity. In some industries, like shoemaking, women constituted a significant portion of the workforce, using their skill with the needle to stitch together shoe parts at home. Such work, also found in clothing production and hat making, was generally poorly paid.

Household production began to decline gradually as the market economy expanded. As waged labor grew increasingly time-oriented and separated from household production, men's nonagricultural work became distinguished by taking place outside the home and generating wages. In contrast, for the majority of women, work remained within the domestic sphere and was task-oriented rather than delimited by time. Crucially, such female labor was unwaged, and paid labor was increasingly privileged over unpaid. With the emergence of an ideology of separate spheres, where women were confined to a domestic sphere supposedly untouched by the market and where men left the sanctuary of the home to gain income for their families in a competitive, cut-throat public work space, women's contributions to sustaining their families and households were minimized. The historian Jeanne Boydston describes the "pastoralization" of housework that occurred in the early Republic; a rhetoric emerged that idealized women's domestic endeavors and characterized them as duties lovingly performed in an idyllic sphere, rather than as labor. As contemporaries drew increasingly sharp distinctions between "home" and "work," this dichotomy discounted the economic value and necessity of housework.

The doctrine of separate spheres ignored important facets of women's work experience in the early Republic. First, this pervasive ideology was most applicable to middle-class women; working-class

women of necessity went outside of their homes to work for their families' subsistence. Second, women's household labor constituted an essential, if unpaid, contribution to their families. Third, the birth of industrialization in the United States witnessed the intentional incorporation of large numbers of women into the market economy. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, widespread efforts were made to develop the industrial base of the United States, with the interruption of trade during the War of 1812 adding fuel to the drive to industrialize.

In Lowell, Massachusetts, mill owners in the 1810s and 1820s hired a largely female workforce in an effort to balance agrarian and economic aims; men could stay on the farm while women toiled in factories. Lowell itself became a leader in the textile industry in terms of numbers of workers and volume of cloth produced. By 1828, 90 percent of textile workers in New England were female. The "mill girls," who lived in company boardinghouses, earned wages much lower than those of male mill workers, yet they earned enough to supplement their wardrobes, save money, and send funds home, sometimes paying for the professional education of brothers. The growth of professional school and accreditation negatively affected some female trades. As states began to license medical practitioners, for example, midwives found their position challenged by the institutionalized training that came to define medicine, schooling from which they were excluded.

The period was one of flux, with new possibilities for some women's employment and deteriorating circumstances for others. The rationale for paying women less than men in the mills, and in other trades as well, lay in the notion that men's labor and income supported their families. The laws of coverture remained intact, and women's labor, wherever they performed it, was seen as either nonessential to their families' livelihoods, as in the case of mills, or as non-work, as in the household.

See also **Childbirth and Childbearing; Divorce and Desertion; Domestic Life; Education: Education of Girls and Women; Home; Industrial Revolution; Market Revolution; Marriage; Widowhood; Women: Female Reform Societies and Reformers; Women: Professions.**

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Patricia Cleary

Work Ethic

The work ethic is a debased, vulgarized version of a moral vision that the German sociologist Max Weber conceptualized a century ago as the Protestant ethic. In the Reformed Protestantism of the sixteenth-century Geneva theologian John Calvin, an inscrutable God predestined men and women to salvation or damnation yet withheld from them the ability to read his design or discover their eternal fate. They could only hope to have intimations of an answer to that most urgent of all questions. The capacity for steady work seemed such an intimation, because Calvin's God wished to be worshipped in the world, not in monasteries and other such retreats from it. Work was, for Reformed Protestants, a way of worshipping their God and easing their anxiety.

In Weber's ingenious formulation, Protestants who dedicated themselves to unremitting labor were decisive in the creation of capitalism because they believed God disallowed pleasure as much as he demanded industry among his faithful. Their ascetic reluctance to enjoy the fruits of their labor left them nothing to do with the mounting wealth that came of their diligence but to put it back into their businesses. Thus they inadvertently—and systematically—amassed capital.

Weber took Benjamin Franklin and his Poor Richard maxims as the epitome of the Protestant ethic. And observers before and since have seen America as a culture singularly wedded to work and peculiarly convinced that work was the core of the moral life.

But Weber probably misread Poor Richard and certainly misread Franklin. Franklin was no Puritan. He pursued the pleasures of the flesh from his youth to his dying days. He gave up work itself at an early

age, quitting the printing business for what he unabashedly called leisure and philosophical amusements.

Franklin was hardly alone in his aversion to the laborious and his enjoyment of the carnal. Few of the richest men in early America embraced an ethic that made moral significance of work. Few, indeed, did much work. Southern planters had squadrons of slaves to clear the land and till the soil; they spent most of their time exchanging social visits with one another. Northern merchants enjoyed an equivalent leisure; their ledgers reveal that they rarely made more than three or four sales a day, their letter books show that they rarely wrote more than three or four letters a day, and their diaries indicate that they spent the better part of their time dining and chatting with fellow merchants. Common people in all the colonies similarly sought relief from the biblical curse on labor that attended the expulsion from Eden. Promotional pamphlets routinely promised those contemplating migration to the New World that they would find there a life of Edenic ease. Hogs and cattle multiplied marvelously, without human effort. Crops flourished in fertile soils. Fish ran so abundantly in the rivers that a single netting would feed a man for a week. Birds flew so thickly in the air that a single shot fired into the flock would bag half a dozen. Men and women went to colonial America for the prospect of wealth and leisure that it offered more than for the work that it required.

After the Revolution the emphasis shifted. In the staple-producing South, work remained a slave's affliction and exemption from physical labor remained a mark of gentility. But beyond the regions where tobacco, rice, and cotton absorbed men's ambitions, the pace of business quickened. North of the Mason-Dixon Line, a veritable revolution in transportation—scheduled transatlantic shipping, turnpikes, canals, steamboats, and, at the end of the era, railroads—opened a vast new access to the market. Farmers responded to the incentive to produce more for it. An emergent middle class set standards of respectability that increasingly centered on a new gospel of work.

The norms themselves were not new. The Puritans had brought them to New England, the Quakers to Pennsylvania. But they had been confined to Puritan and Quaker precincts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the young Republic they overspread much more of the North.

Everyone noticed. European visitors commented in tones at once acerbic and astonished on Americans' obsession with what the novelist Charles Dickens

would later call the "almighty dollar." Almost without exception, such observers complained of meals frantically wolfed down so as to lose no time that might be spent making money. They remarked on the meager fare of amusements and the absence of a substantial class of men and women devoted to them. As Alexis de Tocqueville, the great nineteenth-century French observer of American life, noted, even the wealthy considered themselves obligated to persist in "some kind of industrial or commercial pursuit." A rich man "would think himself in bad repute if he employed his life solely in living."

Americans themselves testified to the same effect, in their words and in their actions. The mill girl turned poet Lucy Larcom recalled New England childhoods "penetrated through every fibre of thought with the idea that idleness is a disgrace." Merchants withdrew from the politics they once dominated because commerce demanded all their time in the nineteenth century as it never had in the eighteenth. Artificers in the 1820s petitioned for ten times the number of patents they had thirty years before. The very beverages that Americans drank made manifest the changes: coffee, a stimulant, displaced whiskey, a depressant.

Needless to say, there were those who did not embrace the new ethos or give themselves enthusiastically to incessant labor. Urban artisans still celebrated "Saint Monday" and punctuated the rest of the work week with booze breaks and other premodern rituals of conviviality. Farmers sometimes disdained the opportunities that new markets offered. A Pennsylvanian remarked that he had thought to move to Kentucky till he heard that there was no winter there so people had to work all the time; "that was not his fancy." But such common folk did not occupy, or even have access to, the command-posts of middle-class opinion.

The work ethic of the new nation was not the Protestant ethic that Weber delineated. It was far more broadly diffused: a secular faith rather than a sectarian one. It was essentially disconnected from anxiety over salvation: the notion that work was a "calling" in which the worker glorified God virtually vanished from common parlance.

This work ethic justified work by its usefulness to the early Republic and, more, by its advantage to the worker himself. Work built character. Work kept a person from the debilities of idleness. And work was the way to a new American dream of success. As the idea of the "calling" disappeared, the idea of "the self-made man" came to the fore. By diligent application, men of modest origins could become rich.

By industry alone—"plain, rugged, brown-faced, homely clad, old-fashioned industry," as the mid-nineteenth-century minister Henry Ward Beecher would later put it.

There was an irony in all that. The crux of the work ethic was that labor in a social context made economic life more than mere drudgery by the sweat of the brow. Such labor conferred moral meaning on toil. But the more that men worked harder for private gain—for success and self-advancement—the more they dissolved the social context that could make their labor meaningful. It was a conundrum that would only be exacerbated with the advent of the factory system in the years ahead.

See also **American Character and Identity; Bible; Character; Class: Development of the Working Class; Class: Rise of the**

Middle Class; Farm Making; Franklin, Benjamin; Plantation, The; Professions: Clergy; Professions: Lawyers; Professions: Physicians; Quakers; Wealth; Wealth Distribution.

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Michael Zuckerman



XYZ AFFAIR The decade of the 1790s was a perilous era for the new federal government of the United States. The economy only slowly emerged from the Revolutionary War slump, international commerce flagged, and the nation faced a crushing foreign and domestic debt. In addition, France—its former ally—had launched its own democratic revolution that slid into a bloodbath and led to resumed naval warfare with Britain in the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The American army and navy were woefully unready to protect their own vessels, rendering the nation's ill-prepared ports and harbors virtually defenseless. In 1793 the Federalist administration of George Washington sought to navigate these treacherous waters by proclaiming American neutrality in the Anglo-French War, seeking trade with both sides. Instead, however, it succeeded only in incurring the wrath of both and also of its emerging domestic opponent, the Democratic Republicans.

Then, in 1794 Washington sent John Jay to London to negotiate with Britain for the settlement of issues unresolved since the Treaty of Paris (1783) and to broker a trade agreement that would open British ports in the Caribbean to American commerce. Jay's Treaty (1794) outraged the French, who claimed that the Franco-American Treaties of Amity and Commerce (1778) still bound the Revolutionary

allies. A French minister to the United States, Jean Fauchet, was so outraged he demanded that Americans be made to hear "the voice of France thundering against the treaty and demanding justice." When trade resumed with Britain in the Caribbean and beyond in 1796, the French began attacking and confiscating American merchant vessels in a conflict that became known as the Quasi-War. Hundreds of thousands of tons of American merchant vessels were lost and all-out war with France seemed imminent.

In May 1797 President John Adams, another Federalist, determined to stave off disaster by sending a bipartisan Extraordinary Commission to France consisting of three ministers: Federalists John Marshall and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Democratic Republican Elbridge Gerry. The commission arrived in France by the fall to discuss settlement for American commercial losses and to pursue an agreement that would secure neutral trading rights for the United States and preclude further French attacks. After they had waited a considerable time to be received by the French Directory, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, the French minister of foreign affairs, sent three lesser, anonymous officials to receive the American delegation. However, the operatives, identified only as X, Y, and Z, refused officially to receive the Americans without payment of tribute to the French government. When Marshall and

Pinckney returned to the United States and reported the slight, the Democratic Republicans suspected a Federalist plot to instigate war with France and challenged the Federalist Adams administration to prove the allegations. With that, Adams released the XYZ dispatches in March 1798, to general American outrage. Letters, memorials, petitions, and declarations of support poured into the capital at Philadelphia vowing "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" Citizens pledged to stand behind the president, even in the case of war, to protect the honor and security of the Republic. Many wore black ribbons or cockades on their hats to exhibit support for the president and their disapproval of France. Republicans, however, took to wearing red, white, and blue cockades, opposing war with their ally from the American Revolution.

Federalists manipulated the popular attitude of the "black cockade fever" to draft defense legislation fortifying ports and harbors, creating a Department of the Navy (1798), authorizing the construction of three new warships, and augmenting the army with a provisional force of ten thousand troops. The administration also secured passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts (1798) to stifle domestic dissent and remove suspected foreign agitators. The Fifth Congress in 1797 and 1798 appropriated more than \$10 million for defense, \$4 million more than the normal expenditure would have been for the entire nonmilitary federal budget. As a result, Congress also used the XYZ affair and fear of French invasion to levy the first federal direct tax (1798), a rate collected from the value of lands, dwelling houses, and slaves. Many in Congress demanded a declaration of war against France, but Democratic Republicans and moderate Federalists following the lead of President Adams refused to go that far. In 1799 the president sent another delegation, the Ellsworth Commission, to France to seek a peaceful solution. By the autumn of 1800, the French had received the American commission and reached a peaceful settlement at the Convention at Mortefontaine, just before President Adams's loss to Democratic Republican Thomas Jefferson in the presidential election.

Partisan intrigue, the Anglo-French War, and popular hysteria over the XYZ affair cost the American people their civil liberties and millions in tax dollars in 1798. But cooler diplomatic heads among moderate Federalists forestalled a potentially disastrous war and bought the young nation another decade of growth and stability until a similar crisis led to a Democratic Republican declaration of war against Britain in 1812.

See also **Democratic Republicans; Federalist Party; Presidency, The: John Adams; Quasi-War with France.**

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Paul Douglas Newman

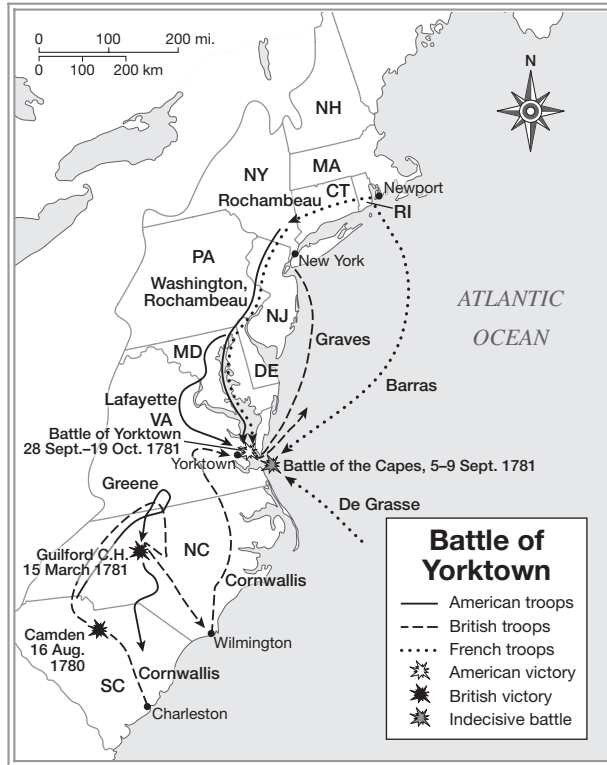
YANKEE DOODLE See **Music: Patriotic and Political.**

YELLOW FEVER See **Epidemics; Health and Disease.**

YORKTOWN, BATTLE OF In 1778 the British shifted their military emphasis to the American South. Lieutenant General Charles Lord Cornwallis had waged an aggressive campaign there. Defeating Continental Army forces in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in North Carolina in March 1781, he then moved north into Virginia. Continental Army commander General George Washington was preoccupied with New York and had positioned at White Plains his main force of four infantry regiments, a battalion of artillery, and the four-thousand-man French Legion commanded by Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau.

In May 1781 French admiral the count de Barras arrived with a small squadron at Newport, Rhode Island, with news that Admiral the count de Grasse was on his way from France with a powerful fleet. At sea the British and French were each chiefly interested in the West Indies, with each seeking to deprive the other of the valuable sugar trade. Barras told Washington, however, that the French fleet would come north during the hurricane season.

Meanwhile, raids by turncoat British brigadier general Benedict Arnold in the Chesapeake Bay and along the James River west to Richmond led Wash-



ington to send Major General the Marquis de Lafayette south with twelve hundred men to capture Arnold. Cornwallis then arrived. His seven thousand men represented a quarter of the British armed strength in North America. Cornwallis failed to take Lafayette's much smaller force, however. He then withdrew to the small tobacco port of Yorktown on the York River, just off the Chesapeake Bay. Lafayette followed.

On 14 August Washington learned that de Grasse would be sailing not to New York but to the Chesapeake. He would arrive in a few weeks and remain there until the end of October. Washington immediately saw that if de Grasse could hold the bay while he came up from the land side, he might be able to trap the entire British force at Yorktown.

Washington ordered Lafayette to contain Cornwallis, and on 21 August he sent two thousand American and four thousand French soldiers south. He left only two thousand Continental Army troops to watch Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton's British force at New York. Not until early September did Clinton realize what had happened, but he did little to help Cornwallis.

On 30 August, meanwhile, de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line and three thousand land troops. He put ashore the

troops, commanded by the Marquis de Saint Simon, and sent his transports up the bay to ferry Washington's force down the Chesapeake. The allies then concentrated near Williamsburg.

Barras, meanwhile, sailed south from Newport with eight ships of the line convoying eighteen transports carrying siege guns. On 32 August British rear admiral Thomas Graves with nineteen ships of the line set sail south to intercept Barras. On 5 September the British ships reached the Chesapeake Bay and de Grasse, although shorthanded, stood out to meet them. The French had twenty-eight ships of the line to only nineteen for the British. The resulting naval battle of the Chesapeake was a tactical draw, with damage and casualties but no ships lost on either side. Strategically it was one of the most important battles in world history, for at its end the French still controlled the bay. Also, during the battle Barras's ships arrived. Now outnumbered by thirty-six to nineteen Graves returned to New York to gather more ships, leaving Cornwallis to his fate.

Washington's army arrived at Yorktown on 28 September. He had nine thousand American troops (three thousand of them militia who played no significant role in the battle), and seven thousand French regulars. French engineers now directed a siege of Yorktown, digging zigzag trenches toward the British defenses and laying parallels. Time was of the essence, and the Americans and French soon began a bombardment.

Cornwallis was outnumbered 2 to 1. Gloucester Point across the York River was his only means of escape. It was only thinly held by the Continentals, but Cornwallis did not move to take it until too late. On the night of 14 October the Allies stormed the British Nos. 9 and 10 redoubts, sealing Cornwallis's fate. The most important charge was led by Alexander Hamilton, whose victory was secured by the mostly African American First Rhode Island regiment.

On the morning of 17 October Cornwallis asked for terms, seeking parole for his men. Washington insisted the British surrender as prisoners of war, and Cornwallis agreed. On 19 October 8,077 British surrendered: 7,157 soldiers, 840 seamen, and 80 camp followers. During the siege the British lost 156 killed and 326 wounded; the allies lost only 75 killed and 199 wounded (two-thirds of them Frenchmen).

Too late, Clinton arrived on 24 October with a powerful fleet and seven thousand land troops. De Grasse had already departed for the West Indies. The British had lost control of the American seaboard for one brief period, and it cost them the war. Yorktown brought down the British government headed by the

hard-liner Lord North and ushered in a new British policy of cutting losses immediately and seeking peace.

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Spencer C. Tucker

Synoptic Outline

This outline provides an overview of the conceptual scheme of the encyclopedia. It is divided into twenty-two parts:

Cultural Contexts; Biographies; The Revolution and the Revolutionary War; Constitutionalism and the U.S. Constitution; Law, Legislation, and the Courts; Government and Politics; Social Problems, Social Control, and Reform; Foreign Relations; War and the Military; Economic Life; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Cities and Urbanization; Places and Regions; Education; Religion and Religious Groups; Science, Technology, and Medicine; Arts and Letters; Daily Life; Gender and Sexuality; Peoples and Population; African Americans; American Indians.

Reflecting the interconnectedness of American Studies, many entries are listed under multiple subject headings.



CULTURAL CONTEXTS

Ideas, concepts, symbols, and miscellany that help to define the emergence of American nationhood.

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DAILY LIFE

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GENDER AND SEXUALITY

Includes subjects commonly studied as "women's" or "men's" issues.

Childbirth and Childbearing
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PEOPLES AND POPULATION

Includes immigration, exploration, colonization, settlement, and expansion. *See also* American Indians; African Americans.

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AFRICAN AMERICANS

See also Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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